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EDOUARD CHAVANNES

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THE NEW
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VOL. I. MARCH, 1919. NO. 1.

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

IT will be generally agreed that there is not only room for such a Review as this but also great need for it. It is not to the credit of sinology that no such periodical exists, and research must have suffered greatly from the lack.

The *Chinese Repository* was begun in 1832 and continued for twenty years. The *China Review* lasted from 1872 to 1901. Since that date there has been nothing of the same kind. The chief sinological magazines to-day are the *T'oung Pao* and the *Bulletin de l'Ecole de l'Extrême Orient*, commonly referred to as B.E.F.E.O. Both are invaluable and both maintain the great French lead in this branch of science. The same may be said of frequent articles in such Journals as the *Journal Asiatique*. But all these use mainly the French tongue, which, most unhappily renders them useless to a very large number of English-speaking students. Moreover they are published far away from China, and the *Bulletin* is only partially concerned with China Proper. Those who read no French must be content with occasional articles scattered in learned periodicals of America and Great Britain, or with

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the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* which, however satisfactory, only makes its appearance once a year. It seems there should be a Review in English if we are to recover or retain our proper position in sinological research, and that such a Review should be issued in China where students of Chinese matters are most abundant.

The precise character of *The New China Review* will have to be determined by the quality of the voluntary contributions sent in for publication. The Editor will try to maintain a high standard of scholarship, but at the same time hopes to print contents so varied and attractive that others than professed sinologues can find pleasure in them. Contemporary missionary work and current Chinese politics have abundant utterance in special journals or in the daily press, and will therefore find no place in this Review. If there is at any time a shortage of original and suitable matter the Editor intends to reprint a few valuable articles from the *Chinese Repository*, now so difficult to consult.

Giles and Parker, great protagonists in the columns of the old *China Review*, are happily still with us, and they will kindly help to make the *New China Review* useful. But Legge, Kingsmill, Eitel, Chalmers, Edkins, are all gone. In the former Review these men had room to express themselves: their works live after them. It may be there are those in China who have done or will do similar work but are denied the opportunity of gradual expression. An urgent appeal is made to such men to use the opportunity of this Review and let the world know where we stand in sinological research.

While contributors are necessary, subscribers are equally so if the *Review* is to be continued after the first year; as it must pay its costs. But if so small a venture cannot be made to succeed it will surely be to the discredit of British and American students of Chinese. Readers are therefore asked to make the *Review* known to others and thus increase the number of subscribers.

It was in England in September last that we decided to begin this Review, a bold, and some said a rash decision considering the difficulties caused by the War. We at once sought the support of contributors. Some honestly declined

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to do or promise anything, some could only give matter already on hand; more gave promises for the days when war work was over, and few were able to give immediate help. But the amount of encouragement received was sufficient. Ten and a half weeks were then wasted on the water, and on reaching Shanghai there were new difficulties to face. Circumstances decided that for the present the printing should be done in Hongkong, and communication in the East is slow. Even the size and shape in which the Review appears has to be settled by the size of the paper that it is possible to buy—at any price. There has hardly been time for contributors in China to do much; many will no doubt come forward after they have seen the first number. It will be admitted that for a magazine, first projected in England in September, to be actually issued in China in the succeeding March and under war conditions, shews that the work is done *con amore*; it also provides a hope that what has been begun, however imperfectly, in such stressful times, may look forward to a fine career in the better days that are to come.

Though the first number appears somewhat late there will be six issues in the current year, so that volumes and years may coincide. Subscriptions should be from beginning to end of the current volume. Back numbers will be kept in stock, so that late subscribers may have the volume complete.

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A FEW REMARKS

BY

PROFESSOR HERBERT A. GILES, LL.D.

CHINESE is the Cinderella of languages, and her two—no! not ugly, but—selfish sisters are Latin and Greek. Throughout Great Britain and Ireland, one of the most important languages of the world, dead or living, offers no encouragement whatever to would-be students beyond one beggarly scholarship of £50 a year, established at Oxford to commemorate but coldly the imperishable services of Legge to Anglo-Chinese learning. On the other hand, up and down the country, at all modern as well as ancient universities, Latin and Greek will be found to be heavily endowed, entirely out of proportion to their actual values. Quite recently, a new annual prize for Latin hexameters (save the mark!) was founded at Cambridge by Dr. Butler, the late Master of Trinity. Does anyone stop to ask what Latin hexameters have contributed towards the salvation of the Empire during the past four to five years of war?

In China, there is first of all a national history, carefully recorded, which stretches back authoritatively to the date of the Trojan war, if not beyond. There is a voluminous, not to say luminous literature, embracing every variety of composition except the epic, in which style has been refined to a terseness of expression, with added charm, which makes

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Tacitus seem prolix. Many persons do not know, and others omit to mention that the whole of Latin literature, now extant, could be wrapped up in a couple of hundred small 8vo volumes, a trifle more extensive perhaps than the "Home University Library." Chinese art, too, has been coming into its own of late, and the study of its pictorial side is now admitted to educative rank.

Passing from the ideal to the practical, it is a marvel that the enormous untapped wealth of China has not made a more potent appeal to the British merchant and led to a wider and deeper encouragement of Chinese studies. In that direction, the German, after beating us hollow in classical achievements, has undoubtedly kept well ahead of his British rival. Business Chinese has long since been placed in the forefront of Oriental studies at the Berlin Oriental School. Even as I write, at the crisis of a disastrous war, free lessons in Chinese are being offered by the German Government to any German who will take them. Still the apathy persists with us, and in Great Britain and Ireland Chinese must be cultivated, like Virtue, by the few, for its own sake. Only the other day, in a British commercial enterprise involving the languages of seven nationalities, I found Japanese included and Chinese left out. The fact is that the Japanese Government encourages the study of Japanese by foreigners, while the Chinese Government looks on.

It has been bluntly asserted that to speak of a man as a sinologue is to think of him as a fool, and there is no doubt that this attitude prevails to a large extent. One evening, at a dinner-party, an accomplished young American lady fell to my lot. As we were passing to the dining-room she said, "Excuse me, but I did not catch what subject you were Professor of." "Think," I replied, "of the most idiotic subject possible." The words were hardly out of my mouth before she said "Chinese?"; and almost simultaneously with my amused "Yes," this young lady, herself a literary aspirant, began to apologize for a blow which I had wittingly brought on myself.

The above is a rather lengthy exordium to the topic which should occupy me at the moment. I may possibly be

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excused on the ground that for fifty years past I have kept two objects in view: (1) to contribute my quota towards an exact study of the Chinese language, and (2) to interest English readers in the affairs past and present of the wonderful but little known and less appreciated country we call China. As regards the second of these objects I have to admit disappointment; but still "on Hope the wretch relies," and now and again events occur which "bid the deluder rise." One of these is the enterprise of Mr. S. Couling, already well known as the compiler of the *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, in establishing the magazine of which this is the first number. He is thus endeavouring to fill the gap from which sinology has suffered ever since the disappearance, seventeen years ago, of the valuable *China Review*. The success of this enterprise is not wholly in Mr. Couling's hands. He must be supported not only by ready contributors to its pages, but also by a long list of subscribers, many of whom may not take an exactly equal interest with the Chinese student proper, but who should equally lend a hand in advancing the cause to which this magazine will be devoted.

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ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES

THE great sinologue Emmanuel Édouard Chavannes was born at Lyons on October 5th, 1865, and died in Paris on January 29th, 1918. He was thus cut off at an age when it might have been expected that his best work was still to be done.

Some years of his childhood were spent with a grandmother at Lausanne; then he went to school in Lyons, and thence to Paris, where he prepared for and entered the École Normale. The Director advised him to turn his attention to Chinese, and Cordier, on being consulted, put before him the need there was to examine Chinese History rather than Chinese Philosophy. Having studied Chinese under Maurice Jametel at the École des Langues orientales vivantes and under d'Hervey de Saint-Denys at the Collège de France, he obtained an appointment as attaché at the French Legation in Peking. He arrived at his post in March, 1889. Within four months he wrote to Cordier expressing his intention to translate the first part of the *Shih chi* of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (written in the French way as the *Che ki* of Se-ma Ts'ien). Within the year he had modified his plan so as to include an account of Se-ma himself and a translation and examination of the whole History. In 1890 began his long series of writings on Chinese subjects, the first being a French translation of chapter 28 in the *Che Ki* 史記, *Le Traité sur les Sacrifices Fong et Chan:* it appeared in the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*.

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This was followed by a study of a quite different subject—*La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine aux temps des deux dynasties Han* (1893), an examination of some bas-reliefs in Shantung. In that same year he was appointed to the Chair of Chinese in the Collège de France.

His edition of Se-ma Ts'ien was to consist of ten volumes; it received a subvention from the Société Asiatique in 1894, and the first volume was issued in 1895. Later volumes appeared as follows: the second in 1897; the third, part i in 1898, part ii in 1899; the fourth in 1901, and the fifth, which is to ch. xlvii, in 1905. For the second volume Chavannes received the Prix Stanislas-Julien from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

The complete *Che Ki* has 130 chapters; Chavannes' translation unfortunately extends only to ch. 47, but it must be remembered that he has enriched the translation with a long introduction, appendices and invaluable notes.

Among the many calls on Chavannes' keen interest were the travels of the early Buddhist pilgrims, and in 1894 he published the translation of I Tsing's 義淨 travels, the Prix Stanislas-Julien being divided between this work and De Groot's *Code du Mahayana*. He continued these studies by translations of and papers on Ou K'ong 悟空, Soung Yun 宋雲, Ki Ye 繼業, Gunavarman 求那跋摩, and Jinagupta 闍那崛多; afterwards turning to the examination of some Chinese travels other than Buddhist.

In 1896 he became involved in an unhappy controversy with Schlegel over the translations of the Chinese inscriptions from Bodh-Gaya. Epigraphy was a favourite study of his; he translated the Chinese and Mongol portion of the celebrated hexaglot inscriptions in the gate on the road from Peking to Kalgan, and all that were known from Central Asia. Stein's early discoveries led to Chavannes' remarkable work *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*. Stein entrusted to him the translation of the Chinese writings found in his explorations in 1900-1901, the results appearing in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*. The Chinese documents brought home by the great explorer after his 1906-1908 expedition were also translated by Chavannes—a most

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laborious task, and were published in a separate volume by the Oxford University Press in 1913.

These manuscripts opened up a new field of research, and in collaboration with M. Pelliot, Chavannes produced an annotated translation of a Manichæan treatise from Tun-huang.

On the death of Schlegel, Prof. Cordier's co-editor of the the *T'oung Pao*, Chavannes offered to succeed him, and during the remaining fourteen years of his life he contributed to this important magazine, besides various valuable articles, some 170 book-reviews.

In 1903 he was elected a Member, and in 1915 became President of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.

In 1907 he boldly undertook his important but very trying archæological expedition to North China. He visited Moukden, Peking, Shantung, Honan, (staying twelve days at the Lung Mên 龍門), Hsi-an fu, T'ai-yüan fu, Wu-t'ai shan, and various such interesting spots as the tombs of Confucius and Mencius, the birthplace of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, T'ai shan, etc. He returned to Paris in February, 1908, after an absence of nine and a half months. The result of the expedition was, first, an elaborate study of the worship on T'ai shan, then 488 plates of sculptures (1909), and the first volume, in two parts (1913 and 1915) of the text with a further hundred plates.

In 1910-1911 he published in three volumes a French translation of five hundred stories from the Chinese Tripitaka. He later produced articles on the Honan Oracle-bones, on the Boxers, on the Mo-so, etc. But it is impossible to name here the variety of subjects in which he took the keenest and most intelligent interest and on which he wrote. A list of his works, great and small, which is presumably complete, will be found subjoined to M. Cordier's article in the *Journal Asiatique* for March-April, 1918. From that article the particulars in this sketch have been drawn; while the portrait included in this number was kindly presented to the *Review* by Madame Chavannes through M. Cordier.

The article referred to tells how, during the war, when ill himself, Chavannes abstained from milk, that children and

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invalids might have the more. He opened his house to French and Belgian refugees. He was exhausted also by his work on the papers left by his friend Petrucci, and he had no reserves of strength with which to withstand the latest attacks of disease. He was only 52, and though his health seems never to have been good, it might have been expected that he would have lived long and perhaps done better work than ever. But unhappily his premature death leaves us with his two largest works unfinished—*Se-ma Ts'ien* and the *Mission Archéologique*. Yet he accomplished enough to take rank as the foremost sinologue of his day.

THE EDITOR.

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TAOIST TALES

BY

MAJOR W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

PREFACE.

THE literature devoted to the lives and deeds of Taoist worthies may be truly described as voluminous, and it soon becomes apparent to the student that some guiding principle must be adopted in making selections from the bewildering mass at his disposal. A choice limited to themes commonly employed by Chinese artists for pictorial representation narrows the field to one of manageable proportions, and at the same time presents an opportunity of appealing to a wider public than that interested solely in the metaphysics of Taoism. The project of making a collection of hero-tales on these lines has for many years pleasantly occupied the writer's leisure hours, and a book was almost completed when the War started. Publication has of necessity been postponed.

At the invitation of the Editor the following extracts under the title of "Taoist Tales" are offered to readers of the new Review. These particular tales are chosen for contribution because they are represented either not at all or by meagre entries in Giles' *Biographical Dictionary* and Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual.*

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An explanation is due concerning the use of the word *hsien* as a generic term for these beings who by Taoistic means become emancipated from the limitations of mortal man. Western writers have variously named them Fairies, Immortals, Genii, Rishi—terms all open to serious objection. Their native name *hsien* seems most appropriate, and such therefore they are called in these articles. The writer has even ventured to coin the word "hsienship" in order to supply a much needed parallel to "buddhahood" of the sister religion.

Grateful acknowledgment of aid in translating several passages is made to the writer's friend Dr. Lionel Giles.

PART I.

Ch'in Kao 琴高

With exception of the Eight Immortals probably no Taoist theme is more frequently employed by Chinese and Japanese artists than Ch'in Kao riding astride a gigantic carp. It is one that offers pictorial possibilities eminently suited to their genius. And, besides, it conveys a meaning popular in Far Eastern tradition; for, apart from ideas of longevity associated with a *hsien*, the carp is generally recognized as an emblem of that much desired blessing owing to its proverbial powers of long life.

Special interest attaches to the following short account from the fact that it is a fair example of the stories contained in the famous *Lieh hsien chuan* 列仙傳, a work attributed to the statesman, author, and magician Liu Hsiang* 劉向 of the first century B. C. Though probably not actually from the pen of Liu Hsiang, this is certainly one of the most ancient collections of hero-tales of the *hsien*, and has formed the basis of many later books. The edition used here is dated 1668, and has seventy tales arranged in two *chüan*.

Translation.

Ch'in Kao, a native of Chao 趙, was a skilful player on the lute. He served in the retinue of Prince K'ang 康王

* See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 1300.

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of the Sung 宋 State. In the magic of Chüan 涓 [Tzŭ]* and P'êng 彭 [Tsu]† he was an adept. With no settled abode he wandered aimlessly about the country lying between Chi Chou‡ 冀州 and Cho Chün§ 涿郡 (one authority reads Yang 陽 in place of Cho) for more than 200 years.

By and by Ch'in Kao made an announcement that he was about to leave this world. Whereupon he plunged into the River Cho 涿水 and came out bringing with him a dragon's egg. Then, having appointed a certain day on which his disciples were to meet him, he disappeared. When the day came, the disciples, purified and fasting, waited beside the river, and erected a shrine in his honour. And in very truth he came, emerging from the water upon the back of a red carp; and then went and seated himself within the shrine.

On the morrow a great multitude collected to gaze on him there. He remained for a month and more before he again disappeared into the river.

T'AO AN-KUNG 陶安公

Dragons are often depicted as aerial steeds of the *hsien*. This brief account gives the legend connected with one such incident, and also embodies several ancient beliefs. The Scarlet Bird 朱雀 is one of the Four Supernatural Creatures 四神 that symbolize the Four Quadrants of Heaven 四宮. It stands for the South, and also, according to the notions of ancient Chinese philosophy, it is associated with the element Fire, and with the numeral 7 (See Forke, *Lun-Hêng*, II, p. 466 *seq.*). It is to be noted that T'ao An-kung was carried

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* A *hsien* also honoured with a biography in the *Lieh hsien chuan* of Liu Hsiang. It is there recorded that while fishing in a lotus pond he caught a carp in whose belly was hidden a charm—a story reminiscent of the finding by Lü Shang 呂尙 under similar circumstances of the jade *huang* 璜 inscribed with a prophetic statement about the founding of the Chou 周 dynasty. Chüan Tzŭ, like some other of the *hsien*, was able to control the winds and rain.

† See Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 1641.

‡ See Giles, *Dict.*, No. 937.

§ Near Peking. The Juju of Marco Polo.

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off towards the South-east, which together with the South are those points of the compass where the element Fire is located. One writer has identified the Scarlet Bird with the quail (De Saussure, *T'oung Pao*, 1909, p. 264 and 1910, p. 614), but archaic representations show a crested bird with prominent tail feathers—a figure that might well be meant for a peacock or one of the pheasants, and, indeed, is not unlike the traditional Chinese phœnix.

Translation from *Lieh hsien chuan* of Liu Hsiang.

T'ao An-kung held the post of Superintendent of the Foundry at Liu-an* 六安, where he kept many furnaces in full blast. From them one day flames shot forth and mounted upwards to the sky in sheets of purple fire, whereupon T'ao An-kung cast himself prostrate upon the ground beside his smelting crucibles, and begged for mercy. Hardly had he done so when the Scarlet Bird alighted upon a crucible and thus spake: "An-kung! An-kung! Thy flames have reached unto Heaven. On the 7th day of the 7th month I will send a red dragon to fetch thee."

When the appointed day arrived, the red dragon came in a deluge of rain, and An-kung rode off on its back towards the South-east. Thousands of the inhabitants of Liu-an had collected on one of the city walls to make votive offerings for a propitious journey; and all bade T'ao An-kung farewell.

Po Shih Shêng 白石生

Pictures of this *hsien* show him seated beside a cauldron in which bubbles a stew of stones. The tale illustrates one of the countless directions in which Taoist adepts are able to transcend the weaknesses of ordinary mortal flesh. It is derived from a book which, though bearing the same title *Lich hsien chuan*, is not identical with the work described above. This namesake of the classic attributed to Liu Hsiang was compiled by a Taoist called Huan-ch'u 還初, probably

* In Anhui.

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towards the end of the Yüan period. Unlike the older work it is illustrated, the fifty-five *hsien* whose lives it contains being portrayed in a corresponding number of woodcuts. It is a careless compilation; many passages that can be traced to their origin are found to be misquoted or mutilated, and textual errors are frequent. Perhaps these facts explain its exclusion from the 1,464 works comprising the official canon 道藏 described by Wieger. On the other hand, its convenient size, small price, frequent editions, and many illustrations have obtained for it a wide circulation; and it seems that this *Lieh hsien chuan* has been accepted as the popular handbook of Taoist legends. In many ways it offers a striking parallel to our chap-book of the eighteenth century. It may justly be regarded as a repository of folk-lore valuable to the student, and especially so with regard to the identification of Taoist themes represented in works of art.

TRANSLATION FROM *Lieh hsien chuan* OF HUAN-CH'U.

Po-Shih shêng was a pupil of the Venerable Chung Huang 中黃丈人. In the days of P'êng Tsu he was then more than 2000 years of age. Instead of wishing to ascend on high to the celestial abode of the *hsien*, he preferred a long life on earth, and regarded that as the acme of bliss. The Elixir of Gold 金液 was the most efficacious drug for his purpose, but, being poor, he could not obtain it. So he kept pigs and sheep, and after some ten years had amassed considerable wealth, which enabled him to buy the nostrum and drink it.

His habit was to boil white stones and use them as food. Later on he made his abode on the White Stone Mountain, and thus acquired the name of Po-Shih shêng ("Mr. White-stone"). Sometimes he would eat dried meat, at other times nothing at all.

He was able to walk as far as three or four hundred *li* in one day. His appearance was that of a man of 30. When anyone asked him why he did not wish to fly up into the sky, he answered "I'm not at all sure that one would have in heaven a better time than in this world."

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Ch'ên Nan 陳楠

The episode in the career of Ch'ên Nan generally chosen for pictorial representation is his magical performance in floating across a river standing upon his hat—the large wide-brimmed straw or bamboo-plaited hat worn by Chinese peasants. His appearance, tatterdemalion to a degree unusual even for a *hsien*, agrees with the description given by his biographers, and artists delight in accentuating his long, unkempt locks streaming in the wind, and his disreputably inadequate garb.

Another clue towards identification is the dragon sometimes shown being evoked by Ch'ên Nan. The genius that presides over the production of rain is seen emerging from the calabash of the *hsien*, or from its lair in the depths of a pool. The description in the following biography of this incident gives in a few words the essentials of an ancient and still existing national belief; and the significance of the "iron rod" is to be traced to the notion that the element "metal" produces water.* In times of drought there is still performed at a shrine near Peking, called "The Pool of the Black Dragon" *(hei-lung t'an* 黑龍潭*)*, a ceremony in which a government official casts into the spring that gives the fane its name a piece of iron in order to arouse the slumbering dragon to a sense of duty. The two examples are proof of the prevalence of this belief in widely separated parts of China.

Translation from *Lieh hsien chuan* of Huan-ch'u.

Ch'ên Nan (also called *(tzû)* Nan Mu 南木 and *(hao)* Ts'ui Hsü 翠虛). a native of the district town of Po-lo,† 博羅 was originally by trade a cooper and basket-maker.

Later in life he obtained from a Buddhist priest of P'i-ling 毘陵 a pinch of the Great Monad together with instructions for making the Philosopher's Stone; also from a

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* See Forke, *Lun-héng*, II p. 469 *seq.*

† Not far from Hui-chou 惠州, on the East River.

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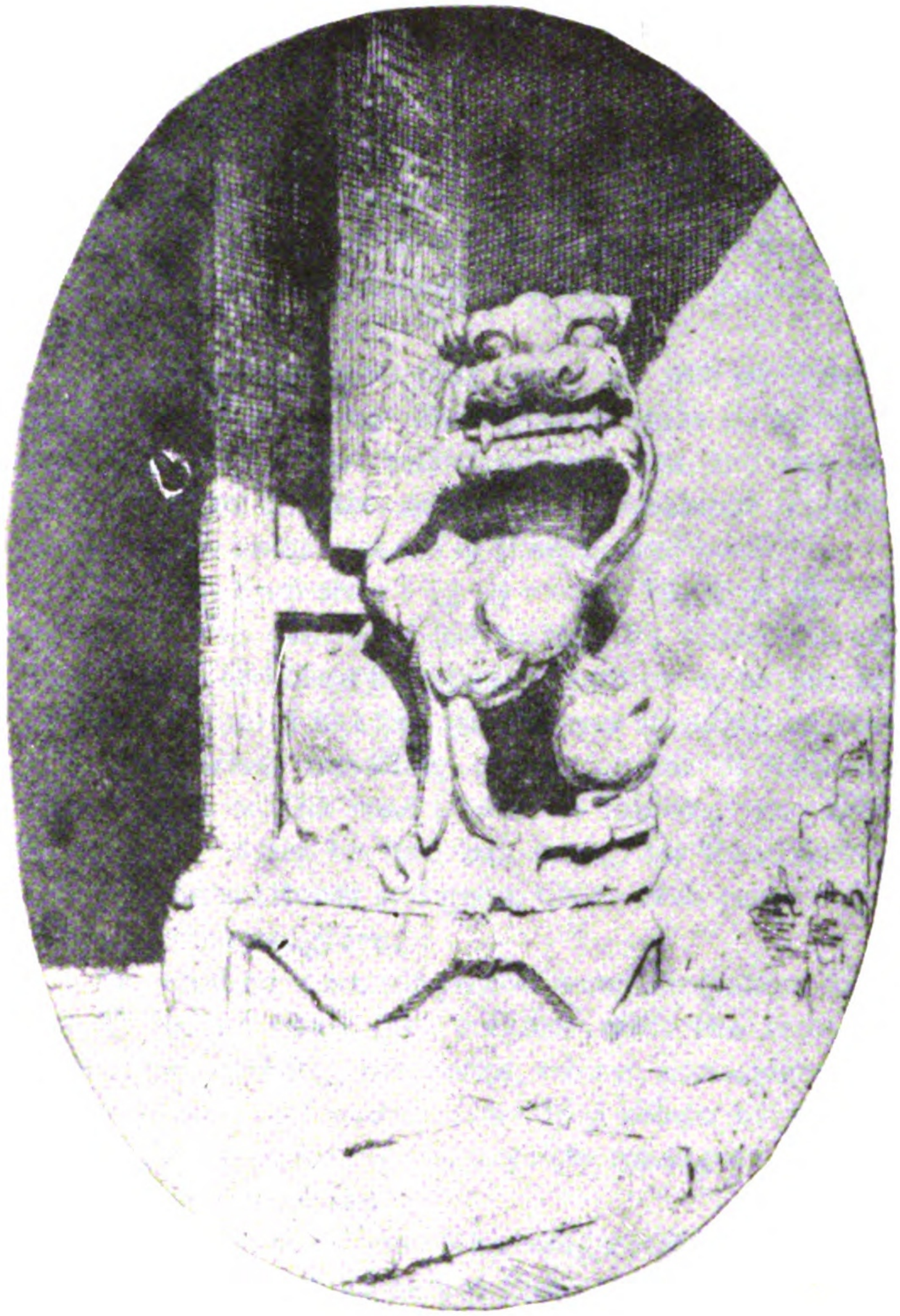

THE ENTRANCE TO SILVER ISLAND MONASTERY

From an Etching by W. Perceval Yetts

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divine being on Mount Li-mu* 黎姥山 he gained possession of a treatise called "The Cornelian Book of Thunder in Cloudless Skies."

Ch'ên Nan had the power of curing diseases with some medicine which he made by kneading earth and charmed water together into a bolus, and in consequence was nicknamed "Mud-pill Ch'ên" 陳泥丸 by his contemporaries.

With hair dishevelled, clothes tattered like a quail's tail and patched all over, and his person covered with filth, Ch'ên Nan used at times to travel four or five hundred *li* in one day. He liked eating dog's flesh, and not a day passed but he got dead drunk.

Once it happened that when he was at Ts'ang Wu† 蒼梧 the prefect was offering up prayers on account of the drought. Ch'ên Nan seized an iron rod and cast it into a pool to drive out the dragon that inhabited it; and in an instant there came a storm of thunder and rain.

Both at Sam-shan‡ 三山 and at Ta-i§ 大義, which he visited in the course of his travels, he found the river too swollen and turbulent for a boat to venture, so he just launched his wide-brimmed hat and passed over standing on that.

Once when travelling in the circuit of Ch'in-kuan he encountered on the road a band of robbers, who seized and killed him. After he had lain buried for three days and the robbers had scattered and gone, Ch'ên Nan came to life again and rose from his grave.

On another occasion, while wandering about at Ch'ang-sha 長沙, he came into collision with the retinue of the general commanding the troops, who in consequence had him arrested, and sent under escort to a prison at Yung Chou‖ 邕州. However, after a few days [he managed to escape], and returned to Ch'ang-sha.

At night-time Ch'ên Nan used to sit up instead of lying down. Things which he put into a bath of mercury were by

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° Near his native town.
† The prefectural city of Wu-chou 梧州 in Kuang-si.
‡ A town on the south bank of the Yangtse near Wuhu.
§ Near Lu-an 潞安 in Shansi.
‖ The present Nan-ning 南寧 in Kuang-si.

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next morning transformed into solid silver. It was he who imparted to Po Yü-ch'an* 白玉蟾 the method of making the Philosopher's Stone. During the *chia ting* period of the reign of Ning Tsung 寧宗 [about A.D. 1215] Ch'ên Nan jumped into the River Chang 漳, and thus departed this world and gained release from the trammels of the flesh.

[To be continued.]

* One of the *hsien* included in the *Lieh hsien chuan* of Huan-ch'u.

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A NOTE ON HEAD-FLATTENING

BY

E. T. C. WERNER

H. B. M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW, (RETIRED).

THE earliest immigrants from the West, said to have been the ancestors of the Chinese, who settled in North-west China about the 23rd century B. C. or before, appear to have practised the custom of flattening the heads of their infants. The desired shape was that a pyramid—broad and large in the lower part, tapering towards the top. The result would be the converse of the dome-shaped head and pointed lower face often associated in the West with an intellectual brain. Why the Chinese preferred the pyramid shape will be apparent at the end of this note.

The ideal shape of the Chinese head is shown in many of the portraits of their emperors and heroes. The early legendary and real emperors described in the *Bamboo Books* have this type of head. Huang Ti's forehead "tapered like that of dragon." Chuan Hsü had a head "as broad as a shield and pointed like a spear." Yao's face was "sharp above and broad below." Yü the Great had "a large mouth, and a tiger's nose, and a pointed head." Ch'êng T'ang's face was "broad and tapered upwards."

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The records of the Han dynasty state that a Corean tribe, the Ch'ên Han 辰韓, flattened the heads of their newly born children with stones. In the T'ang dynasty the Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan Tsang (A.D. 602-664) recorded that the custom existed in Kashgar. The Sulu Islanders, whose Sultan sent an embassy to China in A.D. 636, had the same custom. In the Sung dynasty the custom is noted as existing in Kashgaria, Manchuria, and Corea. The tapered head is conspicuous in the pictures of emperors and empresses of subsequent times, notably in those of the Yüan dynasty as depicted in the *Li tai ti wang hsiang* 歷代王帝像. The practice is also said to exist at the present day in Mongolia, but my enquiries concerning it were not answered in the affirmative, it being alleged that the shape of the head was "due to the climate," though it was admitted that Mongols like that shape of head, just as "the Africans like black faces, the Europeans fair skins, and the Chinese dark hair." The tapering head of the Manchu is too well known to be further emphasized.

While the ideal shape was thus represented in the head of the sovereign, the opposite shape was that associated with subject races, criminals, or rebels, whose heads are described as "square, not tapered above." (*Bamboo Books* and *Shan-hai ching*.)

The mention by a Chinese traveller of the existence of a custom in another country may mean either its presence or absence in his own, but, apart from this, the evidence is sufficient to enable us to conclude that the practice of head-flattening existed in the earliest periods of Chinese race-history, and has continued in vogue at various times, though in diminished degree, during subsequent ages.

The mutilation of head-flattening still exists among a large number of primitive peoples, especially in Africa, America, Australia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The process is usually either to press the skull of the infant between two boards, to tie it by means of cords and a pad on the forehead onto a single board, or to compress it by means of a slab of stone laid on the side or forehead of the soft skull whilst the infant is asleep. It should be noted that flattening the

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forehead in this way gives the same result by causing the back of the head to taper above it. The process is well shown in an illustration in a work by W. H. Furness on the Milanau tribe of Australia, and the result in the standard works on the customs of the natives of New Britain.

The Chinese character *shih* 碩 (composed of "stone" and "head"), meaning great, eminent, is supposed to allude not only to the practice itself but to the status of those who observed it, or the esteem in which the custom was held in ancient times.

In Peking, the pillows of babies are filled with small green beans (綠豆), millet (高粱), or old rice (老米). This custom has been in vogue for a very long time, and is said to make the heads of the babies "upright and round."

The reasons assigned for this at first sight senseless custom are various, but the most general one seems to be that it distinguishes the taper-heads from the square-heads. The former are therefore regarded as the superior, and in most cases it would be the king and his family who would be imitated, either out of fear, flattery, or fashion, as the case might be, just as imitation of the "lily feet" of an imperial concubine led to the mutilation of foot-binding in China. This view finds support in Reinaud's statement concerning the Arab tribes, that "the noble families attach great importance to this custom, in that thereby it is impossible for them to be confused with the Berber race," whom they conquered.

The fact already alluded to that the emperors and empresses had, or are represented as having, these tapering heads, shows, I think, that the wish to imitate the "ruling" shape of head was the cause of the adoption of the custom in China, or in Babylon or whatever place the ancestors of the Chinese lived in. That this may not have been altogether a mere caprice or passing fancy is shown by the recorded fact that having the right shape of head was on occasion a matter of life and death, as, when the Kuangsi insurgents massacred the Manchu garrison at Nanking, "they examined the heads of doubtful persons, decapitating those whose occipital bones were flat."

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Why the custom should have died out in China (if it has died out) or declined (which it certainly seems to have done), is not obvious. It may of course be that, through the inheritance of acquired characters, (a theory which, having followed the controversy from the beginning, I am prepared to defend, if necessary), the skulls of newly-born infants tended to assume the tapered form naturally, without artificial aid, or, on the other hand, it may have been found to increase the mortality of infants, and so was abandoned, or it may have been gradually disused on account of the trouble it entailed to the parents, or it may have been forbidden by law. I have, however, not been able to find any law dealing with the matter.

Be this as it may, the remarkable fact to which I would call attention is that, not only are the heads of the early rulers represented as having this tapering form, but the heads of the earliest mythical rulers taper (if the word may still be used) not to one point, but to two. This is the case in the representations of Fu Hsi, Shên Nung, Nü Kua, and many apotheosized beings, who are depicted with heads looking almost as if they had been cut into from above by an axe, in the middle of the skull.

Going still further back, we find in the representation of P'an Ku, the earliest "emperor" of all, the alleged progenitor of the Chinese people, not merely two points or bumps, as in the case of Shên Nung, etc., but two actual horns. In a work of mine, now in the press, I have pointed out, I believe for the first time, the significance of these horns. They point to the important conclusion that the Chinese regard themselves as descended from a pastoral race, and consequently not from any aborigines of China or Malaya; and I hold that they flattened their heads in order to identify themselves with this northern race of long-headed cavaliers and to differentiate themselves from the square-headed market-gardeners of the south, who were in their origin not really Chinese at all.

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A SHORT LIVED REPUBLIC

(Formosa, May 24th to June 3rd, 1895.)

BY

HOSEA B. MORSE, LL.D.

THE War between China and Japan began in July 1894 and was fought out in the north, in Korea and Manchuria. The treaty of Shimonoseki, closing the war, was signed on April 12th, 1895, one of its articles providing for the cession to Japan of the province of Formosa and its dependencies, the Pescadores and other islands lying around it.

Formosa itself was left undisturbed until the Japanese had completed all their military operations in Manchuria, the cockpit of the Far East; but the Chinese had felt it necessary to provide for the defence of this outlying province, and had locked up large forces there, of varying degrees of quality, none very good, and in numbers variously estimated from forty to sixty thousand infantry and artillery. In the end, however, almost simultaneously with the signing of the armistice for the north (March 30th), Formosa was brought within the field of war, and the Pescadores were attacked on March 23rd and fully occupied by the Japanese forces by noon of the 25th.

The Japanese stated, and it is believed truly, that there was no real fight, that over a thousand men came out and laid down their arms before the assault, and that the forts and

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other defences fell into their hands with insignificant loss. The Governor in his yamen at the provincial capital, Taipeh, was otherwise informed in reports which would not have disgraced that great master of bulletins, Napoleon, or his imitator, General Pflug, who, in the summer of 1904, went "luring them on." At noon of the 23rd, he was informed that eight ships had opened fire on the forts; and at noon of the 24th, that "two war ships were sunk yesterday and two disabled; attack by land and sea renewed to-day." On the 26th, he received a report "a third attack was made at 3 a.m. on the 25th, and repulsed; our troops behaved gallantly and the forts are firmly held." Hearing nothing further he became uneasy; and in the night of the 27th-28th he was informed on the authority of reports received from soldiers, about a thousand in number, who had escaped in boats to Formosa, that "the Japanese had rallied again after repeated repulses, and had captured the forts by noon of the 25th, with heavy loss to themselves and to the defenders." The task of reconciling the irreconcilable is left to the reader.

There was some uneasiness in Formosa, but no panic until, about the 31st, it became generally known that Formosa was not included in the armistice. Then the people felt that they had been abandoned by their Emperor, Son of Heaven and father of his people, and disloyal sentiments were openly expressed.

The pot simmered for half a month, but did not come to boiling point until April 19th, when it became definitely known that one of the conditions of the treaty of peace was the cession of Formosa. This aroused the resentment of the people and of the troops. The people resented being handed over to a hated power without, as far as they could see, any adequate cause,—they had suffered none of the evils of war in their own persons. The troops objected to being baulked of the fight for which, never having heard a shot fired in anger, they professed to yearn; and they disliked having to face the prospect of disbandment and loss of employment. People and troops together then gave their officials to understand, in unmistakable terms, that their lives would be forfeited before the Japanese could come, and that

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the coming of the Japanese would be resisted. The officials were further notified that they must on no account send away their families to safety on the mainland;* that all official funds and funds of officials, the latter being ill-gotten gains, either derived from the Japanese or stolen from the people or troops, must remain in the island to be at the disposal of the people; and that all war material must be given up in the same way. At times the foreign firms and banks were referred to as the receivers, for secret remittance, of the ill-gotten funds paid to the officials by the Japanese.

Amid all the angry feeling thus displayed, special courtesy was shown to the Governor's mother in consideration of her advanced age, eighty years, and she received permission to leave. As her personal effects were approaching the gate in the city wall on the 22nd, a cry was raised that treasure was concealed in them for clandestine removal, and an attack was made upon the soldiers of the Governor's bodyguard accompanying them. The escort fled, packages were opened and searched, and some looting was done. The escort returned to the attack, but were again driven off, and this time were followed to and into the Governor's yamen. The mob burst through the first and second gates in succession, but at the third and innermost gate a stand was made and the rioters were driven back. Between eighteen and thirty (accounts differ) were killed on both sides, and from fifty to sixty wounded. During the rest of the month of April there were frequent street rows in Taipeh, but no serious organized disturbance.

On April 21st, the German Admiral landed a force of 25 sailors to remain for the protection of foreign merchants and their trade. On May 2nd the British Admiral landed 30 marines for the same purpose, and further manned and armed a steam-launch to maintain communication between

* Officials in China are not natives of the province in which they exercise their functions.

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Twatutia and Tamsui.* The British gunboat *Redbreast* and the German *Iltis* remained in the port of Tamsui through the whole period. The foreign merchants at Twatutia were in a very peculiar position, and even under great apprehension of danger. One element of danger came from the fact that two firms, acting as agents for Hongkong banks, had received large sums of government funds on deposit, which they could not ship away, partly because of the injunction laid upon such shipment by "the people of Formosa," partly because the renewal of external hostilities would entail the expenditure of all available funds within the limits of Formosa itself. Apart from this, they were dangerously placed within a mile of the Governor's yamen, which would be the first object of attack in any popular uprising; while the reputed wealth of the busy mart of Twatutia would be an irresistible bait to a mob which had once got the upper hand. The foreign firms gave direct employment to thousands of Chinese, engaged in firing and packing the famed Formosan tea, and indirectly to many more thousands, picking and bringing the tea to market; and, disregarding the obvious dangers impending over them, and trusting to their guard of two or three score British and German sailors, they refused to desert their Chinese and kept their flag of trade flying to the breeze, thereby warding off the dangers which a more timorous policy would have precipitated upon them.

The month following April 22nd, was spent in manœuvering. The minds of the people, agitated by the thought that they were to be handed over to Japan, were soothed by constant public assurances, by proclamations, and by judicious disclosure of ultra-confidential telegrams,—all to the effect that Formosa would ultimately be saved to China, and that

* In the northern tip of Formosa note must be taken of the relative position of several places; inland was the capital, Taipeh, girt with the customary city walls, but with a small population; a mile off, on the river bank, was Twatutia, the busy mart and centre of the foreign tea trade; twelve miles to the West, at the mouth of the river, was the port, Tamsui; and thirty miles to the north-east was Kelung, the coal-shipping port, heavily fortified. Of the foreign community, the merchants were all at Twatutia, while the Consulate, Customs and Shipping agents were at Tamsui.

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foreign powers, one or another or several acting together, would surely intervene to prevent the cession. The intervention of Russia, France and Germany to enforce the retrocession of Liaotung (South-eastern Manchuria) was skilfully confused so as to appear to cover Formosa; but, beyond this, the island was actually offered, first to one European power, and then to a second, to be held as a colony or protectorate on conditions similar to those on which Cyprus was held for the suzerain Turkish power. The governments of the West were not found willing to pull the Formosa chestnut from the fire, but the spirits of the people of Formosa were kept up in this way, and the resolve to resist a change of governors became intensified. There was method and planning as well. The ratifications of the treaty of Shimonoseki were exchanged on May 8th; the Imperial government being thereby committed to carrying the cession through; but during the following week Formosa received reinforcements, in the shape of 2500 fresh levies of Cantonese, who came with the knowledge that a fight was ahead of them. Further supplies of ammunition were also received; and it seems probable that there was in China an aggressive war party bent on resisting to the last the statesmanlike measures of Li Hung-chang in negotiating the treaty of Shimonoseki, and so ending a war which had brought such disaster to the empire.

On May 16th, a deputation of the gentry and people of Formosa waited upon the Governor in his yamen, and explained their plans in detail, demanding the reins of government, arms and money. Later in the day they issued a declaration of their intentions, which they also communicated, with the expression of much loyalty, to the Imperial government of China.

Finally all preparations were made, and on May 24th, 1895, the independence of the Republic of Formosa was proclaimed, and its flag flung to the breeze,—azure, a tiger *or*, *regardant*, with a long and very aggressive tail lashing the air.*

* The sole surviving authentic flag of the republic is in the writer's possession.

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The young republic was thus launched. The Governor was "elected" President, a post he found it impossible to decline, so pressing were the gentry and people; a parliament was already in session, its members receiving the munificent honorarium of one shilling a day for each day of actual attendance; and the people were smilingly satisfied with themselves. Nor had the outer world, excepting always, of course, Japan, any cause for discontent; China had abandoned the island in ratifying the treaty of Shimonoseki, and the Western powers would of course welcome the assistance to be given them in their chivalrous desire to save Formosa from the clutches of Japan. Curiously enough, however, not one of the powers of the world accepted the part assigned to each by their youngest sister. Europe was strangely apathetic; the great republic of the West was quite unconcerned by the spread of democratic institutions; two Japanese ships of war, which anchored off Tamsui on the 25th, witnessed, with no visible disquietude, the ceremony of raising the tiger flag over the forts; and China duly proceeded to fulfil her obligation to cede the island.

The Imperial Commissioner delegated for that purpose, Li Ching-fang, (in 1907-10 Chinese Minister to the court of St. James), accompanied by Mr. John W. Foster (formerly U. S. Secretary of State), who had acted as legal and diplomatic adviser through all the peace negotiations, arrived off Tamsui on the morning of June 1st; and, having there received from Mr. Morse a full account of the events of the preceding ten days, steamed off at once to Kelung, where he formally completed the act of cession on the Japanese Admiral's flagship. By this time the higher military officers and all the civilian officials holding the Imperial commission, with the single exception of the Governor-President, had left Formosa and returned to the mainland.

The Japanese had learned of the declaration of independence of the new republic (the ships had, on May 26th, witnessed the raising of the tiger flag to the accompaniment of a salute of twenty-one guns), and were prepared to take by force what might not be granted peacefully. On the 30th they landed at Aotikong, a point on the coast about twenty

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miles south of Kelung, a force of three thousand men of the Imperial Guard. These troops had been kept in reserve in Japan and had reached the front in Manchuria too late for the fighting; they had then, with nothing but winter equipment, been hurried off to Formosa, and we may assume that the prospect of a fight was not unwelcome to them. A fight they had, and a good one. During the whole of May 31st a ridge running to Petou Point which blocked their way, was firmly held by the Cantonese referred to above, who had arrived in mid-May. Armed, as were most of the Chinese in Formosa, with Mausers of an old mark (.450 bore) and smoky powder, while the Japanese had their Murata small bore rifle and fired smokeless powder, these Cantonese put up a good fight, and retired at nightfall only because, *more sinico*, their commissariat had left them absolutely without food or water, during the day or for continuing the fight. The Japanese admitted a loss of 17 killed, and picked up 100 Chinese dead on the field of battle. Except for a fifteen-minute tussle outside Kelung on the morning of June 3rd, this was the last stand made by those brave troops, who had vowed that never, never would they be the slaves of the Japanese, and that never would they permit the fair island of Formosa and its kindly inhabitants to fall victims to the barbarians of the Eastern Sea.

The forts at Kelung were garrisoned by a force of ten thousand men (Chinese arithmetic) and contained one 12-inch, two 10-inch and ten 7-inch guns (actual fact) besides secondary pieces; and they were occupied by the Japanese at noon of the 3rd without opposition. In the military command of North Formosa, including Taipeh and Tamsui, there were additional troops numbering nominally between ten and fifteen thousand.

The fabric of government dissolved and there was a general débâcle. By the morning of June 4th, in Northern Formosa, not one official was at his post, not one officer was with his troops, not one of the twenty and more thousand of soldiers was in his ranks; all authority was at an end, pandemonium reigned, and the law-abiding were at the mercy of a lawless soldiery, supported by the roughs of the towns.

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that time not a single mutineer, so far as could be seen, turned the eye of desire in our direction; and the men of my staff, who were continually strolling up and down, chatting with the soldiers, reported that they had heard not one angry, or even suspicious, word regarding us.

During that time trade (the shipment of tea) went on as usual. The mine field had been closed on the taking of the Pescadores (March 25th) and ships lay outside the bar; but lighters were allowed access to them, subject only to the right of search exercised by the soldiery, to ensure that no officials or persons of wealth should make their escape, and that no government funds or material of war should be shipped away. Ordinarily in China the Customs do not handle the revenue,* which is actually received by the goverment banker; but this functionary was a refugee on the *Arthur*, and during these days, for the first and only time in the history of the Chinese Customs Service, the Commissioner himself received the revenue. On the day of the greatest commotion, June 5th, I took in, as export duty on tea shipments, about ten thousand dollars in drafts on Amoy, and four thousand five hundred dollars in coin. These last were my only difficulty; I could not allow the chink of coin to be heard, it was dangerous for the shippers to carry back on their persons coin they had once brought into my office, and I could only take in the unopened bags without verifying the contents. My own official funds had been sent for safety to Amoy, and the forty-five hundred dollars I took on the 5th came in usefully during the following night.

When the infantry abandoned their claim on the *Arthur*, at noon of the 5th, the artillery in garrison at the fort sent to intimate that they had not been satisfied, and that the ship could not leave. They furthur intimated that they would come the next morning with field pieces to sink the ship. During the afternoon a deputation from the ship came to ask my intervention to get them away. I did not see my way at the time, but I sent for the commandant of the fort and had

* The Customs stations around Hongkong and Macao are an exception to this rule; there the Commissioner controls the collection. Since 1911 the rule has been changed.

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a talk with him. I found him, admitting his premises, very reasonable; he said that his men had no money, that they were out of hand and he had no actual control over them, but that he would guarantee with his head (in Asiatic countries this is to be taken literally) that, if they had money, they would thankfully and quietly disperse; and he named five thousand dollars as the sum required to ransom the ship with all on board.

That evening, toward 9 o'clock, I was called back to my house (my time was naturally spent mainly at the scene of my responsibilities, the Custom House), and found there the government banker and His Excellency General Tcheng Ki-tong, Minister of Foreign Affairs for the defunct Republic of Formosa, and author of a work entitled "Les Chinois peints par eux-mêmes" and other books. They had come from the *Arthur* to beg me to get her out of port, and so save the many lives on board. I asked where the Governor was; they did not know, so they said. I then asked where the Governor's nephew was; this, truly enough, they said they did not know. (I must here explain that the Governor had stationed his nephew at Tamsui to act as confidential intermediary in matters of common concern to us both, and that I therefore felt as much bound to help him as I did the Governor; and that I had previously promised protection for the immediate family—the women and children—of both the Governor and his nephew). As my intervention in this matter might bring danger to the foreigners at Tamsui and at Twatutia (men only, as all the women and children had been sent for safety to Amoy) I felt bound first to consult with the only Consul accessible, the British, before committing myself, and we agreed that active intervention would be unwise, especially as the British first-class cruiser *Spartan* was expected to arrive the next morning. (Some days, in fact, elapsed before she arrived.) Returning to my house, I found the situation changed. I found there the Governor's nephew, a refugee in his underclothing, come to demand my protection; and he assured me that his uncle was actually concealed and in disguise on the *Arthur*. My hesitation vanished and I decided to take such steps as I could. On

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our way down to the Custom House General Tcheng amused me by ejaculating "Peut-on croire que telles choses sont possibles dans un pays civilisé?" The civilisation had not been so apparent to me as to him.

My first task was to count, for the first time, the money I had in hand, and this I found to be four thousand five hundred dollars; this was made up to five thousand dollars from private funds. Envoys were then sent to the fort: Mr. Waters, ex-bombardier in the Royal Artillery, ex-public house keeper and pugilist, ex-Instructor in Artillery to the Republic of Formosa, and now a refugee on the *Arthur;* and Mr. Nightingale, a member of my staff, having a clear head and a good knowledge of Chinese, who pluckily volunteered for the service. The terms offered were five thousand dollars (£500) cash down on my being assured that the mine wires were cut and on my receiving the percussion locks of the great guns in the fort. This was at 10 o'clock. An anxious time followed, as I kept solitary guard over my heap of dollars. Midnight came without the return of the envoys; but half an hour later I saw, approaching me through the gloom, three figures, the two envoys accompanied by the commandant of the fort in person. There had been a stormy discussion of over two hours, during which the envoys were many times in extreme danger; but finally the terms were accepted, subject to the modification that one 42-ton gun, directly commanding the passage over the bar, should be kept in commission until the money was actually in hand. The commandant further stipulated for himself that he should be put on board the *Arthur;* this I undertook to do, expressly disclaiming any responsibility for what might happen to him thereafter. At 3 a.m. the wires were cut and I received the percussion locks of all the guns but one, and I then paid over the money; and at 4 a.m. I had the satisfaction of receiving the percussion lock of the last gun, and of placing the whole in security in the bonded warehouse. The tide did not serve until later in the morning, and at 8 a.m. the *Arthur* was fired on from a battery of field pieces some 3,000 yards distant on the opposite, the south, shore of the river. This battery was silenced by the German gunboat *Iltis* (afterwards wrecked on

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the Shantung Promontory), and at 8.30 the *Arthur* steamed over the bar without further incident.

In this way I parted with money which it was dangerous to keep in my possession, and with it bought a fort, with one hundred and sixty tons of artillery and its magazines filled. I remained its proud possessor for three whole days, but did not trouble myself to take seizin.

On the 4th toward evening it occurred to me to look to the maintenance of my telegraphic communication with the mainland; and on my way to the telegraph office I met the operator, dressed in his best and with a white face, going to find a place on the *Arthur*. I reasoned with him and, among other arguments, assured him that I would give him full protection—the same protection which I had organized for the Chinese of my staff and their families in the event of imminent personal danger; and in the end he agreed to stand by me and stick to his post. The next morning I found him in his office, amid all the turmoil of the rifle firing then going on; but by noon the noise and commotion, and the feeling of apprehension which filled the air, had got on his nerves, and again I met him just in time to prevent him from giving me the slip, and again I succeeded in persuading him to stand by us. From this time however I gave him more efficient protection, and two or three days later, tapped the wires and installed his instruments in my own house. In this way communication with the mainland was maintained through all the troubles. Moreover, as the office at the Foochow end of the cable refused to receive messages except when transmitted by this operator, whose touch on the key they recognized, the Japanese authorities after the occupation could communicate with their own government only through "me and my operator."

During the day of June 6th Tamsui was filled with a quiet and hungry crowd of wandering and disorganized Chinese soldiers. Some had money, others had none; but all seemed to recognize that rioting was dangerous, and that their play-time was over; and, except for the occasional playful discharge of rifles, all was quiet. By the 7th they had generally drifted away and spread over the country. On

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the 6th a characteristic incident occurred. The leader of a body of about three hundred men came to me and demanded food; they had money, but the shops were shut and they did not wish to take by force, I offered to feed them if they would lay down their arms; to this they demurred, as it would leave them defenceless to their fellow soldiers. I undertook to protect them, whereupon they assented and gave up their rifles and ammunition; and they received the promised protection through two members of my staff, stationed right and left of the building they occupied, and armed only with the prestige of the white man. The scene was curious; inside thc cordon were three hundred unarmed men contentedly cooking their rice and eating it; outside there came from time to time bodies of armed men, eyeing hungrily their fortunate comrades inside, but turning away slowly before the warning forefinger of the unarmed guard. It was a piece of bluff, but we played the game of bluff through the whole of that time.

These were two only of many incidents which characterized those days, and which relieved the strain of their tragedy by giving it an aspect which approached closely to opera bouffe. During that period it was a matter of pride to belong to that community. We were a miscellaneous gathering of British, French, Americans, Germans and Danes; the merchants at Twatutia were actually under the protection of the guards which had been landed; the Tamsui residents had two gunboats for their protection, though no guards were sent on shore; but any faltering in the residents, any tendency in any individual to show the white feather, or even to show a white face, would have precipitated the dangers which were impending over them at every moment, and would certainly have brought on a great disaster.

The Japanese forces reached Taipeh at daybreak of June 7th. At nightfall of the 8th Tamsui saw their advance guard, consisting of sixteen wearied cavalry men, marching on foot and leading their still more wearied horses; and the main body arrived during the forenoon of the 9th. The Chinese soldiery were by this time scattered over the country, carrying havoc and ruin with them; the troops of Japan, campaigning

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under a burning sun in heavy winter equipment, followed them up, fighting where fighting was called for, gathering them in where there was no fight left in them, and gradually restored a rough semblance of order in the north. In the south the organized soldiery, under Liu Yung-fu, remained in a state of revolt and flaunted their flag undisturbed, until the change of the monsoon, in October, allowed of the landing of a Japanese force to handle them. They then crumpled up and were heard of no more.

This is the story of a short-lived republic. It is also, though of such recent date, a story of old China. The troops, of whom the story is told, were those of the old model, without discipline or training, with defective arms and spent ammunition, and with their pay ever in arrear. Their comrades in the north, the men of Li Hung-chang's army, were better disciplined, better armed and more regularly paid; yet during that war, whenever they met the forces of Japan, they suffered defeat and were driven in headlong rout. On this rubble foundation is now in course of erection a new model army, which has been subjected to keen criticism during its autumn manœuvres of the past few years, and has been declared by competent judges to be an efficient force. In the war of 1894-95 China's Manchurian army turned to a shattered spear, and her Formosan army pierced the hand which leaned on it; but the new model army now forming will, it may be hoped, show a different record.

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NOTE ON A SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN CHINA

BY

SIR E. DENISON ROSS, K.C.I.E., LL.D., ETC.

FROM the earliest times, ever since Embassies from foreign countries were received in China, as far back indeed as the Chou dynasty, there had existed in China a sub-department known as the Hung-lu, which dealt with the ceremonial at the audiences of ambassadors from foreign courts. Under the enterprising Emperor Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty in 1402, this office was revived under the name of Ssŭ-i-Kuan,* or 'the office of the foreigners', and placed under the superintendence of the Han-Lin academy of sciences. One of its principal functions was to superintend the training of interpreters in order that they might converse with foreign ambassadors and be able to read their credentials and other documents. Indeed we may say that in 1407 the Ming Emperor created in China a school of oriental languages such as we have recently started in London.

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* 四夷館 under Yung Lo, changed in the Manchu dynasty to 四譯館 having the same sounds. 四夷 meant *all* foreigners (cf. 四海 etc.) but 四 譯 meaning *four translations* was hardly a correct title. See HIRTH, Jl. N. C. B. R. As. Soc. XXII, p. 203. [Ed.—*New China Review*].

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In the first instance eight languages were taught, namely Mongolian (Ta-tzŭ), Manchu, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Persian, Uighur, Burmese and Pa-yi, a Shan language spoken on the borders of Yŭn-nan. These languages, in the subsequent history of the School were increased and varied. A MS. in the Morrison collection in University College, dated 1549, contains vocabularies in ten languages, only Persian and Uighur being identical with the first list.

Thirty-eight directors were selected out of the educational department of the Board of Ceremonies, and these as well as the students were provided with a monthly allowance of rice as a stipend. Annual examinations were held, rewards given in the shape of promotion, while the utterly inefficient students were expelled from the college. Six years of successful study entitled the student to the right of a translator. Unsuccessful students were allowed a second trial after a term of three years. A student who had failed on three successive occasions was expelled. Under the first Manchu Emperor a curious rule was introduced, namely that whenever any student had to appl·· ·· the Board for leave on account of the death of one of his parents his monthly stipend was suspended.

A number of copies of the vocabularies used in this Institution exist in the libraries of Europe. They contain as a rule from six to nine hundred words and expressions arranged according to subject, such as Man, Animals, Domestic, etc. The original script is given and this is transcribed into Chinese sounds and followed by the meaning in Chinese. These vocabularies as they stand cannot have carried the student very far in his studies, and the expressions apart from their text are often unintelligible. I found in the British Museum a vocabulary of the Uighur Turkish language, and although the separate words were quite intelligible, there were many idiomatic expressions both in the Turkish and in the Chinese equivalents which were ambiguous. I was fortunate enough, however, to discover a clue to these terms in the MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which contained not vocabularies but a series of model letters and passports in Turkish and Chinese. I there found all the expressions

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which had puzzled me in the vocabulary, and, being in their proper setting, they became intelligible.

In the various libraries of Europe bilingual texts are to be found representing the credentials presented by tribute missions from Central Asian rulers to the court of China. With them before one the obscure expressions become clear. They are addressed from such towns as Hami, Turfan and Khojo. They contain an enumeration of the tribute gifts offered, and curiously enough they also contain a list of the articles the ambassadors desired to receive from the Chinese court for their own masters. Here is an example:—"Ta-chu-ting, envoy from the country of T'ienfang (Mecca) respectfully lays before His Majesty the Great Ming Emperor the following articles of tribute, viz, 150 pounds of jadestone and 40 western horses, and requests as a gift of Imperial favour supplies of gauze, satin, tea, porcelain bowls and porcelain dishes." On receipt of this memorial an Imperial rescript was received saying that the matter had been noted by His Majesty. It is curious to note from these memorials that tea, which was first brought to Europe towards the end of the 16th century, appears to have been in demand in Arabia long before that period.

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LE GRAND PÉLERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

BY

HENRI DORÉ S. J.

Avant Propos.

Le Dragon est l'emblème de la Chine. On a quelquefois représenté la configuration de cet empire par un Dragon, dont les replis tortueux délimitent ses dix-huit provinces: sa gueule ouverte forme le delta du fleuve Bleu, sa langue, c'est l'île de Tsong-ming; le territoire du Nan Tong-tcheou 南通州 forme sa mâchoire supérieure, et les cinq montagnes au midi de cette ville figurent les dents du monstre. Enfin, la formation récente du pays de Hai-men est comme le prolongement de sa lèvre supérieure. Le R. P. Havret a décrit l'île de Tsong-ming, ou la langue; aujourd'hui nous étudierons les dents, c'est-à-dire les cinq montagnes.

La soudure de ces rochers au continent est intimement liée à l'histoire du nouveau terrain d'alluvion émergé derrière les "Portes de la mer," et qui pour ce motif a pris le nom de Hai-men 海門 (Porte de la mer).

On appelait de ce nom les immenses baies, ouvertes entre les cinq îlots rocheux, et donnant accès vers la haute mer. De plus le pélerinage bouddhique de

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Lang shan 狼 山, (la montagne du Loup), est une page d'histoire vécue de la religion en Chine, et mêlée à d'autres faits historiques qui ne sont point sans intérêt.

Tel est le double but de cette petite étude, qui m'a été facilitée par l'heureuse découverte d'un antique ouvrage, tiré à un fort petit nombre d'exemplaires, et presque introuvable à notre époque.

Le titre de l'ouvrage est : Nan Tong ou-chan-tsiuen-tche 南通五山全志, Annales complètes des cinq montagnes du Nan-Tong-tcheou. (Cette ville est designée sous le nom de Nan Tong 南通, c'est-à-dire Tong-tcheou méridional, pour la différencier du Tong-tcheou septentrional, près de Pé-king). Les Annales en question comprennent 5 volumes repartis en 20 livres ou kiuen. Ils furent imprimés à Nan-king, vers l'année 1752, sous le règne de l'empereur Kien-long 乾隆, comme en témoigne la préface ; c'est le seul document sur la date de l'impression. En outre, les dates consignées dans l'ouvrage ne dépassent jamais la 13e année de ce règne, c'est-à-dire 1749.

Ces Annales ont été écrites par des lettrés du pays connaissant à merveille les vieilles Annales de leur préfecture, et par le célèbre Lieou Ming-fang 劉名芳 du Fou-kien 福建, qui passa de longues années à Lang-chan 狼山, et à Jou-kao 如皋 pour étudier minutieusement tous les vestiges du passé et la topographie des lieux.

Les Annales de-Tong-tcheou de Jou-kao et de Tai-hing 泰興 nous ont ausssi été d'un grand secours pour élucider les questions moins claires.

Enfin, les recherches personelles que nous avons pu faire sur les lieux mêmes, et les conversations avec les bonzes, ont complété les notions ici exposées.

CHAPITRE I.

NOTES HISTORIQUES ET TOPOGRAPHIQUES SUR LES CINQ MONTAGNES.

Article I.—*Noms et historique des cinq montagnes.*

En remontant le cours du fleuve Bleu, (le Yang-tse-kiang 揚子江), avant d'arriver à la hauteur de Tong-tcheou,

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première station des vapeurs, les voyageurs remarquent sur la rive gauche cinq montagnes, disposées en arc irrégulier, dont le lit du fleuve serait la corde. Ces anciens îlots rocheux,* connus sous le nom générique des "cinq montagnes," sont situés à environ deux lieues françaises au sud de la ville, et paraissent surgir de terre, au milieu d'une plaine basse, dont la limite se confond avec l'horizon.

Ils formaient anciennement comme les montants gigantesques des portes d'entrée du grand fleuve dans la mer de l'Est, et ces larges baies s'appelaient les "Portes de la mer," Hai-men 海門†.

Leur importance au point de vue militaire n'échappait point aux ennemis de la Chine, et en particulier aux Japonais, qui, comme nous le verrons, y firent de fréquentes descentes à main armée. Le gouvernement chinois, pour assurer la sécurité de ce poste d'avant-garde, à l'embouchure du fleuve central de l'empire, en avait confié la garde à l'un de ses maréchaux.

Dans l'énumeration de leurs noms nous commencerons par la pointe N.O. du secteur, pour redescendre vers le Sud-Est, en suivant le cours du fleuve.

1°. Ma ngan-chan 馬鞍山, Montagne de la "Selle de Cheval," ainsi nommée parce que le milieu est surbaissé, tandis que les deux extrémités se relèvent, en forme d'une selle chinoise.

La tradition rapporte que l'empereur Soei Yang-ti 隋煬帝, 605—617 ap. J.C., partant pour une expédition contre le Liao-tong 遼東, aborda au pied de cette montagne et y fit paître son cheval.

Dans la suite on l'appella *Sien-niu-chan* 仙女山, Montagne de l'Immortelle, parce qu'une femme venue de Long-chou 龍舒 y vécut en solitaire, dans une grotte. Plus tard, après sa mort, on la vénéra comme une immortelle, une tour fut élevée en son honneur, la montagne reçut alors le nom de Ta-chan 塔山, Montagne de la Tour.

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* Cf. *Ou-chan tsiuen-tche* 五山全志, liv. I, p. 2.
† *Annales de Tong-tcheou*, liv. III, p. 2.

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2°. Hoang-gni-chan 黃泥山, Montagne de "Terre jaune;" on lui a donné ce nom parce que le rocher est recouvert d'une couche de terre jaune.

3°. Lang-chan 狼山, "Montagne du Loup," ainsi appelée en raison de sa forme, qui rappelle la figure d'un loup, assis sur son arrière train et la tête dressée; ou plutôt, suivant une vieille légende, parce qu'elle était le repaire d'un loup blanc, très redoutable, que le bonze indien Seng-kia-ta-cheng 僧伽大聖 dompta miraculeusement et expulsa.

Sous Song T'ai-tsong 宋太宗, pendant la période Choen-hoa 淳化, 990-995, un préfet de Tong-tcheou, nommé Yang-kiun 楊均, changea le caractére lang 狼, loup, en celui de lang 琅, corail, et ceci pour deux raisons. La premiére, c'est que ce second nom est plus poétique, la seconde, c'est que sur un de ses sommets on trouve des pierres violet-rouge, qui ressemblent à du corail tirant sur le violet. A partir de cette époque on écrivit souvent: Lang-chan 琅山, la Montagne de Corail. La véritable raison de ce changement, ce qu'il se gardait bien de dire, c'est que ce nom de Lang (Loup), lui paraissait de mauvais augure. Son nom de famille était Yang 楊, homophone de yang 羊 la brebis; or le loup est l'ennemi de la brebis, c'était évidemment pour lui le présage d'un grand malheur, et il importait de trouver un habile expédient pour parer le coup! Il s'en tira en homme d'esprit.

4°. Kien-chan 劍山, Montaigne du "Glaive," son flanc rocheux légérement penché et comme affilé par le frottement des vagues, fait penser à la lame d'un sabre, posé obliquement sur son revers et le tranchant tourné vers le ciel.

On l'a nommée aussi quelquefois: Tao-jen-chan 刀刃山, Montagne du "Tranchant du Glaive." Une vieille légende raconte que les rois-dragons des eaux venaient aiguiser leurs sabres sur ce rocher, au temps où ils avaient établi leur camp sur la montagne de Kiun-chan 軍山.

5°. Kiun-chan 軍山, Montagne de l'"Armée" ou du "Camp;" sur cette falaise les rois-dragons des eaux avaient établi leur campement à la frontière de leurs états, le Kiang et la mer.*

* *Les vieilles Annales de Jou-kao*, liv. II, p. 1, notent que l'empereur T'sin-che-hoang y fit camper son armée l'an 225 av. J.C.

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Cette montagne est restée tristement célebre par la trahison du grand chef des "Mangeurs d'herbes," nommé Wang Tchao-yng. Il promit aux Tchang-mao 長毛, Rebelles aux long cheveux, de leur livrer le pays au Nord du Kiang. Au jour marqué il devait se trouver sur cette montagne avec quinze cents de ses partisans, et des feux allumés sur le faîte devaient servir de signal aux révoltés. Le complot échoua et le traître paya de sa tête son indigne marché.

Voici comment ces événements sont racontés par le P. de Carrére, missionnaire à Hai-men à cette époque. Les détails sont consignés dans la 506 Lettre des Nouvelles Missions de Chine.—(Autographié, Paris).

Les feux devaient être allumés le 14 Juillet, 1863, mais le 13 au soir le complot fut découvert d'une manière toute providentielle. Le chef principal des conspirateurs, nommé Wang, chargea un de ses affidés d'aller remettre ce jour-là au "Mangeur d'herbes" nommé Ki, un message lui enjoignant d'allumer pendant la nuit les feux sur le sommet de la montagne. Le courrier, qui ne connaissait pas personnellement le conspirateur Ki, s'informe du lieu de sa demeure; on lui désigne la maison d'un petit mandarin militaire appelé Ki, comme le "mangeur d'herbes": il y entre et lui remit sa lettre. Le mandarin, en homme habile, ne manifeste pas le moindre étonnement à la lecture de cette pièce, et exploite parfaitement la méprise du courrier. Il lui remit même trois piastres pour lui délier la langue et lui soutirer tous les renseignements désirables sur la nouvelle conspiration. L'envoyé répondit à tout avec d'autant plus de détails qu'il ne se doutait nullement de l'erreur dans laquelle il était tombé. Quand le mandarin eut tous les renseignements qu'il jugeait nécessaires pour faire échouer sûrement le complot, il s'adressa une dernière fois au conspirateur. "Tu t'es mal adressé," lui dit-il, "je suis le mandarin militaire Ki, et non le 'mangeur d'herbes' à qui Wang t'avait chargé de remettre cette lettre." Sur le champ on lui trancha la tête. Tous les chefs militaires furent avertis de se tenir prêts à saisir avant la nuit les "mangeurs d'herbes" de Tong-tcheou et des environs. Un détachement nombreux eut ordre de cerner la montagne, pour en défendre l'approche, et empêcher que les feux qui

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devaient servir de signal à la révolte ne fussent allumés pendant la nuit. Les Impériaux envahirent les maisons des rebelles, massacrèrent femmes et enfants, et l'on vit alors des scènes de carnage dignes des plus mauvais jours. Des sept chefs de l'insurrection, qui tous portaient le titre d' "Empereur," un seul fut pris: ce fut le nommé Wang, l'auteur de la lettre adressée au conspirateur Ki. Le Père de Carrère le rencontra au moment où les satellites des mandarins le conduisaient en prison. Jugé et condamné à la peine capitale, le malheureux eut à subir d'affreuses tortures. Les bourreaux lui arrachèrent les seins avec des tenailles de fer, lui coupèrent les bras aux coudes et les jambes à la hauteur des genoux, finalement on lui trancha la tête. Son épouse qui prenait fièrement le nom d'"impératrice" fut soumise aux mêmes supplices que son mari. L'insurrection était anéantie, au moins dans le district de Hai-men et Tong-tcheou. Mais si le midi de la presqu'île jouit de la paix, il n'en fut pas de même au Nord de la province. Les "mangeurs d'herbes" y levèrent l'étendard de la révolte et se rendirent maîtres de la ville de Sui-tcheou.

Au pied de ces cinq rochers solidement plantés à la jonction du Kiang et de la mer, nous assistons au combat d'un des plus grands fleuves du monde contre sa redoutable voisine, et nous verrons son travail persévérant remporter le triomphe final. Avec une inlassable constance, pendant des siècles, le fleuve charrie des alluvions nouvelles, les accroche couche par couche autour des cinq poteaux d'attente, et finit à la longue par élever une solide jetée contre laquelle viendront se briser les vagues furieuses de sa puissante ennemie. Cette digue eut pour résultat de détourner les courants; alors dans la zône tranquille le long de la côte les eaux se débarrassèrent de leur limon boueux, la couche de sédiment s'épaissit graduellement, des îlots sablonneux émergèrent à la surface, puis se relièrent les uns aux autres. Environ neuf siècles sont passés, et aujourd'hui la nouvelle terre de Hai-men est peuplée d'un million et demi d'hommes. Cet évènement mérite une place dans l'histoire des évolutions du globe.

Il n'est point sans intérêt de savoir l'époque où s'opèra la soudure de ces hautes falaises au vieux continent.

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D'abord il est certain que toutes cinq étaient entourées d'eau à l'origine. Les Annales le disent clairement,* leur flanc Nord-est était battu par les lames de la mer et le long de leur base Sud-ouest coulaient les eaux du Yang-tse. "En 669, sous le règne de Tang Kao-tsong 唐高宗, quand fut bâtie la première pagode de la montagne du Loup, on ne pouvait y aborder qu'en bateau."† "Avant la période Hi-ning, 1068-1078, sous Song Chen-tsong 宋神宗 Lang-chan resta toujours un îlot séparé du continent, et ce fut pour ce motif qu'on avait donné à la vieille pagode le nom de Tse-hang-yuen 慈航院,‡ temple de l'île sous le vocable de la Misèricorde (c'est-à-dire de Koan-yng). Le caractère hang 航 designe un lieu qui n'est abordable qu'en bateau. "Ce ne fut qu'après la période Yuen-fong 元豐 1078-1086, que peu à peu les alluvions nouvelles formèrent des îlots qui émergèrent au-dessus des eaux et relièrent Lang-chan à la terre ferme; alors, on songea à changer le nom de la pagode."§

Les Chroniques de Tong-tcheou, 1756, tom. III, p. 3, tout en constatant qu'avant cette époque la montagne du Loup et les alluvions attenantes ne faisaient pas encore partie du continent, donne quelques détails sur les variations subies par l'îlot. Ainsi, dès 960, l'alluvion avait formé au Sud de la montagne une dizaine de *li* d'excellentes terres, auxquelles on avait donné le nom de "Domaine de riz blanc," pour mieux en exprimer la fertilité.

Cette bande de terre fut peu à peu rongée par les érosions du fleuve sous les Yuen et les Ming, 1260-1643. Puis sur la fin du règne de Kang-hi, l'alluvion recommença à former des terrains d'un excellent rapport, au début du XVIIIe siècle.

Il est croyable que les deux autres montagnes Ma-ngan-chan et Hoang-gni-chan, dans la portion Ouest du secteur, plus en amont, plus rapprochées de terre, et par conséquent mieux placées pour bénéficier les premières des nouveaux apports du fleuve, furent soudées à la terre quelque temps auparavant. Les Annales ne fixent point l'époque.

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* Cf. *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. I, p. 2.
† *Ibid.*, liv. V, p. 1.
‡ *Ibid.*, liv. V, p. 3.
§ *Ibid.*

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Quant à la montagne de l'Armée, Kiun chan, elle demeura encore entourée d'eau pendant plusieurs siècles: nous en relevons quelques témoignages formels. 1. Au liv. X, p. 13. Quand le bonze Fa-kong 法空 du temps des Ming, descendit le cours du fleuve Bleu, il arriva au pied de la montagne de l'Armée, complètement entourée d'eau et déserte, il la choisit pour le lieu de sa solitude et s'y installa dans une grotte. 2. Au liv. X p. 9. Tchang-tche-teou 張之斗, docteur militaire, préposé au commandement des troupes de Lang-chan pendant l'époque Tchong-tcheng 崇禎, 1628-1643, après avoir lutté inutilement contre l'invasion des Mandchoux, voyant la partie perdue, se retira sur la montagne de Kiun-chan, alors un îlot complètement entouré d'eau. 3. Même au début du règne ce Kang-hi, 1662, la montagne de l'Armée n'était pas encore reliée au continent. Le bonze T'chen-kien 淨謙 y meurt de faim, parce que, pendant un typhon qui dura plusieurs jours, la barque qui devait lui porter des vivres ne put effectuer la traversée. *

Résumé; La montagne du Loup devint partie intégrante du continent pendant les années qui suivirent 1086 ap. J. C. Vraisemblablement la montagne de la Selle de Cheval et la montagne de la Terre Jaune durent être reunies à la côte plusieurs années auparavant, parce qu'elles se trouvaient dans une position privilégiée.

La montagne du Glaive suivit le sort de la montagne du Loup, ces deux falaises était presque contiguës et furent même reliées par un pont. La montagne de l'Armée demeura plus longtemps au milieu des eaux, ce ne fut qu'après le règne de l'empereur Kang-hi qu'elle fut soudée à la terre ferme.

Les Annales de Tong-tcheou (tom. III, p. 3,) disent que le Yang-tse-kiang forma de nouvelles alluvions au Sud de la montagne du Loup, sur la fin du règne de Kang-hi. Ces nouveaux bancs s'étendirent vers le S. E. et obstruèrent la passe entre la montagne du Loup et la montagne de l'Armée. Dès lors une digue puissante se trouva formée; les courants qui avaient emporté une grande partie des terres de la région de Hai-men se heurtèrent contre ce nouvel obstacle, et

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, pp. 14-15.

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à l'abri de ce rempart inexpugnable un nouveau Hai-men, plus durable et plus étendu, commença à se reformer. La petite île de Hi-tai-châ se souda au continent du côté de l'Ouest, peu après que la digue des cinq montagnes eut rompu le courant le long de la côte, les couches de sédiment purent s'y accumuler et refaire la presqu'île dans de meilleures conditions qu'auparavant.

En 1672 Hai-men n'était plus qu'une dépendance de Tong-tcheou, et dès 1768 l'alluvion était assez importante pour que le gouvernement pensât à lui donner une administration independante : ce territoire reçut le nom officiel de Hai-men-ting 海門廳. En deux siècles près de 2,000 kilomètres carrés ont été conquis sur la mer. Liu-se 呂四, l'ancien Cap Finistère de la presqu'île, est maintenant à près de cinquante kilomètres de la pointe extrême. Un grand canal traversant la contrée et appelé Hai kiai 海界, limites de la mer, est comme le tracé permanent des anciennes côtes maritimes : tout le pays du Sud est une conquête et constitue le Hai-men nouveau, habité par les émigrés de Tsong-ming 崇明.

Ainsi les Annales des cinq Montagnes, jointes aux chroniques de Tong-tcheou et de Hai-men, nous donnent les détails les plus précis sur la formation et les mutations de la péninsule durant vingt siècles.

Le sort de Tsong-ming et de Hai-men parait étroitement lié aux conditions géographiques de ces cinq montagnes. Le tableau suivant fera mieux ressortir cette remarque.

Tsong-ming 崇明.	*Hai-men* 海門.	*Les cinq montagnes.*
	Au IIme siècle av. J. C. un banc de sable se rattacha peu à peu au continent et prit le nom de Ta-ngan-tcheng 大安鎮.	
620 ap. J. C. Deux îles surgissent, Tong-cha et Si-cha.		600 ap. J. C. Les cinq rochers sont encore en pleine mer. Pas d'alluvion apparente.
696 ap. J. C. Des faucheurs de roseaux et des pêcheurs s'y établissent.		

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Tsong-ming 崇明.	*Hai-men* 海門.	*Les cinq montagnes.*
	958 ap. J. C. Ce pays prend le nom de Hai-men, et est constitué en sous-préfecture. Son territoire a 120 *li* (72 kilomètres)	900 ap. J. C. Ilots sablonneux en formation au Sud.
Du IX au XI siècle. Les îles Tong-sha et Si-cha disparaissent peu à peu. D'autres se forment au N. O.	X et XI siècles. Le premier Hai-men atteint son maximum d'étendue.	960 ap. J. C., au début des Song. L'alluvion avait formé au Sud de la montagne du Loup une dizaine de *li* (6 kilomètres) d'excellentes terres, surnommées "Domaine de riz blanc."
		1086. Des îlots émergent et relient la montagne du Loup à la terre ferme.
1101. Tong-cha et Si-cha ont totalement disparu.	Fin de XIII siècle. La côte est rongée par les courants.	
1293. Tsong-ming est élevé au rang de district dépendant de Yang-tcheou. La ville murée de Tsong-Ming est bâtie dans l'île de Yao-lieou-cha.	1341-1368. Première migration de la ville de Hai-men. Le Kiang ronge la côte, la ville est transportée vers le Nord, dans les plaines Li-ngan-hiang (Urbanité et tranquillité).	1260-1643. Sous les Yuen et les Ming les terres d'alluvion sont emportées par le Kiang; progressivement le fleuve reprend la conquête.
	Le Hai-men est réduit à 37 *li*.	
Suivent l'époque dite des "cinq migrations."	1506-1522. 2e migration. Recul de la ville à 30 *li* au Nord des "Salines du Reste central" (Yu-tchong-tchang).	Cette époque voit se consommer la ruine de Hai-men.

(Cf. P. Havret, L'Ile de Tsong-ming.)

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Tsong-ming 崇明.	*Hai-men* 海門.	*Les cinq montagnes.*
1555. 3me migration. C'était trois ans après la prise de Tong-tcheou par les Japonais. Nouveau recul à 30 *li* vers l'Ouest, aux "Sables d'or" (Kin-cha). La petite ville est entourée de murs pour la protéger contre les incursions des Japonais.		
1669. Un ras de marée renverse la moitié de la ville.		
1672. Fin du district. La mer emporte le reste de la ville. Les restes du Hai-men (Hai-men-hiang) sont adjugés à Tong-tcheou, avec le nom de "Campagnes de Hai-men ajoutées."		Vers 1700. Sous la fin du règne de Kang-Hi l'alluvion recommence à former d'excellents terrains au Sud de la Montagne du Loup.
Après 1700. L'île de Hi-tai-cha se soude par l'Ouest.		
Au XVIII siècle (1768) Hai-men s'est accru, et est constitué en district indépendant, appelé Hai-men-ting.		Pendant le XVII siècle. Kiun-chan est soudée à la côte, la jetée se trouve établie.

Le R. P. Havret avait déjà remarqué que la croissance du territoire de Hai-men avait presque toujours lieu aux dépens de Tsong-ming; la découverte des *Annales des cinq Montagnes* confirme absolument cette thèse, mais de plus, elle

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établit d'une façon évidente le rôle important joué par les alluvions agglutinées autour de ces cinq îlots. Du bon ou du mauvais état de cette digue colossale, dépendit presque toujours le sort prospère ou ruineux des nouvelles terres de Hai-men. De sorte que pour le passé, en réunissant ces deux données, on pourrait, sans trop se tromper, émettre la formule suivante: d'ordinaire, la solidité de la jetée des cinq montagnes amène l'extension de Hai-men et l'érosion de Tsongming.

Le ras de marée et les ouragans terribles qui sévissent quelquefois dans ces parages, peuvent bouleverser les bancs de sable et modifier momentanément la règle, mais ils ne la détruisent pas.*

Article II.—*La montagne de la Selle de Cheval et ses particularités.*

Deux hommes ont rendu cette montagne célèbre; leurs noms sont comme incrustés dans chacun des saillants de la roche; il est donc nécessaire de se rappeler leur biographie pour comprendre les détails topographiques de leur ancien séjour.

1° L'Immortelle de Long-chou 龍 舒. La légende, consignée dans les *Annales*, ne donne ni son nom, ni l'époque précise de son existence; il est dit seulement qu'elle venait de Long-chou (actuellement Liu-kiang-hien 廬 江 縣 dans la préfecture de Liu-tcheou-fou 廬 州 府). Pendant 70 années elle habita une grotte située à l'extrémité occidentale de la colline. Cette grotte a une issue ouvrant vers le Sud, et on y peut aussi pénétrer par une déchirure oblique, orientée au Nord: elle fut nommée la grotte du Ruban de Lumière, parce qu'elle forme comme une étroite fissure pouvant donner passage aux eaux du Kiang et à la lumière solaire.

L'immortelle quitta ce monde sans avoir jamais reçu la visite de la tristesse ou de la maladie. Les gens du pays la vénérèrent comme une sainte et surnommèrent cette caverne la "Grotte de l'Immortelle," Sien niu tong 仙 女 洞.

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. IV, VI, X. *Les Chroniques de Tong-tcheou* (Edition 1756), liv. III, p. 3 etc., liv. IV; *L'Ile de Tsong-ming*, p. 33.

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Plus tard on lui éleva une tour, et nous avons vu déjà que les surnoms de la montagne sont des souvenirs de cette histoire en partie légendaire.

À l'Est de la grotte de l'Immortelle et sur le front du versant ouest de la montagne les spectateurs s'étaient réunis pour être témoins de son ascension, quand elle dit adieu à la terre et monta dans les nuées du ciel. Ce sommet s'appela des lors Le sommet de la "Vision de l'Immortelle." Il est aussi nommé le Pic du Vieillard, parce que sa forme extérieure rappelle un peu la forme humaine.

Non loin de là un autre rocher, où on a cru trouver une ressemblance avec un lion, reçut le nom de Pic du Lion. La montagne même fut quelquefois désignée sous cette appellation de Montagne du Lion.

2° Le bonze Fang hiao 方曉 prénom Tong-ming 東明. Le Tche-kiang 浙江 fut son pays d'origine; il porta toute sa barbe, longue de plusieurs pieds, et les poils de ses paupières avaient plus d'un pouce de long. Il quitta Ouo-mei chan 峨眉山 pour venir habiter la grotte de l'Immortelle, sur le flanc de la montagne de Ma-ngan-chan, qui à cette époque était parfaitement boisée. Dans la bambouseraie et sur les arbres qui couvraient ses pentes, une multitude d'oiseaux venaient nicher, les chasseurs aussi s'y donnaient rendez-vous, et chaque jour c'était un carnage, les projectiles pleuvaient, les plumes volaient, le sang inondait la terre; bref, le bonze avait le cœur navré. Il finit par décider les chasseurs à n'y plus revenir.

Fang-hiao éleva un enclos en pierres sèches, puis à l'intérieur il construisit la pagode pour la "Protection des êtres vivants," Hou-cheng-ngan 護生菴, et à côté, le vivier du "Rachat des êtres vivants" Fang-cheng-tche 方生池. Dans ce vivier, alimenté par une source, il nourrit des poissons arrachés à la mort. Ce fut l'ere d'or pour les animaux, les oiseaux et les poissons: la paix universelle était proclamée sur ce côteau.

Le bonze avait pour principe de ne pas former de disciples; s'il rencontrait par cas fortuit quelqu'un susceptible d'admission il l'acceptait.

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Fang-hiao était presque centenaire quand il entra dans le repos du nirvana. À mi-côte du versant, derrière la pagode Ta-pei-tien 大悲殿, dédiée à Koanyng, la miséricordieuse, on voit encore la fontaine du "lavage du bol", creusé par le bonze; c'était dans cette eau, pure comme un cristal, qu'il venait laver son bol. Aux plus grandes sécheresses elle ne tarit jamais.

Deux roches formant esplanade et dominant jadis le cours du fleuve sont restées célèbres dans la légende. L'une est "La pierre des échecs," sur laquelle les immortels venaient faire leur partie d'échecs. L'autre est nommée la "Plate-forme de la pêche à la ligne," où ils charmaient leurs loisirs en se livrant au plaisir de la pêche. *

Article III.—*La Montagne de Terre jaune et ses souvenirs du passé.*

Moins accidentée que ses voisines, cette falaise ne parait pas avoir été le séjour favori des immortels; tout au plus ont-ils contourné sa base, comme l'indique la roche de l'Empreinte des Pieds, Kio-yn-che, 脚印石, où ils ont laissé gravées les traces de leurs pas.

I.—Les principales curiosités naturelles.—

1° Le pic des Mouettes, sur le flanc sauvage et rocailleux au Nord de la montagne.

2° Le rempart de l'Écran, qui est une petite éminence agréablement boisée et entourant la corne N. E. de la montagne.

3° Le pic du Géant, complètement distinct du massif montagneux, se dresse à une hauteur de cinquante ou soixante pieds au N. E., et ressemble à un fantôme surgissant de terre. On la surnommé: le rocher au Chapeau de cour, ou encore, le pic au Chapeau à larges bords.

4° Le sommet à étages boisés tout à l'extrémité N.O., devant la pagode de Pi-hia-yuen-kiun 碧霞元君.

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* 1 *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. II. pp. 7-15; III. pp. 11-14; X. pp. 11, 13, 14.

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5° La grotte de la Source des Pêchers, à la base N.E. du mont. Plus haute que profonde, elle peut avoir une quarantaine de pieds de largeur. Masquée autrefois dans un massif de verdure, entourée d'un millier de pêchers en fleurs, cette caverne avait tous les charmes d'une solitude enchantée.

6° La grotte de Tous les Sages, ainsi nommée parce qu'elle fut visitée et décrite par plusieurs lettrés de distinction, *e.g.*, Soei K'ieou 薛球 des Song 宋, Tchoang Che-yen 臧師顏, etc.

7° La pierre du Lapin au gîte. C'est une roche qui s'élève à une hauteur de trente pieds, à la base orientale du massif. Les paysans de ces parages lui ont donné ce nom, parce qu'elle ressemble par sa forme extérieure à un lapin au gîte.

8° La pierre aux Deux Yeux. Deux trous percés dans une roche ressemblent à deux yeux. *

II.—Pagodes.—

1° La principale pagode bâtie sur ce sommet fut le temple de la "Princesse des nuages irisés de pourpre et d'azur, la fameuse Pi-hia-yuen-kiun, fille de T'ai chan 泰山, pic sacré de l'Est. † Les habitants du pays l'appellent La Vieille Pagode, parce qu'elle fut la première bâtie.

2° Tse-tong-tien 梓潼殿. La grande salle sous le vocable de Wen-tchang 文昌, le dieu de la littérature, nommé souvent Tse-tong-chen 梓潼神 parce qu'il habita à Tse-tong au Se-tchoan. ‡ Cette salle spécialement consacrée à Wen-tchang est renfermée dans l'enclos de la pagode principale dédiée à Pi-hia-yuen-kiun.

3° Pi-hia-ngan 碧霞菴. La rotonde de Pi-hia-yuen-kiun, pagode plus petite, consacrée au culte de la même princesse aux nuages irisés. Dans cet enclos se trouve le pavillon renfermant la statue de Tchoen-ti 準提, et nommé Tchoen ti-ko 準提閣. Tchoen-ti est une divinité bouddhique, representée avec 8 mains et 3 visages. §

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* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. II. pp. 5-13 ; III. p. 7.
† Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, vol. XI, p. 990.
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 29.
§ *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 197.

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4° Hai-yun-ngan 海雲菴. La pagode des Nuages de la Mer, dans laquelle se trouve un pavillon dédié à la miséricordeuse Koan-yng, Ta-pei-ko 大悲閣.

5° Che-ou-ngan 石悟菴, pagode de la Pierre de l'Illumination. Un bonze en méditation sur cette pierre avait été favorisé du don d'intelligence.

6° Tsoei-ping-ngan 翠屏菴, temple de l'Écran verdoyant. La bande de verdure qui formait comme un écran devant ce temple a inspiré plus d'un poète. Ces poésies et celles concernant la pagode des Nuages de la Mer sont contenues dans le Livre V. des *Annales*, pp. 17-20.

Que reste-t-il de ces rivages enchantés, formant au milieu des flots un oasis de verdure, où le printemps semblait avoir établi sa cour? Une butte chauve, des herbes sauvages, des pierres et de la terre jaune.

[*La suite au prochain numéro.*]

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NOTES ON THE CHINESE DRAMA AND ANCIENT CHORAL DANCES *

BY

W. ARTHUR CORNABY.

ANY enquiry into the early origin of the drama in China is met at the outset by the discouraging fact that there is no word in the language corresponding at all, in dignity and scope, to our word "drama."

It would be impossible, for instance, to translate into Chinese that fine passage of Thomas Carlyle: "(History is) a mighty drama, enacted on the theatre of Infinitude, with suns for lamps, and eternity for a background, whose author is God, and whose purport and thousandfold moral leads up to the 'dark with excess of light' of the Throne of God." The term in common use is just our word "play" (戲 *hsi*), which, as a transitive verb means "to make game of," "to ridicule." Another term, only used in book-language, is 劇 *chi*, which as a verb means "to make sport."

Then, the new *Encyclopaedia Sinica* assures us that "the drama is not indigenous to China, but was introduced,

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* Written in reply to some enquiries by William Ridgeway, D. Sc., LL.D., Litt.D., etc., Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge. Author of *The Origin of Tragedy*, 1910; *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*, 1918.

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together with the novel, by the Mongols in the Yüan dynasty,"—14th century. And although "actors still call themselves 'Students of the Pear Garden' (the Pear Garden being the name of a conservatoire established by the Emperor Hsüan Tsung of t. T'ang dynasty) the training at this college was limited to the teaching of instrumental music and the singing of dramatic poetry." For "prior to the Yüan dynasty solemn dances or posturing, accompanied by chanting, had been performed on ceremonial occasions."

If this be the last word on the subject we must conclude that in olden times East Asian China was as devoid of the dramatic art as West Asian Judæa. For the latter had early choral dances, some of them connected with religious worship [2 Sam. vi, 14-16; Ps. cxlix, 3; cl, 4; and probably cxviii, 27, which, instead of "Bind the sacrifice with cords, even to the horns of the altar," seems to be the 'stage direction': "(At this point) gather together the festal dancers with their interwoven boughs around the borders of the altar."], but had not the drama itself until it was introduced by Greeks of the Roman period; and then it was regarded with aversion by the serious-minded (witness the sinister use in the Gospels of the word *hupokrites*, a stage-player; although St. Peter once uses the theatrical term *epichoregeo* metaphorically, in a good sense, 2 Pet. i, 5).

In China the contempt of the scholarly for the actor's profession, as developed in the Mongol dynasty, was of an extreme order. They succeeded finally in getting an Imperial edict issued, bracketing actors with harlots, and decreeing that no actor's offspring should be allowed to compete in the government examinations (with the hope of an official post) until the third generation, when the stain on his birth would have faded away.

We find this scholarly contempt expressed also in a spirited poem, by a literary man (named Wu Lai 吳萊) of the Yüan dynasty. Some lines of it translate into English prose as follows:

"As one turns away from these shows, one's forehead blushes red as the hibiscus. These somersaults and

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strugglings, one's spirit is scared at them. These spear evolutions, one is grieved indeed at this kind of 'talent.' Of old 'plays' (戲) restrained men to fear with moral admonitions; nowadays folks forget the admonition in the show. Deceitful lusts proceed from the Palace halls. The glorious Decree is lost in strife with skeleton ghosts. The sovereign no longer visits his true consort. The art of the actor cuts the sinews of all earnest government."

We note here in passing that the disgruntled poet happens to use the word *hsi* (戲) of stage-shows which had been in vogue in olden time, and may anticipate by saying that very similar criticisms to his happen to be found embodied in a memorial to the Throne nine and a half centuries before the Yüan dynasty began; although this is hardly sufficient to prove that fully organised stage-plays were in vogue at that early date.

But our present concern is with the drastic nature of his criticism. And to understand the intensity of his feelings we must leave the subject of the drama itself for a while, to note what regard was given of old in China to ceremonial music and dancing.

The book of Rites (禮記) sums up one of its Sections by saying:

"When music is performed in the Ancestral Temple (of the sovereign) ruler and statesmen hearing it together are harmonized into reverence, when performed (as homage to ancestors) among the clan-elders of the country village, old and young hearing it together are harmonized into accordance (with all that is right and befitting); when rendered in the inner apartments of the home itself, then father and sons, elder and younger brothers, hearing it together, are harmonized into affection. . . It was thus that the ancient kings (Yao, Shun and Yü) fixed the musical rites of the land, to establish harmonious families, and affectionate regard (on the part of rulers and officials) toward the myriad populace."

Here is one quotation, out of many that might be cited, which indicates that, as in West Asian story David's harpistry availed to drive away the evil spirit from king Saul,

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so, to the minds of East Asian sages, ceremonial music had the virtue of driving away evil passions from the body politic.

But as in Greece the word *musikē* was of wider significance than our word "music," so in China of old it included dramatic dances as well. Thus we find an ancient writer saying:

"Music for the ear is expressed in sounds; music for the eye is expressed in gestures. When audible music is accordant to the ear there is audible harmony; but apart from appropriate gestures to accompany it, there is no appeal to the eye of the listener. Thus the sages made use of shields and halberds, feather-wands and yak-tails, in addition to appropriate gestures, to give a vivid expression to the meaning of the ceremonial in question, whether in celebration of martial prowess or of civil virtue."

The Chou Ritual classic (周禮) written some centuries before Confucius (551-479 B.C.) early in the Chou dynasty (which was founded 1122 B.C.) says that the ceremonial dances in vogue at that early date were six in number. In the first (祓) wands with whole feathers were waved—in the worship of the spirits of agriculture; in the second (羽) wands with divided feathers were used—in the ancestral temples; in the third (皇) feather caps were worn on the head, and the upper garments were adorned with kingfisher feathers—in blessing the four quarters of the realm; in the fourth (旄) yak-tails were used—in ceremonial for the promotion of harmony; in the fifth (干) shields were manipulated—to celebrate military merit; in the sixth (人) the bare hands were waved—in homage to the stars and constellations.

But the ceremonial dances chiefly in vogue were used to celebrate, and partly to portray, civil and military merit. Thus we read (in the 五經通義): "The royal music was of two kinds. If civil merit was to be celebrated the posturers grasped feather wands in their dances; if martial prowess, they grasped vermilion coloured shields and jade (embossed)

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battle-axes. The jade signified virtue, and the shields benevolence, to inculcate clemency to those defeated." *

The *Book of Changes* (易經) says tersely that "the former kings ordained music to inspire reverence for virtue."

The *Tso Chuan* (左傳), or semi-classical extension of Confucius' *Spring and Autumn Annals*, says that the merit of 'Wên Wang' (the chieftain Ch'ang 昌, father of the founder of the Chou dynasty) was celebrated throughout the empire with songs and dances,—some of these songs being preserved in the Book of Odes.

It is recorded in the *Historical Annals* (史記) of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien that in the year 156 B. C., after the death of the beloved Emperor Wên Ti, his son Ching Ti (景帝) made a formal announcement to his Court-historian, saying:

"I have heard that of old when remote ancestors had acquired merit, and nearer ancestors were possessed of virtue, ceremonial music was composed, consisting of chants that proclaimed their virtues, and dances that illustrated their meritorious deeds.

"When my father, the filial Wên Ti, came to the throne of the empire (170 B. C.) he refrained from alienating his more distant ministers and subjects, he repressed all slander and abolished torture. He gave gifts to the aged and compassionated the orphaned and solitary ones, thus nourishing

* In a tenth century work (樂府雜錄 by 段安節) a fuller list of dancers' implements is given, though one or two of these seem to have been introduced in the centuries after the Christian era. 1. An implement (相) like a small drum with a handle, the drum part being covered with leather and half filled with chaff. This was shaken to moderate the music. The Book of Rites says it was 'for the suppression of disorder.' 2. A pair of small drums (應) suspended, the one to the east the other to the west. These were beaten alternately. 3. A wide bamboo tube with sheepskin ends (牘). These ends were struck to regulate the dancing. 4. Spears (戈).. 5. Bows and arrows (弓矢). 6. Battle-axes (戚). 7. Feather fans of large size (揭). 8. Wands with a single plume (習). 9. Wands with the black feather of the cormorant (鷺). 10. Ornamental pendants hung from dragon-headed staves (鷁鷟羽葆幢) 11. Bannerettes of clipped feathers (旌). 12. Clappers of rounded bamboo slips, attached at one end and slightly open at the other (節). 13. Large ornate banners (麾). 14. Shields of bamboo work (削).

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the populace. He set bounds to his personal appetites, and refused to receive presents or to regard his revenues as private property. If a criminal was not captured he did not execute others who were blameless. He dismissed the crowd of Court beauties, and in every way consolidated the nation. I, the unintelligent one, cannot understand such virtue, for even in the long-past Golden Age of the realm it was hardly attained unto.

"The virtues of my father Wên Ti were indeed solid and substantial, and thus there descended upon the nation the enrichments of Heaven and Earth, causing all within the Four Seas to obtain felicity.

"Such virtue is surely typified by the light of the sun and moon, and no choral dances in the Ancestral Temple can represent it worthily, as I greatly fear."

This announcement having been published throughout the empire, Ching Ti appointed appropriate choral dances to take place periodically in the temple of Wên Ti to illustrate his felicitous virtues.

In the Records of the Later Han Dynasty (ending A.D. 220) we read that for the "dances" in the Imperial ancestral temples the performers were sixteen unmarried youths who were dressed as agriculturalists, and imitated the operations of weeding, ploughing and sowing the ground, of reaping the crops, and of threshing and winnowing the grain, "to represent in allegory the virtues of deceased monarchs." These spectacular performances might be interpreted in either, or both, of two ways. They might mean that a good ruler dealt with his realm as a wise farmer would with his land. And they might also represent the happy husbandry of the people under his beneficent rule,—as in the old records of Yao and Shun, two ideal patriarchal chieftains of remote antiquity.

An attenuated survival of the ancient choral dances "for the reverencing of civil merit" was to be found in China as late as the spring of the year 1911 (the year of the Revolution) in the ceremonial worship of Confucius and his disciples. It had continued to be performed at each spring and autumn equinox since the later years of *Han* Ming Ti (d. A.D. 75).

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In Peking and Nanking are two huge temples to the Sages, and the provincial temples are spacious, while those of each prefecture and county throughout the land are by no means small.

Referring to an old journal of the writer's dating some thirty years back, the following particulars of this ceremony may be quoted:

It was understood that foreigners were rigidly excluded from the provincial temples during these celebrations, but a military officer who had received medical aid from a friend of mine, said that although he could not *permit* us to come, he would see that we were protected if we were resolved to come.

At 4 a.m., we entered the great quadrangle of the provincial temple of Wuchang, where we found our soldier guardians awaiting us. The entrance was at the south-east corner, and we were conducted to the south-west, so as to be as much away from observation as possible,—for truly Wuchang in those days was a haughty anti-foreign city.

The quadrangle was dimly lighted with lanterns, but the great hall at the north end was well lit. In this hall was the central tablet to Confucius, with a sacrificial offering of an ox, a sheep, and a pig, in troughs before it. To right and left were tablets to his immediate followers; and in front of them large tables with antique jars of various kinds of grain. Then, to right and left of the quadrangle itself were rows of tablets to disciples of later generations.

On the terrace in front of the great hall were arranged replicas of ancient instruments of music: drums and suspended bronze slips of varying length; also two little stacks of flutes, flageolettes, and ancient "organs" of thirteen reeds inserted in a gourd. These particulars we had noted in a visit the previous afternoon.

At the four corners of the quadrangle were great stacks of giant reeds, from fifteen to twenty feet high. These were to illuminate the quadrangle when the ceremonies began.

After a considerable time a shout was raised that the Viceroy (of the two Lake provinces), the Governor of Hupeh, and the Treasurer were nearing the gates. The soldiers and spectators drew up in line. The stacks of reeds were set

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ablaze. Then a band of a hundred young men entered, clothed in long robes of light blue silk, and wearing gilt buttons of the *hsiu-t'sai* degree on their official hats. They were preceded by a leader who held a dragon's head rod, from which was suspended a chain of red tassels. The young men arranged themselves, fifty each side, on the broad terrace, each in charge of a musical instrument, or else a wand tipped with a long pheasant-plume.

The three high officials then entered in majestic style, and a herald cried aloud in a plaintive voice for them to approach. They stood in the centre of the quadrangle, until the herald, descending the terrace steps, led the Viceroy toward the great hall, while the second and third officials took their places to right and left, in front of the row of lesser tablets. Drums sounded and the music began. It was bald in its simplicity, and in that respect unlike what we gather to have been the music of olden time. From the highest note in the pentatonic scale it descended in long breves and semi-breves tone by tone to the bottom of the scale; then up and slowly down again. The bearers of the plumed wands, who had been facing the high altar to the north, turned and assumed a new posture with every note.

Having reached the great hall, the Viceroy lit some incense in an old brazier. Then the music was hushed while he knelt before the chief tablet and bowed his head thrice to the ground. This triple obeisance he repeated three times; as did his two high associates in office at the right and left of the quadrangle. Then the three returned to the centre of the wide open space. The herald again invited them to worship,—this time by lifting an antique bronze beaker of wine above the head, and repeating the thrice three prostrations. They returned to the centre, and were called forth to offer a second beaker of wine as before. Then the herald read aloud an ode to Confucius from a paper attached to a tablet; and the third beaker of wine was offered. Then a fire of paper was lit in a brazier toward the south side of the quadrangle, and the ode was pulled off the tablet and committed to the flames. At this the music started again, until the three high officials had left the temple. The

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ceremony was now over, and the grey light of dawn lent a climax to the impressive ritual.

With this modern survival of the ancient choral dance before us, and bearing in mind that both the music and the posturing were much more elaborate of yore than the modern sample, we cannot but recognize the fitness of these ceremonies (from the Chinese point of view) for the object in hand, namely of offering graceful homage to deceased worthies. One of those scholars whose tablet has been placed in these temples to the Sages (王通 583-616 A. D., canonised as 文中子) says that the choral dances for the celebration of civil merit were "restrained and dignified, to harmonize the faculties for the task of tranquillizing the empire." And we may go so far as to admit that the ceremonies, as he knew them, seem to have been a means which tended towards that desirable end.

But we cannot help recognizing their limitations. They were of a semi-private order,—for the Emperor, his Court, and his statesmen. They could hardly be called "national customs." The people at large had no share in them.

Of old, in the highest worship of antiquity, the Chou Emperors had monopolised all homage to the Supreme, leaving the "myriad populace" to shift for themselves in the matter of prayer. This they did, first in such "unorthodox" worship as that imported by Hindoo Buddhists, and later, in that of native Taoism as developed in competition with these foreign importations. So also, in this secondary "worship" to deceased worthies, the ruling classes monopolised the choral dances, and discountenanced all festal shows among the people; allowing no provision to be made, in any stated fashion, for that healthy excitement which, in China from of old, had been found to be a necessity of existence, as an occasional break in the monotony of daily drudgery. Moreover, Emperors and courtiers too were human, and loved entertainment no less than the people at large.

We are not surprised to read then (in the Encyclopaedia 文獻通考 of Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨 of the 13th century) that "From the Ch'in (秦 B.C. 255-207) and Han dynasties onwards there arose a number of 'variety entertainments'

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(雜戲)," both in the Court and among the populace. These shows included circus performances such as rope-walking, pole-climbing, and athletic displays in general; but also included 'pageants' and the use of masks and impersonifications, thus giving us the rudimentary beginnings of the native Chinese drama.

Coming to the days of the Chin (晉) dynasty, we find a memorial presented to the Throne by Ku Chên (顧臻) in the year 341 A.D., against 'heterogeneous shows', in which there are references to at least two historical impersonifications on the stage:

"Your minister has heard that the Sage-kings of yore regulated the music of the Realm so as to support law and order and nourish goodness and righteousness, to the repression of depravity and licentiousness; to dignify the worship in their ancestral temples, and to harmonize the minds of their black-haired populace. . . They found that the melody of pipes might inspire the hearer to just-dealing, and the sound of horns in unison to propriety; while the mingled notes of silken strings, of chants, of bells and drums, might enrich and expand the faculties. For true music permeates the spirits and renovates the mind, and well-mannered dances influence popular manners towards a condition of harmonious joyfulness.

"But as to the 'talent' of these latter days,—it is displayed in shows that are bereft of decorum, with such irregularities as somersaults, as gliding along as though without footsteps, as the balancing of long, moving reeds, as peeling off the skin and pounding the heart and liver, and the like! And the populace at large—is there to be no sympathetic care for them?

"In the Court receptions, and displays in the Imperial halls, the ear should hear the sound of æsthetic pæans, and the eye should gaze upon majestic ceremonial. But such things as 'head on earth and feet treading the heavens' are a reversal of all things admonitory, and do violence to the great bond of human relations.

"In these days the barbarians confront us on the opposite banks of our rivers [Hunnish tribes had conquered the

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north-east of China and set up a foreign dynasty there in the year 330 A. D.] and the defence of the realm against these intruders is a matter of prime urgency. Your soldiers are 'forgetting their lives' in perilous encounters, while play-actors [or players, 戲 *hsi* used here for 'play'] are over-fed and over-salaried, to the impoverishment of the country,—an anomalous condition of things that cannot be ignored.

"These heterogeneous shows that harm public morals should be abolished, and the virtue of economy encouraged by ditties of calm contentedness. . . There should be a rigid censoring of stupid fabrications. Such shows should be forbidden as 'The purple deer on the high rope' (acrobatic performances above the spectators' heads by girls), together with 'The king of Ch'i rolling up his clothes' (an historical triviality of the Chou dynasty), and 'The Presser' (of horse-dung, a revolting episode of the later Han dynasty). Certainly 'The purple deer' should be suppressed."

The first serious stage-play on record in China originated in the year 279 A. D. during the reign of the founder of this same Chin dynasty, in connection with the tyrannous outrages of the local ruler of Wu (吳) named Sun Hao (孫皓) who was defeated and disgraced in that year. Sun Hao had been the fourth Emperor of the Wu division of China during the Three Realms epoch. Studious as a youth, his elevation to the throne at the age of 23 overbalanced his morals. He abandoned himself to selfish gratification and senseless cruelty. In his seraglio were five thousand young women; and he kept an open house for guests, but in a manner all his own. He would insist on their drinking to excess, and then next day punished them severely for any slight breaches of Court etiquette which might have been reported to him by his eunuchs. These punishments consisted in flaying off the skin from too red cheeks, of tearing out the eyes of those who had been drowsy, and of breaking the teeth of any who had uttered an unbecoming word! So we are assured by the sober chronicler. What wonder, then, that after his collapse an enraged populace perpetuated their abhorrence of his memory in stage-shows where his tyrannies were represented, as a warning to evil-disposed officials.

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Furthermore, when the Sui (隋) dynasty was founded in 581 (three hundred years afterwards), the President of the Civil Office, Niu Hung (牛弘) requested the new Emperor to allow that same play to be performed on the palace stage, and the request was granted.

Also in the Chin (Gin) dynasty when Yü Liang (庾亮, a high officer, and brother-in-law to the Emperor Yüan Ti 元帝) died in the year 380, he was much regretted, and actors on the stage personified him, 'with their faces made up to resemble his' in the Imperial palace and elsewhere.

Then we find a Sui dynasty (580-618) poem by Hsieh Tao-hêng (薛道衡) who was called "the Confucius of the west," giving numerous details of New Year's shows of a popular order in the capital; where the performers personified Chang Liang (one of the three generals who helped to found the Han dynasty), Kuan Yü (關羽, under his first title of 漢壽亭侯), and a lady of the Court of *Han* Ch'êng Ti (成帝).

Also, in the days of the second Emperor of the T'ang dynasty (太宗, 627-649) we read of stage representations of "The King of Ch'in defeating the army of the Chou State," a a spectacle devised by the Emperor himself while yet the heir apparent. "On one side the actors formed a circle, and on the other a square, in orderly ranks, and then engaged in a *melée* of strife. The spectators were overcome with delight, and said it was typical of the ever-victorious career awaiting the Sovereign."

Here then we find that, centuries before the rise of the Yüan dynasty, there was something more than raw material in China for the dramatists of that dynasty to develop and arrange.

The particular stage-shows of the Mongol Court of that dynasty which were so severely criticized in the poem by Wu Lai (already quoted) seem to have been partly of the nature of circus performances. And the plays they introduced were chiefly ballets of a Buddhist order. In the *Supplementary Encyclopaedia* (續文獻通考) by Wang Ch'i (王圻) published in 1586, we read:

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"In the choral dances of the Yüan Court, there were three youths of the Imperial band wearing blue-black masks to represent demons who seize evil souls in the Buddhist purgatory (飛天夜叉), who performed various evolutions as they advanced in rotation. Then twenty girls, grasping peony flowers, danced and sang in order, or else shook gilded instruments shaped like the sun and moon, with small leather drums attached, in harmony with the rest. Then five men entered, who personified five Buddhist gods, while one man played music before them.

"There was also a Star of Longevity band, in which male actors held tablets of gold letters on plum, bamboo, pine and ash wands (or branches), posturing as 'flying crows' while they sang and danced; also those who held begemmed fans of palm and feathers, with sun and moon designs upon them, or fish shaped tablets and drums, or else dragons and black bamboo rods, dancing and singing together.

"For State ceremonies there were twenty girls in four ranks, who bowed their bodies in worship, and then arose to dance and step in order, waving scrolls of peacock feathers the while. Also eight young men clad in golden armour and grasping golden halberds, one of them wearing 'the crown of heavenly peace,' who advanced dancing and singing."

Also in the Yüan Dynasty Records we read:

"In the Mongol Palace were girls of three grades: 'Sacred' slaves, 'Wondrous music' slaves, and 'Literary finish' slaves, in all 16 persons, whose professional name was 'The Sixteen Celestial Devils' (十六天魔). Their hair was done up in several plaits, protruding from ivory Buddhist mitres, and their dresses were of red brocade, with bead-chains of ruddy gold. Over these dresses they wore varicoloured jackets with cloud-like shoulder-pieces. They each held a thorn-stick style of instrument; except one of them, who had a small bell and beater to accompany the chanting.

"There were other Palace girls, eleven in number, with flattened hair and cloth frontlets on their foreheads, wearing veils and long robes. They played on dragon-flutes,

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clarionettes, small drums, pan's pipes, guitars, fiddles and clappers.

"Whenever the praise of Buddha was celebrated in the Palace, these bands of actors performed and sang."

But stirring episodes from the Chou, Ch'in, Han and Three Realms epochs would naturally lend themselves to dramatic representation far more readily than the traditional life of Buddha, or the doings of Buddhist deities. Thus Chinese historical material soon ousted these foreign Buddhist ballets from the Yüan dynasty stage, except in the Mongol palace itself.

Mention has already been made of Kuan Yü, the military hero *par excellence* of China.

He is the only one of the deified ancients of China who appears in person on the stage, in plays that are performed in his honour. The rest of them have to content themselves with any assortment of plays whatever, performed on temporary stages outside their temples. And no Buddhist deity now appears in any Chinese stage-play.

The standard plays of China, 357 in all, have lately been published in 20 comely little volumes (called 戲考), with historical introductions to every play.

Away from the Treaty Ports the actors in these plays are all *men*, and the women's parts are screeched by some of them in high falsetto. Or else marionettes are used in lieu of living actors. For the summer months, here and there in the larger tea-shops, these marionettes may be little short of life-size; they are manipulated, and the words and songs supplied by men who sit concealed below the stage. For the long winter evenings in smaller tea-shops, shadow-figures of flattened horn, with moving limbs, are manipulated behind semi-transparent screens.

Also, in addition to these "orthodox" theatricals, crude and licentious farces are performed on country stages in the evenings, in places remote from official observation.

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STUDIES IN CHINESE PSYCHOLOGY

BY

HERBERT CHATLEY, D.SC. (LOND.)

THE standard reproach against the sinologue of impracticality has not been so much heard in recent years, but it still has some force. The now immense mass of literature on Chinese subjects has little appeal to the ordinary Western man of intelligence chiefly because it rarely arrives at a conclusion, but is on the whole a record of a pursuit of knowledge merely for knowledge's sake with a lofty disregard for utilitarian considerations. When, however, a book like, say, Smith's *Chinese Characteristics* does appear, it is immediately popular because it provides formulae (correct or not) by means of which any man can form a China in little in his own mind. Smith and similar writers have, it is true, too often rushed at conclusions which in reality lack the generality they claim to possess, but nevertheless it does seem that the time has now arrived when something in the nature of formulation of results can be made.

An appreciation of the demand for such "condensed China" induces the present writer to suggest that a few at least of the earnest students of the Chinese should devote their attention to real analysis and compilation of the work that has been done in the past, with the double purpose of

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concisely stating results and of indicating the best directions for future research.

The Orient has long claimed to possess superior knowledge in regard to matters of the "soul" and at this very moment the ruling classes in China still suspect that the occidental is but a mere babe in matters of psychology. *Hinc illae lachrymae* in the matter of "progress."

In the following notes the writer has attempted to discuss some of the major issues as to psychology. He realises with Nordau that the notion of a "race-mind" is largely an abstraction or composite picture, so that there is no really typical Chinese, but on the other hand he thinks it may fairly be stated that a heredity and environment which has been for many centuries almost separated from the rest of humanity and subject to an almost unique culture have resulted in a fairly distinct type of individual, to which the average closely approximates and to which the variations or extreme specimens bear a definite relation.

The first study is one of a complex subject which a strictly logical discussion might postpone towards the end of such a series, but it is of such extreme interest and importance in the Orient in general and China in particular that no apology will be made for placing it first.

I. THE FIXATION OF THE SOUL.

All schools of Chinese thought agree in postulating the ability of an individual to develop himself into a peculiarly advanced state.

According to the Confucian school this is to be done by self-examination, repression of the passions, the adoption of a *Chung Yung* (中庸) or "medium course" and education in accordance with ancient precedents. The so perfected individual is termed *Chün Tzŭ* (君子) or "Prince" (commonly translated "Superior man") and his capacity (*Tê* 德) is said to rival that of Heaven and Earth (*Tê p'ei Tien-Ti* 德配天地) forming with them a Ternion (*San Ts'ai* 三才). Those who have notably become *Chün Tzŭ* are termed *Hsien* (賢) or still more loftily *Shêng* (聖).

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According to the Taoist school by self-repression, solitude and conformity with Tao (道) *i.e.*, the mystic Course of Heaven and Earth, the soul is transformed and may be immortalised, becoming a *Hsien* (仙).

The Buddhist school, which is almost purely Hindu, teaches that by the purposive repression of all craving, the transmissible flame of animal life may be quenched and its energy converted into a fixed state of "Nirvana" which will be perpetual. Such a soul is termed Buddha (*Fo* 佛).

It is difficult to say how far foreign religions other than Buddhism may have affected Chinese thought, but it may be that the Christian theory that the soul can be reformed into the type of a superman, *i.e.*, a Christ, has permeated China through Mahâyâna Buddhism (as Richard thinks), Nestorianism, or otherwise.

The earliest scientific reference to this idea is that of the medical literature of the Han dynasty (See Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 77) which included two classes of text book (*Fang Chung*, 房中, and *Shên Hsien* 神僊) which have since been omitted from orthodox medical lists. The latter were occupied "with a visionary theory by which the subject is supposed to soar above the ills of life, in virtue of certain psychological principles, induced by a properly regulated discipline." The former referred to sex relations and has, according to Wylie, been since united to the latter.*

In the subsequent centuries, omitting the Buddhistic factors, we find this idea proliferating in Taoism. (See Edkins' *Phases in the Development of Taoism*, Art. IV. Trans. Hongkong Branch R.A.S., 1855). It forms the spiritual side of alchemy and is variously called Nei Tan (內丹), the "Inner Elixir," Lien Yang (煉陽), the "Transmutation of the Active Principle," and Kung Fu (工夫), the Work *par excellence*. Associated with it is the repression of passion, fixed contemplation, fasting, physical exercises acting on the circulation and the breathing, the use of drugs and the

* The writer has unfortunately not yet succeeded in obtaining any further information on these books and would be glad of assistance in this respect.

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invocation of assisting or obsessing spirits. Wylie's list of Taoist books should be consulted. Father Amiot in his *Mémoires sur les Chinois*, vol. iv., has a section on the "Cong-fu des Bonzes Taoistes," with several curious plates, and regards the exercises as hygienically beneficial, but considers their alleged spiritual value as mere humbug. Doubtless he was aware however that the Chinese literati of his time (and even now) regard Loyola's discipline in a similarly unfavourable light.

In modern times the practice of fixation of the soul is much confused with the idea of possession, so that we see the Boxers imploring the sages of the past to come and inspire them; and similarly in the Taiping rebellion the Tung Wang or Eastern Prince was exalted by numerous divine communications (*vide* Meadows, *The Chinese and their Rebellions*).

Until a very recent period it was the custom to regard all these notions as mere imposture or imagination, but psychologists now attach greater importance to them, and it appears to the writer quite feasible to show that these practices and modern psychological hypotheses are mutually confirmatory.

It is now fairly generally held that there are three very definite abnormal mental conditions:—

(*a*) The Hypnoid state.

(*b*) Hypnosis.

(*c*) Ecstasy.

The first is a condition in which the normal mentality is partly suppressed and the automatic or subconscious mind is to some extent open to direct suggestion.

In the second, there is a complete suspense of the normal mind and the whole economy is purely automatic.

In the third, (which is often difficult to distinguish from the second), there is a conscious exaltation of mind or a multiplicity of personality, producing several alternative effects:—

i. A sensation of separation from and superiority to normal life.

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ii. An apparently complete substitution of one personality for another, or

iii. A sense of another external personality beside the normal one.

These are regarded as corresponding to various well known internal experiences, as follow:—

i. Apotheosis, divine ecstasy and the "lower" nirvana.

ii. Possession or inspiration (both diabolic and divine).

iii. Communion, revelation, invocation and theophany.

Prof. William James held that the ecstatic state did conceivably afford a means of transcending normal life, but however this may be, these conditions are generally considered to be partially explained on physiological principles by the drawing back of the longer filaments of the large brain cells, leaving only certain shorter and more automatically acting "synapses" (filament contacts), so that instead of the complete organization of the nervous and cerebral system one or more nervous circulations of a more stable and less personally controllable type are established, which appear to normal persons as new or multiple personality. This "explanation" does little more than suggest a mechanism for the process.

If we visualise the soul as a state of very complex stress in the ether, with foci in the brain and the great neural plexi, and a continuous circulation of energy to and from these foci, these abnormal processes may be regarded as the splitting up of the normal general circulation into two or more subsidiary circulations with partially independent action.

Modern investigations so strongly point towards a necessary relation between the 'super-molecules" or cells of an organism that it is difficult to credit the possibility of the ether stress and circulation existing without the cells. If however (by what is admittedly a *tour-de-force*, "assent" or act of faith) we admit such a thing, it is easy to conceive that by a repetition of certain processes of circulation, the ether stress may become fairly stable and as a whole permanent. This is, so far as it is conceivable, the fixation of the soul or "conditional" immortality, and brings the Chinese religions into line with the Semitic, Hindu and modern schools.

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However this may be, it is a fact that the above mentioned series of mental states can be induced by continuous mental fatigue, continuously repeated or associated mental acts (prayers, chants, charms, etc.) especially in a special environment (cave, hermit's cell, temple, church or bed). They are also associated in an obscure way with sex, and in this connection it is curious to note that the Chinese physicians have associated the two classes of literature referred to by Wylie. Celibacy or even partial continence has the effect of diverting the nervous energy into new channels and in many women and some men this fact plays so large a part that it is only natural that it should manifest itself mentally. The experience of "conversion" has been observed to be expecially frequent at the time of puberty, and Freud and Jung have to some extent shown that conventionally inhibited sexuality reappears in all kinds of oblique ways during life. "Suggestion" and mental habit figure largely in all such phenomena. *

As a last remark on this subject it may be noticed that the popular Chinese belief favours (it does not formulate) an hypothesis that the soul is also fixed in some manner by the existence and worship of offspring. This may of course be only one of the countless forms adopted by the innate tendency towards race-preservation, but affords basis for an interesting speculation as to "family souls" which will be considered later.

[*To be continued.*]

* Contrary to the pragmatic axiom "We cannot conceive things to be other than we conceive them to be," the tendency of suggestion is to make things become (to us) as we conceive them to be. T. J. Hudson and others even hold that post mortem existence follows on belief in it. On such lines even "Christian Science" is partially justified, but we must beware the pitfall of mere mysticism without a basis in actual evidence.

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EARLY BUDDHIST ART

BY

CHRISTOPHER IRVING

This volume * consists of an English translation of essays and lectures written or delivered between 1908 and 1912 by the distinguished French orientalist and archæologist M. A. Foucher. In their French form the essays appeared in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*, the *Revue Archéologique*, the *Mélanges Sylvain Levi*, the *Bulletin* of the French Far Eastern School at Hanoi, and the *Monuments et Mémoires* published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; and the lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Musée Guimet.

The reputation of M. Foucher as a trustworthy scholar is so deservedly high that few English students of the subjects in which he is an acknowledged master are likely to have waited for an English translation before acquainting themselves with these essays and lectures. Nevertheless, beyond the small circle of art-students and experts there is a large

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* *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archæology*, by A. Foucher of the University of Paris. Revised by the Author and translated by L. A Thomas and F. W. Thomas, with a Preface by the latter. (Paris: Paul Geuthner; London: Humphrey Milford. 31s. 6d. net. Shanghai Agency of Oxford University Press, $23.50).

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and increasing public, both in England and America, which is genuinely interested in Far Eastern art and archæology and yet has no ready access to the French periodicals in which most of M. Foucher's writings have appeared. Such readers, at least, will therefore be grateful to the two scholars (L. A. and F. W. Thomas) who have collected some of M. Foucher's most valuable writings and translated them into English. The value of the book is enhanced by the fact that it has been revised by the author. It also contains a short introduction by one of the translators, and is admirably illustrated by a large number of photographic plates.

The book was apparently in print as early as the summer of 1914, but the war necessitated the postponement of its publication until 1917. It has been published under the auspices of the India Society, which deserves credit for the persevering way in which it has maintained its activities throughout the critical years of war. Since 1910 this Society (which exists for the purpose of promoting the study and appreciation of Indian art, music and literature, ancient and modern) has published a series of valuable works, including the first English edition of Tagore's *Gitanjali*, two series of Indian Drawings with text by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, a translation of the mystical poems of Kabir, and a remarkable collection of reproductions of the famous frescoes of the Ajanta Caves. The latest addition to the Society's publications is the volume now before us, and the members of the Committee may be heartily congratulated on their choice. The Society's professed aim is "to interpret the spirit of India through the art of India," a thing which no other organized body has hitherto attempted; and in pursuance of this aim it has acted wisely in introducing the English-speaking public to the works of M. Foucher, who is no dry-as-dust archæologist but a sympathetic student in whom fine scholarship is illuminated by keen æsthetic sensibility.

Some of the most interesting pages of this book are those in which M. Foucher develops his theories regarding Buddhist iconography. His explanation of the curious fact that in early Buddhist art the image of the Buddha himself was always omitted, even from sculptured representations of scenes

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in the Buddha's life, will not please those who have assumed too hastily that the omission was due to feelings of reverence, or (to use Dr. Coomaraswamy's phraseology) to give an "artistic rendering of the Master's guarded silence" concerning the state of those who reached Nirvana. Nevertheless the theory is supported by so great a wealth of argument that a provisional acceptance of it is fully justified. He believes that the early Buddhist craftsmen were bound by certain tyrannical conventions which obliged them to substitute emblems for images, and that the long survival of these conventions was largely due to the necessity of meeting the requirements of many generations of pious pilgrims who were accustomed to carry away from the sacred shrines rude delineations or reproductions of the traditional emblems. But when several centuries had passed away, and a Buddhist kingdom which was open to Western cultural influences had arisen (about the commencement of our era) on the confines of north-western India, the old artistic conventions rapidly decayed, and left room for the rise of a new religious art. The Greek or Hellenized artists who were employed by the rulers of Gandhâra were naturally unfettered by the conventions of the Indian craftsmen, and therefore freely introduced the Buddha's image into their carvings and sculptures. Moreover, as there was no traditional type of Buddhist statue to which their own creative activity was obliged to conform, they evolved a Buddha-type which was Greek rather than Indian in its essential characteristics, and which, in spite of its foreign derivation met with ready acceptance in all Buddhist lands and became the prototype of the images which are to be found in places as far apart as Lung-mên and Ta-t'ung in China, Kamakura in Japan, Boro-Bodur in Java, Anuradhapura in Ceylon and the Guides' Mess at Mardân.

It is not only in the Gandhâra Buddha-type that M. Foucher traces western influences in Buddhist art. In his essay on the Eastern Gate of the Sânchî stupa, for instance, he shows that a number of "decorative motives" are clearly Iranian in origin, and he finds the influence of Hellenistic models in various details of workmanship as well as in the composition of the sculptured figures. At

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the same time he does full justice to the very great merits of the native school. He is quite ready to acknowledge that ancient Buddhist art is "attached by all its roots to its native soil" and that the art of the Sânchî gateways is "a direct expression of Indian genius." He praises its naturalness, its justness of observation, its freedom of execution, and the spontaneousness which reveals itself even through its conventionalities. It is hardly necessary to say that in every discussion of this kind M. Foucher shows none of that asperity which so disagreeably marks the writings of some of his fellow-workers in this sphere. It is to be feared that racial prejudices underlie a good deal that has been said by some writers (both Asiatic and European) on the subject of the relationship that undoubtedly exists between Eastern and Western art. The late Mr. Kakasu Okakura for example, was too patriotic a Japanese to be an altogether trustworthy guide in these matters, and his attempts to show "the absurdity of the Hellenic theory" were obviously coloured by his desire to prove the spiritual artistic independence of India and the essential oneness of "Asia the Great Mother," (See his book *The Ideals of the East, e.g.*, pp. 68, 74-78, and the Introduction contributed by that eloquent foster-daughter of India, the Sister Nivedita). A more balanced view is that of another Asiatic, Dr. Coomaraswamy, who admits that "the influence of the Western forms on all later Indian and Chinese Buddhist art is clearly traceable" (*Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, p. 329), yet confesses that he is no ardent admirer of Gandhâra art, which gives him "the impression of profound insincerity" and which, he thinks, but faintly expresses "the spiritual energy of Buddhist thought."

Unlike Mr. Kakasu Okakura, M. Foucher is far too sound a scholar, and far too keen a searcher after truth, to allow his mind to be warped by racial or other prejudices. In spite of his recognition of Hellenic influences in later Buddhist art he would be one of the first to acknowledge that the religious inspiration which lay behind the Græco-Indian art was truly Indian, not Greek, and that even the art-formulas introduced by the Greek sculptures were profoundly modified, in both India and China, by the force of this powerful inspiration. It

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is in these words that he sums up the history of religious art in the ancient world. "On the decadent trunk of Hellenistic art were grafted in nearer Asia two vigorous young shoots, of which one has been called Græco-Buddhist, and the other might just as well be called Græco-Christian. It is not for us to ignore the fact that the latter has, through Italy and Byzantium, conquered the whole of Europe; but we must realize also that the former, growing and multiplying like the Indian fig-tree, has likewise won over the whole of Eastern Asia."

Within his prescribed sphere of Buddhist art and archæology, M. Foucher's topics are as numerous as his range is wide. He takes us from the India of Asoka to the Gandhâra of the Indo-Greek Menander; from the earliest beginnings of Buddhist art on the continent to its mediæval achievements in the beautiful island of Java. He discusses the representations of the old-world Jâtaka tales on the bas-reliefs of Barhut, the sculptures of Sânchî, the relics discovered at Sârnâth and Kapilavastu and other holy places associated with the life of Sakyamuni, and the significance and affinities of certain well-known images which he describes as "the Tutelary Pair."

Of special interest to students of Buddhism are the learned essays on the Great Miracle of Çravastı and the Six-tusked Elephant. The last-named essay contains a highly-instructive attempt to settle the chronology of certain Buddhist texts. M. Foucher remarks that "after having so often applied the texts to the interpretation of the monuments, we should like on this occasion to essay the application of the monuments to the chronology of the text." Students of the very difficult subject of Buddhist textual criticism will feel inclined to congratulate M. Foucher on his success. He has set an example of method which, it may be anticipated, others will not be slow to follow.

The description of Sânchî includes some ingenious interpretations of the sculptured gateways, far surpassing the pioneering attempts of Cunningham and Beal and their successors and ably supplementing those of Grünwedel and Burgess. Very plausible interpretations are also given of the

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sculptured panels of Boru-Bodur; and the theory put forward regarding the mysterious image (purposely left unfinished) which was discovered under the cupola of the great stupa will doubtless find many supporters. It was first advanced by M. Foucher some years ago in the *Bulletin* of the French Oriental School at Hanoi.

In the essay on "the Buddhist Madonna," M. Foucher offers some interesting suggestions concerning the origin of the supposed counterpart of the Christian *Virgo Lactans*. Images and pictures representing a divine female with an infant in her arms have attracted the curiosity of many students of Far Eastern religious art and of most Western visitors to Chinese and Japanese Buddhist temples. That the idea or group of ideas underlying these representations is very popular in China is proved not only by the frequency of such images in Buddhist shrines but also by the fact that a divine Lady holding a child occupies a prominent place in the pantheon of Taoism. Taoists know her as the *Sung-tzŭ Niang-niang* 送子娘娘 "the Lady who brings children," and this name is a sufficient indication of the part she is supposed to play in this mundane sphere, and a sufficient reason for her popularity among Chinese wives who aspire to motherhood. The corresponding Buddhist deity (also regarded as a *Sung-tzŭ* or Bestower of children) is venerated as one of the numerous manifestations of Kuan-yin, who is the Indian Avalokitesvara. Now M. Foucher, very properly rejecting the notion (which never had any serious evidence in its favour) that the peoples of Asia derived their divine Mother-and-Child from Christianity, remarks that "this is a consecrated theme, of which it will be very easy for us to quote numerous examples, spread over nearly twenty centuries and over the whole of the Far East"; and he remarks elsewhere that "the type of the woman with a child, the happy incarnation of the wishes of mothers and the natural object of their worship belongs, in fact, to all times if not to all countries." Yet he sees that this widely spread religious type is not necessarily derived from any single source, but may have sprung from different origins in different times and places, and he argues in favour of the view that the "Buddhist

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Madonna" and her child were originally the goddess (or rather the converted ogress or vampire) Hâritî and her last-born child Pingala. There are various versions of the Hâritî legend in Buddhist literature. According to one of the favourite forms of the legend, Hâritî was a *yakshini* who derived an unholy pleasure from consuming the flesh of human children. Although she had five hundred sons of her own, to whom she was devotedly attached, she was ruthless in her treatment of the children of others, and totally devoid of pity for the countless parents whose homes she rendered desolate. At last the distracted people among whom she wrought this havoc bethought themselves of the Buddha, to whom, in the extremity of their distress, they decided to make their appeal. The Master listened sympathetically to their tale of woe and promised to help them. This promise he carried out by going to the *yakshini's* house in her absence and hiding her youngest son under his inverted alms-bowl. The story goes on to describe in detail how Hâritî, wild with grief for the loss of her youngest and best-beloved child, wandered far and wide in search of him, and how she, too, was at last constrained to seek the advice and help of the Blessed One. The Buddha explained to her that she was now in a position to realize something of the misery she had caused to innumerable fathers and mothers by robbing them of their offspring; and he promised that if she would undertake to mend her ways and cease from acting as a scourge of humanity her son would be immediately restored to her arms. Hâritî not only gave the required undertaking but expressed her willingness to enter the path that leads to salvation. She then took the five precepts of a lay disciple (these include the prohibition to destroy life), and the Buddha, having satisfied himself of the sincerity of her conversion, fulfilled his promise to restore the missing infant. He also assured Hâritî that she need have no anxiety about her future means of subsistence; for he would give directions that in every monastery a portion of the monks' daily food should in future be set aside as an offering to Hâritî and her five hundred sons.

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Hâritî appears to have been, in origin, a personification of smallpox, a disease which, in ancient as in modern Asia, took a heavy toll of infant life. It is easy to see how such a legend, including the notion of the ogress's conversion by the Buddha, might arise independently in different places; for infantile epidemics occur everywhere, and might readily be attributed to malevolent beings who lived on children; and Buddhism, during the process of converting the different peoples among whom such beliefs held sway, would naturally be expected to "convert" also the wicked fairies and other destructive beings who haunted the various localities concerned, and turn them into beneficent protectors of mankind rather than ruthless enemies.

Hâritî was only one of the vast army of demons and evil spirits who underwent the process of "conversion"; and the few grains of rice which to this day are deposited at meal-times on the stone stele (rather like a miniature christening-font in appearance) which stands in the courtyards of Buddhist monasteries, are regarded as votive offerings not only to Hâritî and her numerous progeny but also to a number of other shadowy divinities, who were once the enemies, but are now the friends, of human beings in general and Buddhist monks in particular.

M. Foucher has given us admirable accounts of Hâritî and the various divinities who in Christian Europe and non-Christian Asia assume in religious art the form of a woman with a child in her arms, but it is doubtful whether he is right in supposing that when we look upon a picture or image of the *Sung-tzŭ Kuan-yin* we are really contemplating a representation of Hâritî and her youngest child. "The ogress" he says, "once the terror of fruitful mothers," has clearly become "a kind of matron, hope of barren women"; and he adds that it is "this auspicious group" (comprising Hâritî and her child, to whom are often added some of her other children and, less frequently, her husband) which "has conquered the whole of the Far East." He propounds the problem thus. "Has the personality of Hâritî been engrafted upon that same native goddess who, according to a certain interpretation, has been identified with the Indian Bodhisattva,

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Avalokiteçvara? Has she simply been absorbed into the vogue of the feminine forms of the latter and considered as one of the numerous avatars of his inexhaustible graces? It is not for us to decide. . . . But what we believe we can affirm, by reason both of the fundamental identity of the worship offered and of the exterior analogy of the iconographic types, is that the innumerable statuettes, either seated or standing, in which 'the Great Mistress with the white robe . . . just because she is the patron of childless people, is represented with a child in her arms, which makes her strongly resemble the Virgin Mary' (De Groot), are only succedanea of the Indian and Serindian images of Hâritî." To illustrate what this means in respect of China, he shows us (in the best plate in his book) two typical examples of the standing and seated *Sung-tzŭ Kuan-yin*.

In spite of M. Foucher's belief that he has arrived at "a precise and sure identification" (p. 289), it may be doubted whether all oriental scholars will share his confidence. It is true, no doubt, that the converted Hâritî is or was supposed to exercise functions similar to those of Kuan-yin in her character of Bestower of Children. Both Hsüan Tsang and I Ching record the fact that during their pilgrimages to the West they found Hâritî prayed to as such. Hâritî, moreover, was no late-comer in Buddhist literature, for she appears in some of the canonical books of the Hînayâna. But in the books of both Hînayâna and Mahâyâna her identity has always remained distinct from that of other divinities. Among the sûtras which contain references to both Kuan-yin and Hâritî is the Lotus Sûtra (*Miao Fa Lien-hua Ching*.) This sûtra is so popular and has been studied so diligently and minutely both inside and outside the monasteries that a confusion between the mighty Bodhisattva and the converted vampire is almost inconceivable. Sometimes we find the distinction between them specially emphasised, as when Kuan-yin is represented as devising means whereby people may avoid being injured by the unconverted Demon Mother (*Kuei-tzŭ-mu shên* 鬼子母神), which is the name by which Hâritî is usually known in China. (When the name Hâritî appears in the Chinese texts the characters most

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commonly used to transcribe the Sanskrit are 訶利帝耶, 阿利帝耶, or 訶哩底母).

Since M. Foucher's essay was written, the subject of Hâritî has been thoroughly studied by one of M. Foucher's distinguished fellow-countrymen, M. Noël Peri, in whose monograph the foregoing fact, and many others of interest, are set forth in detail. Those who are interested in the subject-matter of M. Foucher's essay would do well to keep an open mind concerning his Hâritî-Kuan-yin hypothesis until they have perused M. Peri's work. It will be found in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome xvii, No. 3, 1917.

Whether they accept all M. Foucher's theories or not, the readers of his admirable essays will not fail to recognize in him a bold explorer in the wilderness of Oriental research and a competent and helpful guide through some of the labyrinths of Indian archæology and art.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Editor will be pleased to receive notes for these pages, or queries, or answers to queries.

A NEW and full number of Prof. Giles' *Adversaria Sinica* is in the press or is already printed, but great delay has been caused by the restrictions on shipping printed matter from the Continent to England.

* * *

In choosing a name for this New Review the word "Cathay" was of course considered. It was rejected because most people mis-pronounce it, taking the *th* as equivalent to the Greek θ. But the *h* is merely inserted to make the *t* explosive or aspirated, the more common method for this in modern days being to use the inverted comma. Thus the Emperor's name which we mostly write *K'ang-hsi* is often seen written by French scholars as Khang hi. Compare the Russian form of the name, Kitai, (КИТАЇ).

* * *

The burning of the Han-lin Library by the Boxers with the consequent destruction of the sole remaining copy of the wonderful *Yung Lo Ta Tien* was to scholars an important incident of those lurid days. It is well known that foreigners

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rescued a few volumes of the great work, but no one knows how many volumes nor where they are. It would be interesting and useful to sinology to know what volumes are extant, what their contents are and in whose possession, public or private, they remain. Professor Giles mentions five volumes, giving the numbers of the sections in them and the subjects treated. The British Museum has some volumes; Dr. G. E. Morrison has several; the Editor is the happy possessor of one: there may be scores scattered among the libraries and Museums of Europe and America or in the hands of private owners.

The Editor begs that every copy may be reported to him: the volume 本, the sections 卷 therein and the subject matter. The results of this enquiry will be published in this Review as they are received, and ultimately a complete list of the *disjecta membra* may be prepared.

Owners who do not wish their names published might still give the other desired particulars.

* * *

By the kindness of Major W. Perceval Yetts the original of the etching in this number is placed at the disposal of the Review. It may be seen by any intending purchaser on application to the Editor.

NOTES BY PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER.

The following notes by Prof. Parker were nearly all written eighteen years ago, and were intended for the *China Review*, since defunct. The Editor has a number of these notes in hand by Prof. Parker's kindness, and has so far arranged them as to separate those on chronology, language, etc., from other subjects. Some on Chinese characters will be given in next issue).

In 421 some curious particulars are given about the Toba armies: a decree ordered every 戶 to furnish one war charger 戎馬 and one big ox 大牛; these were apparently the Chinese 天下, but the six tribes 六部 (? of Tobas) had to furnish one charger for every hundred sheep possessed. In 425 every ten 家 were ordered to find one big ox to carry grain to the Great Wall, then being built.

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Market taxes 市稅 are often mentioned in history. In A. D. 579 the tax is defined as an admittance fee of one cash 初稅入市者人一錢.

* * *

The Tartar Emperor 宣 abdicated to his son in A. D. 572 and reigned jointly with him till the middle of 580: he constituted himself a sort of god 天元帝, or compared himself with God 自比上帝.

* * *

Chinese ideas on mining are expressed by the Emperor, A. D. 129, when he says, "People entering the mountain to dig stone do let out the hidden humours 發洩藏氣, and the executive officers are therefore directed, as earlier Emperors of this dynasty have already decreed, to forbid such doings whenever it seems proper to do so."

* * *

True lions were evidently the beasts sent by Kashgar in A. D. 133. They are described as being "like a tiger but all yellow 正黃, possessing a mane 顓髦, and a furry tip to the tail 尾端茸毛.

* * *

During the Boxer rebellion the Empress-Dowager sawed one of her statesmen in two for treason. This is quite in order. In A. D. 130 the grandson of the celebrated Pan Ch'ao (the discoverer of Europe) was sawn in twain 腰斬 for murdering his wife, who was an imperial princess named 貴得.

* * *

The notorious "Boxer" Governor Yühien was executed at the 什字頭 outside the north gate of Lan chou Fu. Is it possible that the "Temple of the Cross" was an old Christian Church?

* * *

Li Hung-chang's carrying his coffin about 以稗從 is in accordance with the rites, which remind a new king 即位 that in life he must remember death 存不忘亡, for which reason a fresh ruler should begin by ordering a coffin 爲稗 (not given in Williams or Giles in that sense;) it is, so K'ang-hi explains, read in the *entering* tone here (*p'ik* or *bik*).

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The sale of office 賣官 was formally instituted for the first time in A.D. 178. For each office carrying a salary of 2000 石, twenty million cash had to be paid, say Tls. 20,000 for Tls. 2,000 a year. Persons on the expectant roster entitled to promotion by service only had to pay half or a third. The salaries by cwt. of rice were only nominal, there being a certain number of bushels and a certain proportion of cash allotted to each nominal cwt. Moreover there were salaries "assimilated" to 2,000 cwt., 400 cwt., etc., besides the "genuine" cwt. salaries. About 178 B.C., however, (i.e. three and a half centuries earlier), the Emperor Wên Ti's wars against the Huns had made the temporary sale of office titles necessary.

* * *

China was first with "Siamese twins" as with everything else. In 678 二小兒連心異體 were sent as a curiosity to court.

* * *

The Han histories give accounts of conjurors from the west changing themselves amid the splashing and spurting of water into various shapes of beasts 舍利, fishes 比目魚, dragons and huge creatures called 曼延: this last must be a foreign word.

* * *

The Chinese have had their *Lex Juliu* and *Lex Papia Poppoea*. Kou-tsien, king of Yüeh, ordained that the parents of all girls unmarried at 17 should be punished. In 189 B.C. the Han dynasty enacted that unmarried women between the ages of 15 and 30 should pay five "scutages" 算. One freeman's scutage was 120 cash 錢, but merchants and slaves paid two.

* * *

The Han Emperor Wên said 上帝神明 will not accept my sacrifices; thus giving a distinct personality to 上帝, and separating him from the other gods.

* * *

In ancient times it was the practice for the Chinese daimios to live at the capital, until in A.D. 178 Wên Ti,

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in order to save the expenses of travel, and to encourage attention to local government, ordained that they should all proceed to their provinces 之 [illegible]. The only exceptions were those holding metropolitan office; and those who obtained special permits; and even these had to send their eldest sons 太子.

* * *

The *Shên Pao* of August 2, 1899, gives a curious account of a Siamese witchery 訌顫 which consists in making a person swallow a piece of cow-hide 牛皮 訌 artificially contracted, which swells in the bowels and kills the victim. It will be remembered that the Indians of America and Peru possess the art of reducing the human skin to a very small compass. Specimens are on view in the Victoria (Vancouver) Museum.

* * *

In 847 a number of waifs of East Kan Suh (河隴) were kindly received at court, and the Emperor told them to undo their pigtails 解辮 and wear a hat. Probably the waifs were 吐骨運 Tunguses who had long settled there, their ancestors having come from the "South Manchuria" region of to-day.

* * *

In 1320 the 蜒蠻 of 搖州 (modern Tsun-i in Kwei Chou) are spoken of, which is unusually far west for them. The Mongol history mentions the 徭 (evidently the same as 搖) in a way which shews that they then extended far west into the Miao country, and even into Yün Nan. In 1324 the pearl-gathering Tankas of Canton and Fu Kien were given the status of 民; but in 1326 the Lien-chou (Pakhoi) ones resumed their industry.

* * *

It was the custom to come to court on horseback until 1113, when, on account of the slippery snow, sedans 轎 were admitted under restrictions. After the flight of the Sung court over the Yangtsze, sedans became the thing, and have continued so. They seem to have been at first a mere travelling equipage, and are first mentioned in the *Han Shu*.

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The phrase 坐行而入 "Served the dinner on their knees" is used in 515 B.C. in connection with the semi-barbarian state of 吳, and suggests a Siamese connection. When I was having an interview with a Siamese prince in the Bangkok palace (1888), a servant approached furtively in a sitting-walking attitude, keeping close to the wall, and pretending to be terrified; the prince glanced round and affected suddenly to observe him, then snatched viciously at the document handed in; on which the clerk, servant or slave hopped out in this absurd, waddling way. No doubt under the present king of Siam (1903) many of the old, slavish customs have been changed.

* * *

It must be distinctly remembered that Wu and Yüeh spoke practically the same language, and that the Ailao, Nanshao, Luktai, or Siamese rulers controlled nearly the whole of South-west China with Annamese up to A. D. 800. The Chinese centre was around Canton.

FOOTBINDING.

Some years past a Chinese named Yen wrote an article in one of the Tientsin newspapers on the subject of foot-binding. His contention was that footbinding was of recent origin, and was practically unknown to the ancients. I refuted his argument at the time in an article which I wrote to the same newspaper, and not receiving any reply, the matter was dropped.

I am pleased to see however, that Dr. Giles gives cogent reasons (*Adversaria Sinica I*, No. 9), for supposing that footbinding existed as far back as A. D. 150. But from the following it will be seen that the custom even antedates that early age. In the 墨莊漫錄 we find that Yao Niang (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 2438), the concubine of 李後主, was the originator of the practice. But from the following *excerpta* it is manifest that the custom of foot-binding was in vogue hundreds of years anterior to the Northern Sung Dynasty. In the 再餘錄 by 楊升庵 of the T'ang dynasty we glean

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the following: 新羅繡行纏足跌如春妍. And in the lyrics of 杜牧 also of the T'ang, occurs this stanza: 鈿尺裁量四分. The author of the 隨園隨筆 Yuan Mei (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 2557), mentions that 漢隸釋 had put on record that when he visited the ancestral Hall of the Han Emperor Wu-ti he saw portraits hanging there of Lao Lai-tzŭ's mother and of Tsêng-tzŭ's wife who were depicted as wearing sharp-pointed shoes—cramped feet, 漢武梁祠畫老萊之母曾子之妻履頭皆銳.

The above record takes us still further into antiquity to B.C. 5th cent., nearly 16 centuries before the existence of Yao Niang. The custom of wearing bow-shaped shoes (so-called from their resemblance to the crescent-moon) dates from the Sung dynasty; and as the following passage taken from the 宋史 shows, they were evidently used in posturing: 韓維爲潁王記室侍王有以弓鞋進者維曰王安用舞靴.

The 玉壺清話, quoting from the 唐明皇詠錦襪詩, states 瓊鈎窄窄手中弄明月.

Many Chinese seem to think that Hsiao Pao-chüan's concubine 潘妃 originated the custom; but this cannot be substantiated by any reliable authority. Dr. Giles states that none of the great poets or painters of the T'ang dynasty (606-918) make any allusion to the custom. But if the statement made by 漢隸釋 mentioned above is authentic, then we have a concrete instance of such paintings between B.C. 1st and 5th centuries. That is to say 漢隸釋 visited the ancestral Hall in B.C. 150 (*circa*), and refers to ladies who lived during the 5th and 6th centuries; it is therefore, reasonable to suppose that the portraits were taken during their lifetime. That it is a very ancient custom is without a shadow of doubt; but the Chinese appear to have lost the date and origin in the mist of by-gone ages; and no authentic record has been preserved as to how and when the custom originated. Dr. Giles also states that the "original intention in binding women's feet is without doubt a sensual one." I have never been able to convince any of my Chinese acquaintances that the original intention was sensual. They all persist in stating that "the custom was introduced with a

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view to prevent the women from gadding about and so to *preserve their affection for their husbands*." From this we may gather that the reason for footbinding was originally, as it is even at the present day, a *jealous* one. Were it a sensual one, it is very doubtful if the men of the present day—who are not one whit more virtuous than the ancients were—would calmly allow their women to forego the practice.

As for the women themselves, they are only too glad to discontinue the custom, and yet it cannot be said of them that they are any more moral than the men, at least so far as sensuality is concerned.

L. C. ARLINGTON.

* * *

SOME SIDE-LIGHTS ON CHINESE SQUEEZES.

In the *Far Eastern Review* for January Mr. W. K. Lo contributes a paper entitled "Recent Progress in The Chinese Administration of Justice." The opening words are as follows:—"Much has been written about the iniquities of Chinese pre-reform administration, but the fact that China's ancient legal conceptions, though not comparable to the scientific statements of the finely balanced codes of the present day, were yet *admirably adapted* to the *preservation* of her *organized* society and *superior* to those which *existed elsewhere*, is too often overlooked." The italics are ours. Let us see how these "legal conceptions" so "admirably adapted" actually worked out in practice. In a proclamation issued by Lo Chien-chang (駱秉章), who was Viceroy of Szechuan in 1862, exhorting the people to refrain from litigation, we glean some interesting particulars on the "superior laws to those which existed elsewhere," by those who stand in *loco parentis* to the people.

From the above-mentioned document we find that the first introduction for the "preservation of organized Society" consists in paying for an official form in which to file the complaint (格式錢), "fees to the clerk who writes out the document" (代書錢), "fees for victualling the police" (查粮錢), "recorder's fees" (掛號錢), and "lictor's fees" (派堂錢).

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Having arrived at this point in the proceedings, the plaintiff may consider himself fortunate if the case is quashed before it goes any further; otherwise, the next item will be "fees for issuing the summons" (出票錢), then "fees for the sandals issued to the police" (草鞋錢), and (抄批錢) "fees for making out the order of the court." Up to this point it is not yet too late for the parties in the suit to come to an understanding and settle their difference outside of court. Failing to effect a settlement, the wheels of the law are set in motion in earnest and the summons is put into execution with (票到錢), as well as "fees for settling the preliminaries" (鋪堂錢), also something for the inner man in the shape of "refreshment fees" (酒席錢), "ushers' fees" (帶審錢), "précis verbal fees" (口供錢), "pacification fees" (太平錢), "witness fees" (隣人干證錢), and, which is perhaps the heaviest item of all, "fees to the rapacious clerks and underlings" (書書衙役錢), as well as "legal fees to the doorkeepers and porters" (規例錢).

It also appears that the plaintiff is even more mulcted than the defendant, for even should he win the case he will be required to pay a "congratulation fee" (恭賀錢), and also (perhaps as a sop to the defendant) should he lose his case he will have the privilege of paying for making out a statement that he is satisfied with the decision of the judge (具遵錢).

The Viceroy was not deficient in humour in winding up his proclamation as follows:—"you will daily be compelled to freely disgorge fees on every side, address each and every clerk as 'Sir,' the underlings as your 'uncle,' humble yourself in the dust and speak in a subdued voice; thus by giving way to a momentary fit of anger, you reap a hundred days of sorrow."

The "iniquities of Chinese pre-reform administration," as can be seen from the above-mentioned document, were certainly "admirably adapted" to the "preservation of the organized Society" of rogues and blackguards to whom the Viceroy alludes, and who despite the much-talked of reforms are still carrying on the same old game!

L. C. ARLINGTON.

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RECENT LITERATURE.

The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1916. Peking. (Annual subscription, in China, Mex. $4; in America, G. $2; in Great Britain, 8/-.

Cette revue trimestrielle, de langue anglaise, dont la plupart des collaborateurs sont des Chinois, a été lancée à Pékin et son premier fascicule a permis de bien augurer de son avenir et des services qu'elle voudra rendre dans l'œuvre d'assimilation, de progrès rationnel et aussi de prudence avisée qui s'ouvre devant les gouvernants de la grande nation d'Extrême-Orient.

Nous y trouvons, tout d'abord, une notice sur la Société dont cette revue est constituée le porte-parole, la *Chinese Social and Political Association*, groupement fondé sur la modèle de *l'American Political Association* et dû a l'initiative du Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, Ministre des Etats-Unis à Pékin, pour l'étude du droit international et de la diplomatie. La suggestion du diplomate américain, communiquée à M. Hawkling L. Yen, l'éditeur actuel, et au Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, présentement Ministre de Chine aux Etats-Unis, prit corps rapidement; l'Association s'assura de précieux concours officiels et ne tarda pas à manifester son activité par la publication du petit volume de 143 pages qui a formé le premier fascicule de son organe. Nous y signalerons, comme

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particulièrement intéressants: le discours inaugural du Dr. Reinsch, une étude sur l'organisation du Wai-kiao-pou, ou Ministère chinois des Affaires étrangères et sur les administrations qui en avaient été les precurseurs sous les désignations de Tsong-li Ya-men et de Wai-wou-pou, par M. Tchang (Yu-ts'inan), un plaidoyer sur les "limites légitimes au traitement de la nation la plus favorisée," par M. Kouo (Yun-kouan), un exposé substantiel et très encourageant du Service des Chemins de fer de l'Etat en Chine, par M. Wang (King-tch'ouen) et, surtout, un projet de réforme de l'impôt foncier chinois, remarquable par sa modération, comme par la documentation détaillée produite sur ce sujet d'actualité, très peu connu des occidentaux, par M. Siu (Ngen-yuan).

La liste des fonctionnaires et membres de la Chinese Social and Political Science Association de Pékin nous montre que celle-ci a inauguré son existence—que nous souhaitons devoir être longue et glorieuse—sous le haut patronage de Son Exc. M. Lou (Tcheng-siang) Ministre des Affaires étrangères de la République chinoise, son Président, et de LL.EE.MM. le Dr. Reinsch et Ts'ao (Jou-lin), tous deux Vice-présidents.

Les statuts de la Compagnie ont limité le domaine de ses travaux au droit, à la science politique, à la sociologie, aux études économiques et à l'administration et la tiennent à l'écart des polémiques de la politique pratique.

A. VISSIÈRE.

Les Missions de Chine et du Japon 1916. Première année. Par J. M. PLANCHET, Missionaire lazariste. Pékin, 1916, Imprimerie des Lazaristes, un volume petit in-8, de VI et 493 pages, carte en couleurs, planche hors texte.

Ce petit volume marque les débuts d'une publication annuelle qui se propose de rendre service aux missionnaires Catholiques de l'Extrême-Orient en leur fournissant des détails précis sur l'origine, la constitution, le développement, le personnel et les œuvres de tous les Vicariats apostoliques ou autres subdivisions religieuses de la Chine, du Japon, de

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Hongkong, de Macao et de la Corée. Il est de nature à intéresser aussi les personnes qui ont suivi le mouvement général des croyances et l'expansion du Christianisme depuis sa pénétration dans l'Empire du Milieu, sous la forme Nestorienne, au VIIe siècle.

Des monographies traitant des circonscriptions Catholiques occupent les deux tiers du volume environ. Le Père Planchet, procureur de la Mission de Pékin, les a fait suivre, fort judicieusement, d'une partie documentaire d'un intérêt spécial et qui nous renseigne sur un bon nombre de questions d'actualité de la Chine républicaine, sur certaines de ses institutions ou sur des personnages politiques, que les missionnaires ne doit pas ignorer. Je citerai, en particulier: la lettre du Pape au Président Yuan (Che-k'ai) et une étude sur la République chinoise vis-à-vis des religions, Christianisme et Confucianisme, et la séparation des écoles et des églises, où apparaît un progrès très sensible du gouvernement chinois dans la voie de la liberté des cultes. On voit ici ce que les Missions chrétiennes doivent au nouveau régime, qui s'est inspiré de la déclaration française des Droits de l'homme. La question des achats de terrains par les communautés chrétiennes, reglée par la Convention Berthemy-Gérard, fait l'objet d'un autre chapitre, où nous constatons que l'action diplomatique s'est exercée avec profit, à Pékin, pour empêcher certaines restrictions dont s'était avisée la police de la capitale. D'autre part, le serment militaire chinois, qui devait primitivement être prêté dans les temples de Yue Fei, fut transféré au Temple du Ciel, pour donner satisfaction aux protestations qui s'étaient élevés à cet égard. Sont à signaler, en outre, un beau portrait et une notice biographique de S. Exc. M. Lou (Tcheng-siang), Ministre des Affaires étrangères, et des renseignements concernant les missionnaires mobilisés depuis l'ouverture des hostilités en Europe, les négotiations sino-japonaises, les nouvelles divisions administratives de la Chine, son service des postes et ses chemins de fer.

Il n'y a pas lieu d'assimiler le *vade-mecum* du missionnaire dû au Père Planchet au *Calendrier-Annuaire* publié par l'Observatoire de *Z*i-ka-wei, beaucoup plus technique, quoique renfermant occasionnellement des informations analogues

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sur la Chine contemporaine. A chacun de ces deux manuels, son utilité. Des félicitations peuvent être addressées à la mission Catholique de Pékin pour l'initiative prise par l'un de ses membres, avec l'assistance de l'imprimerie des Lazaristes. L'auteur demande, dans sa préface, que ses lecteurs lui apportent leur concours pour faire disparaître des volumes futurs les incorrections d'une première édition. Beaucoup de celles-ci ne sont, en français et en chinois, que des *coquilles* d'impression faciles à supprimer, au cours d'une révision plus attentive des épreuves. Par ailleurs, je ne puis que régretter l'apparition, dans ce livre, d'une transcription particulière des sons chinois, en vertu de laquelle les noms propres se présentent sous une vêture nouvelle, *tchow* étant écrit pour *tcheou*, *dje* pour *tche*, *tsü* pour *k'iu*, *suan* pour *siuan*, *sia* pour *hia*, etc. Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait là un système fondé sur des considérations rationnelles, si l'alphabet français en forme la base.

A. VISSIÈRE.

La Chine que vient. Par EDWARD-ALSWORTH ROSS, Professeur à l'Université de Wisconsin. Traduction française par FLORIAN-MARIE DELHORBE. Paris, 1914. Un volume in-12, de 305 pages, 26 ill. (Prix: broché, 3fr. 50).

L'évolution politique de la Chine s'est produite avec une telle rapidité, pendant ces derniéres années, que le petit ouvrage du Professeur Ross, quoique contenant certaines références aux événements de 1911 et même de 1912, n'était plus, lors de sa publication, un livre d'actualité. L'auteur y a réuni les remarques faites, au cours d'un voyage dans des régions assez diverses de la Chine, sur l'état social du pays, à la fin de la domination mantchoue, et sur les transformations qui s'y manifestaient dès lors, avec une intensité croissante, au contact de la civilisation occidentale. L'influence qu'ont eue sur ces transformations les missionnaires protestants, surtout Américains, leurs institutions scolaires et leur propagande morale et religieuse, est particulièrement mise en relief par le Professeur Ross. Des atténuations seraient, sur

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d'autres points, fréquemment à apporter à des appréciations trop radicales—parfois contradictoires—dûes à un observateur de passage. Néanmoins, les remarques formulées sur la résistance de la race chinoise, sur la pensée chinoise, sur la lutte pour l'existence en Orient, sur l'avenir industriel de la Chine, sur l'affranchissement de la femme et sur le Christianisme en Chine sont présentés parfois d'une façon assez neuve pour retenir notre attention. La réforme de l'instruction publique élaborée par le gouvernement mantchou fait l'objet d'un parallèle avec les méthodes d'enseignement pratiquées par les missions protestantes dans le pays et est estimée en état d'infériorité au regard de celles-ci. Mais les imperfections signalées sont de celles que le temps corrigera, sans doute, et il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner de les avoir vu grever, à ses débuts, une réorganisation pédagogique et universitaire dont l'ampleur est sans égale dans le monde.

De semblables livres, résumés de souvenirs et d'impressions personnels, il est permis de ne pas exiger une rigueur scientifique. Cependant, l'assertion suivante, qui figure au bas de la page 71, "il y a, sur la table des pauvres, un vin fait de pommes de terre frites" est si étrange que nous la croyons dûe à quelque *lapsus* ou à une erreur de traduction.

A. VISSIÈRE.

Index to The China Review or Notes and Queries on the Far East. Prepared by JOHN C. FERGUSON. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd. Price: $5.00.

Some people were wise enough to subscribe to the first number of the *China Review*, and take it continuously. To-day it is hardly possible to make up a complete set of the 25 volumes, even with much money. Those who wish to dig out its treasures of knowledge may count themselves happy if they have access to a library which contains it.

Anyone however who has used it to get some particular line of information knows how wearisome it is to go through the imperfect indexes of five and twenty volumes where it is quite uncertain as to the heading to be looked for. Such

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students will be extremely grateful to Dr. Ferguson for his help.

The work could hardly have been better done, and the labour must have been very great. Clearness has been attained by being liberal with space: volume-numbers and page-numbers are not mingled with the text, but stand in separate columns opposite the various items. When there are several articles with the same title, that title is repeated in full even when the author is one. This is less confusing than the usual *ditto* or „ „ .

If a certain amount of grouping could have been introduced, the index would have been still more valuable. Thus, articles or notes on Archaeology may appear under a variety of titles, and one does not know what to look for. There might also have been more repetition of entries: for example, after referring to all articles under *Calendar* one must still remember to turn up *Chinese Calendar:* and after *Corea* one must not forget there are entries under *Korea.*

We notice a few typographical errors; *Callary* (twice) for *Callery*, *Geothe* for *Goethe*, *villians* for *villains*, etc. But the work has been admirably done and to a small class of men Dr. Ferguson has rendered valuable service in this book.

An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art, by HERBERT A. GILES. With illustrations. Second edition. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, $10. (Quaritch, 20s. net).

The first edition of this work has long been out of print; it has now been enlarged from 178 to 218 pages, revised, and enriched with additional pictures.

There is more than one way to review a book about Chinese art. One way,—the artist's way,—would be to write a rhapsodical monograph on Chinese painting, then put in, for appearance' sake, a few references here and there to the book itself.

But as with music and poetry so with painting: some are by nature blind and deaf to the charm. Others can appreciate —especially music—to the point where pain and pleasure

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blend, yet have no more the critical than the creative power. It is but few who have at once the seeing eye and the ability to express their souls. Many, beyond a doubt, are tempted to utter more than they feel, to learn a jargon of conventional speech, talking of one art in terms of another. In Chinese poetry it is certain that the western students who can know the true charm of it are few indeed.

The work before us is not a work on painting, and Prof. Giles may, for all one can learn from the book, have little critical skill in Chinese art. At any rate he is here only the skilled translator of a mass of interesting, gossiping stories and criticisms selected from many Chinese works on painting and especially painters.

Of these anecdotes many seem most futile and pointless, and of the criticisms many are puerile in the extreme. Moreover, as Professor Giles points out, the same marvels are repeated, with slight variations, of different men in different centuries, becoming chestnuts before our very eyes. Thus, more than one artist painted horses that kicked in their stables or dragons that brought rain, or fishes that went swimming by night, and these stories 'leave us cold.' We read of Chêng, a famous painter of orchids; a magistrate hearing that he would not part readily with his pictures arrested him on the ground that he had not discharged certain duties to the State. "You may have my head," roared Chêng to the astonished magistrate, "but you shall not have my orchids." Thereupon he was released. To the western mind there seems something inconclusive about this. Yen Hui painted devils very cleverly, "making them quite life-like." One painter is said to have been most remarkable for his portraits "which were so like in feature as to be easily recognizable at once." Of another it is said that the portrait "would sometimes be perfect; sometimes a little less so, but in all cases a marked likeness was obtained." One critic tells us "If the personages in a picture, when you look at them, seem to speak, if birds and beasts seem as if they were alive" . . . and other ifs, "the man who paints such pictures is a great artist." An example of the obvious. But to finish quotations, which is not easy, we give this about a picture of a band of musicians

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in full blast; "one critic said the guitars were out of time with the flutes, while a rival critic said they were in time." This does not get us much forwarder.

But let not one suppose these examples are given with a view to ridicule. True, they shew the usual Chinese naïveté and inconsequence of thought, which often make the unthinking foreigner smile and despise. But mingled with these puerilities are criticisms and opinions of a depth and shrewdness that astonish. Thus the childish remarks about likenesses, quoted above, are accompanied by iterated teaching that the outward likeness is nothing unless the inner man is revealed in his portrait. But we must leave the serious reader to find these deep and wise teachings of true art in the book itself.

The West has hardly learnt yet that the great art of China rivals the great art of Europe. We have been as self-satisfied and unenquiring as we blame the Chinese race for being—they have been blind to the blessings of our railways and motor-cars till lately, and we, till lately have been blind to the greatness of their painting. But that greatness should not surprise anyone, for in Europe or in Asia it needs the seeing eye, the contemplative mind, a depth of religious feeling, a human soul in communion with the soul of the universe; and for these the Chinese had no need to await the advent of the foreigner.

The pictures in this volume have been chosen by Mr. Laurence Binyon and are accompanied by striking critical notes by him. This ensures our getting the best that can be given us, but half-tone reproductions of Chinese pictures can never convey much to the untrained eye, and the ordinary man will find more pleasure in the machine-made illustrations in a monthly magazine. It seems a pity that the pictures cannot be given in colour: Mr. Strehlneek's *Chinese Art* shews how attractive such can be, and what remarkable reproductions can be made now in China, not to mention what the Japanese can do.

As a whole the book is a thing of joy. Prof. Giles writes in an easy, colloquial style, as suits the subject. It is perhaps a pity that the controversial note is introduced at the end, respecting the meaning of the term *Chieh hua*. The

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word 'caveats' is not the word to use on p. 170, and we notice 'contended' for 'contented' (p. 185) and 毛 for 手 (p. 202); but the proof-reading has been done with remarkable care and success. We are surprised at the lack of taste shewn in the constant use of the algebraic sign for equality wherever the translation of a Chinese term is given. It is natural to thus save trouble in a note-book, but it is inelegant in the pages of a serious work.

The New Atlas and Commercial Gazetteer of China, edited by E. J. DINGLE; compiled by The Far Eastern Geographical Establishment; published by North China Daily News Office, Shanghai. Tls. 110.

Since Macaulay first blighted a book by giving its cubic contents as the first point in his review of it, many reviewers have imitated him, forgetting that imitations of humour are not humorous. No one can look on the *New Atlas* or lift it without being tempted to comment on its bulk, and for once the words 'monumental,' 'magnum opus', 'stupendous,' are truly suitable. A reviewer who praised it as a *vade mecum* was humorous without knowing it.

But other things connected with the book are great besides the measurements. The courage was surely great which produced such a work in these days of dear paper and scarce labour. And, the one important thing, an examination of the contents shews that the success has been commensurate with the daring, and the book is truly a great book with a greatness not measured by scales or footrule.

It is essentially, though not entirely, a book for the merchant's office, and probably few firms that are alert will feel they can do without it. The merchant who knows most about the country, its geography, communications, finance, trade and general economic conditions is surely in a better position to succeed than another. The language of the country, now beginning to be recognized as of prime importance to trade, must be learned elsewhere, but practically all besides that intelligence can use for success in business will be found assembled in this book if books can give it.

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There are maps of the separate provinces, all beautifully printed in five colours and all with the names in both English and Chinese. No one looks for scientific accuracy in maps of an imperfectly surveyed country, but these are as accurate as can be made, are beautiful in their clearness and most workmanlike in their execution. Other maps follow, geological, forestry, railway, and one giving the products of the country, specially prepared, and with the useful novelty of an index. There is also an index to places in the Eighteen Provinces, and another for the Outer Territories: all bi-lingual and giving latitudes and longitudes. As there is moreover a full description given of each province it will be seen that the department of geography is amply and splendidly full.

The commercial section is of course even more elaborate. Besides the economic details given under each province we have 50 pages, not small ones, devoted to the Ports in order and giving the fullest trade statistics. There are in addition special chapters on the tea, silk, opium, and shipping trades, and a beautiful set of 18 coloured graphs, giving comparisons between the trade of China and of other countries at different periods. But there is more than we need enumerate, from an account of the Railways down to such miscellaneous items as the average value of the Haikwan tael.

In the competition for trade the *New Atlas* will be a *sine qua non* for every China firm, but the mass of information about China which it gives so clearly should make the book invaluable in America and Great Britain. Not only merchants in China but manufacturers at home, not to mention the intelligent public, cannot have too clear a knowledge of the needs, opportunities and resources of this great country, and we hope that the work will be taken by all Chambers of Commerce and put in all the public Libraries of our larger towns. Just as we have found that pictures of *e.g.* the Shanghai Bund have been what is vulgarly called an eyeopener to thoughtless friends at home, so the mere sight of this superb book, all about China and actually produced in China, would be an astonishment to many who ought to know better already and must be taught better for the new and great and stressful day that is dawning.

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The International Relations of the Chinese Empire. Vols. II and III. By H. B. MORSE, LL.D. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, $10 each. (London: Longmans, 25s. net each.)

The first volume of this work has been greatly prized by all students of modern Chinese history. It appeared in 1911, and as the author was not then sure that he could continue the work it was not marked as Volume I. We now have two volumes given us at once, and they are boldly called on the title-pages 'Volumes II and III.' This slight anomaly is corrected by each volume having a striking sub-title. The three are called respectively "The Period of Conflict," "The Period of Submission," and "The Period of Subjection." The new volumes cover the years from 1860 to the fall of the dynasty in 1911. They have a common index: it is a pity that the index for Vol. I was not incorporated.

All who have read the previous volume will know what to expect in this continuation: a history written with intimate, or as one may say, interior knowledge, with sympathy for the Chinese nation, and with that restraint and impartiality which are so rare in historical writings. Throughout there is a complete absence of partizan spirit, and there is no attempt to write up any great situation, no 'purple patches,' no rhetoric. The one enthusiasm that is betrayed is for his 'chief,' the I.-G., and indeed the author tells us that if the material—including a diary in 74 volumes!—had been at his disposal we should have had a biography of Sir Robert Hart. This, however, would still have been a history of Chinese Relations for the period. The many letters from Hart which are given us in footnotes are enough to shew how much China owes to this great man, the best friend she ever had among outside peoples. Those who know him only as the great organizer of the Customs service and as diplomatist may be pleased to see him in playful mood, writing very colloquial English, and even 'dropping into poetry,' or at least humorous doggerel. Many of his shrewd judgments shew extraordinary insight into the heart of political matters, and surprise us more as years go on and things develop. Yet many people will consider that his optimism with respect to the future of

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China was not justifiable, and that his long residence in Peking, in the midst of officialdom, distorted his views and limited his outlook.

Dr. Morse also seems to have great faith in the Chinese people; but the very titles of his volumes shew that he is not disposed to treat them sentimentally. He writes in forcible words of the humiliation, the abasement, of China, as after the war with Japan or the Boxer settlement.

"In the world's history no country, with so vast an extent of territory, and so large a population, under one government, as China—no country with a tithe of its area or population—had ever been subjected to such a series of humiliations or to so many proofs of the low esteem in which it was held, as China had been subjected to in the six months from November, 1897, to May, 1898, and, it may be added, no country had so thoroughly deserved its fate; no country had ever shewn itself so incapable of correcting admitted abuses in its administration, or of organising the resources of an exceedingly rich territory, inhabited by a sturdy race with many good qualities."

He does not philosophize about the downward course of the nation, finding it sufficiently accounted for, as it would seem, by the incapacity of recent Manchu rulers and officials. This at least allows one to hope that the volume "The International Relations of the Chinese Republic," whoever writes it, will be less tragic than the story now before us.

It goes without saying that all matters relating to trade, and such subjects as need skill in statistical statement, are treated admirably in these volumes. The separate chapters dealing with the Postal Service and the Railways, and the parts of the work treating of the founding and development of the Customs service, or of Treaties and Treaty Revision, are invaluable, because of their completeness and clearness. There is also a just regard to proportion displayed throughout the work, yet it may be questioned whether the Boxer rebellion, though the most international of all China's relations, does not occupy a *little* too much space. Yet we could not ask for it to be abridged.

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One reads of the past, of course, with one's eye on the present and the future. One asks what lessons China has learned by now, and what real progress the Republic has made. On p. 102 of vol. III we read, "Yet the Chinese rulers had learned no lesson from the defeat. . . There was no plan for reorganisation, none for developing the internal resources of the country, none to enable the empire to stand on its own feet; but it was still held to be the duty of the Western powers to save China from the consequences of her own weakness. . ." Reading this, one thinks how helplessly China lost territory to Germany, and then looks to the Allies to get it back for her at the cost of blood and treasure. Again, in Vol. II, p. 391, Sir Robert Hart writes: "The government cannot stand another fight with the foreigner, and it is seemingly powerless to effect what the foreigner wishes it to do in the provinces; the foreigner may possibly try to do what it leaves undone, and, in that case, there will be a grand smash."

That was written in 1865, more than half a century ago, and looking at things to-day one is tempted to say *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

While Dr. Morse's style is extremely clear there are places where, *e.g.*, the careless inversion of a sentence makes the reader pause. For example, "To stem this wave of revolt the central government had manifested its incapacity." (Vol. II, p. 66). "The scholarly hatred of Christianity" should be "The scholars' hatred": such a hatred may be felt by all the literati, but comes from ignorance rather than scholarship. It is surely a mistake to include Shantung among the provinces "served in all their populous parts by waterways." There are strange words, or words strangely used, which mar the beauty of a style, as 'commorant,' 'quadrivious,' 'martyrised' for the usual 'martyred,' 'subsisted his troops,' etc. The footnotes are so numerous that certainly the old method of asterisks and daggers would not suffice, but we think that figures in square brackets, the same size as the text and printed in the line, are not the best way. When they come amid a mass of statistics they are confusing; they may be mistaken for figures in the text; and they may sometimes

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even be ludicrous, as when we read "watching one another and shewing their teeth [100]."

We venture to call attention to a fault in the printing of this book which is seen more and more in all new books: the lawless way in which words are divided at the end of a line. In American books we have got used to 'knowl-edge' and many monstrosities; books printed in China where the compositor knows nothing of English beyond the letters may be forgiven much; but a work printed in England should have more self-respect. To shew the enormity of the fault we omit ordinary examples and give a Chinese name: Tientsin is divided Tient-sin.

But taking the opportunity to point out a few such trifling blemishes we remain most thankful to Dr. Morse for such a history, its usefulness to those who can use it can hardly be over-estimated, while for those not engaged in research it is eminently readable and interesting.

The Kan Ying Pien. Book of Rewards and Punishments. Chinese Text with Introduction, Translation and Notes. By JAMES WEBSTER. Shanghai: 1918. Mex. $1.00.

Students of Chinese have surely now-a-days all the apparatus they can desire for learning the language,—perhaps more than is good for them. We who had to be content with Wade's *Tzŭ erh chi*, Williams' Dictionary, Stent's Vocabulary and a teacher innocent of English, yet managed to learn; with the present aids we might have become Sinologues. We remember to have read in those days *Kan Ying P'ien* in Doolittle's Vocabulary.

Here we have a new translation with such elaborate notes and introduction that the book is not merely an exercise in Chinese but a study of Taoism and a contribution to the study of Comparative Religion.

Little scope is left to the translator, Rémusat, Julien and Legge having preceded him; but the Notes are valuable and the Introduction is very full and very helpful, and includes an attempt to analyze and give shape to the famous but muddled

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little tract. For students of the language or of the puerilities of jumbled Buddhism and Taoism the book is a great help.

The romanization is Wade's but with many careless omissions of diacritical marks. Why 篇 in the title should consistently be given as *pien* is not explained. Stanilas (Julien) for Stanislas is a printer's error, but there are few such.

The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, and other Essays. By A. FOUCHER. Translated by L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas. (Paris: Geuthner. London: Milford, 31s. 6d. net. Shanghai Agency of Oxford University Press, $23.50).

A Review of this work will be found on page 77.

Calendrier-Annuaire pour 1919. (Zi-ka-wei: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique. $2.00.)

This well-known little book makes its appearance for the 17th time. It contains a wonderful amount of information, useless to most people but invaluble to the rest. Everything one could ask for about sun, moon, planets, stars, weather, etc., is given with the greatest elaboration and detail. Thus, the average temperature of every hour throughout the year is given, the average being of the years 1879-1917. This is even given twice, in centigrade, and then on differently coloured paper in Fahrenheit degrees with a little preface in English. One may thus at a glance see whether the temperature at any moment is above or below the average. We cite this simply as an example of the enormous amount of meteorological information contained in the book.

What is not astronomical or meteorological is mostly ecclesiastical; but there are also tables of use to everyone, for turning taels into dollars, or metrical weights and measures into English, etc., etc. The only fault we can find with the work is that the index comes right in the middle of the book, which is half appendix, and can only be readily found by the bad device of leaving a corner turned down.

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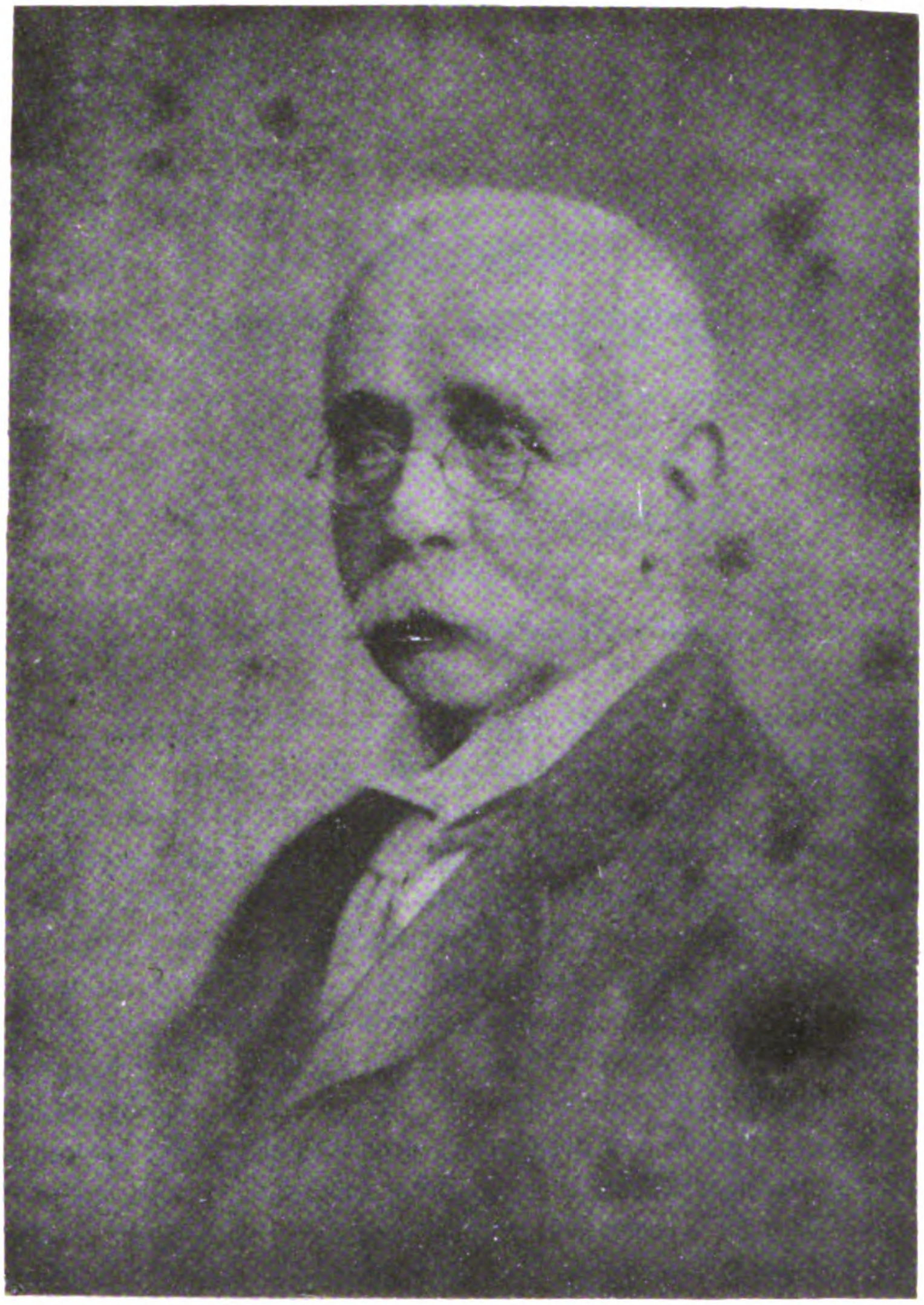

PROFESSOR HERBERT A. GILES, LL.D.

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THE NEW
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WORKING THE ORACLE

BY

LIONEL C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

IT is now close on twenty years since the finding of the bone, tortoise-shell, deershorn and ivory relics in Honan. Broken into fragments as they were, and the circumstances attending their exhumation by ignorant peasants disappointingly vague as they have proved, the incriptions on their surfaces, now agreed by all to be of Shang dynasty date, have opened a new chapter in the history of Chinese writing. And since these inscriptions are originals, all that they contain is authentic, and impervious to attack on the score of forgery, interpolations, or the errors of editors and transcribers. The material is very considerable in amount, but being what it is,—the records of inquiries addressed to the ancestors of the Shang royal line by their descendants, upon a limited field of subjects, the range of information to be gained from the find is correspondingly restricted. Thus, the objective value of the knowledge afforded by the oracular reply to a question whether a given day would be suitable for a given sacrifice is not, it may be argued, much above zero. Nor are we advanced far in our views of the origin of the Chinese race, or the nature of primitive East Asian civilization, when we have ascertained authoritatively that it would not rain on an

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unverifiable day in an uncertain month of an unspecified year about thirty-five centuries ago.

So much I freely concede in advance to those critics of the What's-the-good-of-it-all school, those who demand of all research in all branches of science that it should yield immediate dividends expressible in terms of utilitarian profits, and who, if this cannot be precisely guaranteed, consider that such investment of time and labour is speculative, imprudent, and fruitless. Having, however, a great infidelity towards such narrow, shallow, and unimaginative doctrines, especially in the light of what the War has shown to us, I am not about to argue the point. I shall only say that I believe the direct contrary to correspond more to the truth, and that I adhere to the forces of those who march to the inspiring air of "You never know, y' know."

In fact, faith and imagination are equally demanded for scientific as for religious progress. Key positions are not so often won by direct frontal attack, as turned by filtering advances through many apparently insignificant and disconnected points.

One such point, I hope, is provided by the subject of the present paper, based mainly on the investigations and analyses of a great Chinese scholar, who, I know, believes himself to be only a voice crying in the wilderness. In this I trust he is mistaken.

The work of Mr. Lo Chên-yü (羅振玉) to which reference is made is the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* 殷虛書契考釋 or "Critical Interpretation of the Records of the Tumulus of Yin."

The book is divided into eight Sections, as the result of the author's analytic labours on the collections of the Honan fragments accessible to him, which I may add do not include any of those procured through the hands of Messrs. Chalfant and Couling.

The first Section, of two pages, treats of the dynastic Capital cities, 都邑 *tu i*. The second is on the Shang sovereigns, 帝王 *ti wang*. The third relates to personal names, 人名 *jên ming*. The fourth to topographical names, 地名 *ti ming*. The fifth, comprising 58 pages, is an

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annotated list of deciphered characters, 文字 *wên tzŭ*, with examples of their variants, concluding with some remarkable unknown characters. The sixth is on the oracular sentences, 卜辭 *pu tz'u*, which as transcribed in modern writing, fill 27 pages, and from which the examples in this paper are taken. The seventh illustrates ritual 禮制 *li chih*. The eighth and last discusses the method of divining, 卜法 *pu fa*. It is with the sixth and eighth of these Sections that this paper is concerned.

Mr. Lo Chên-yü introduces the sixth Section, on "The oracular sentences," with the following passage:—

"The characters themselves having been elucidated (in section 5), the oracular sentences can then be read. On the other hand, the style of writing of the men of the Shang dynasty was very concise, and the written tablets sometimes recorded several different matters. Moreover, borrowed characters being numerous, it is often possible to decipher the characters without being able to discover the meaning.

"We are now able by means of the classification of the topics of divination by tortoise-shell, to divide them under the following eight heads. These are, inquiries as to (1) the sacrifice known as *tsi* 祭; (2) that known as *kao* 告, or announcement; (3) that known as *shun* 巡; (4) ordinary journeys, *lit.*, going out and entering, *ch'u ju* 出入, (5) hunting, *t'ien lieh* 田獵; (6) military expeditions, *chêng fa* 征伐; (7) the year's harvest, *nien* 年; and (8) the weather, *fêng yii* 風雨."

Then follow 27 pages of inscriptions transcribed in modern text, each supported by the particular reference to Lo's previous work, the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契 or "Records of the Tumulus of Yin," where the facsimiles of the inscribed relics have been reproduced. It is from these facsimiles that the examples appearing on the Plate to the present article have been copied. I should add that where Lo has not been able discern the present equivalent of any character, he reproduces the original faithfully in its place in the modern transcribed text.

I propose to submit to the readers of this Review specimens under each of the eight categories specified above

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as subjects of divination. The reference numbers accompanying each passage correspond to those attached to the facsimiles in the Plate. The English rendering of course is mine, as are also various comments and notes inserted after the translation.

It will probably not be deemed irrelevant, and can hardly fail to prove interesting, to examine under Lo's guidance, as a preliminary, some of the new facts, and the new appreciation of the older facts, actual or believed, which the exhumation of these strange relics has served to establish or suggest, on the subject of divination by tortoise-shell.

In the first place Lo points out that besides the tortoise, the bones of certain other animals were employed by the diviners' caste.

Of the tortoise, the plastron, *fu chia* 腹甲, alone was used, for the carapace, *pei chia* 背甲, being thicker and having an uneven external surface, it was not easy to develop fissures upon it, 不易作兆 *pu i tso chao*. When other animals' bones were taken, the shoulder-blades 肩胛 *chien chia*, and shank-bones 脛骨 *ching ku*, the latter being first split, were those selected.

The tortoise-shell was reserved for inquiries regarding sacrificial services. For all other matters bones were used, but not indiscriminately. About hunting, the oracle was consulted specially by means of the shankbone, and Lo asserts that in most cases where recourse was had to the shoulder-blade, inquiries regarding the regulation of frontiers, and the expediency of punitive expeditions, were the objects (疆理征伐之事爲多). This explains, he says, why 90 per cent. of the relics are of animal bones, and only some 10 per cent. of tortoise-shell. I should like to note here that he makes no mention of inscribed deer-horns, which form a small part of the find.

The art of the diviner, when pursued by the vehicle of the tortoise, must have been as slow in its process as they believed it sure in its result. It comprised a mechanical operation described by Lo, which I have been able to verify by my own and other collections. The plastron, or the bone, destined for divination, was first worked to a smooth and

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polished surface, after which sometimes oval holes were made with a chisel, or rather gouge, sometimes round ones with an auger or bit, while at other times within a round hole an additional oval was contrived.

To the tortoise-shell only the gouge was applied. Of the bones, from 10 to 20 per cent. were bored, and 80 to 90 per cent. gouged. Only 5 per cent. exhibit both kinds of operation, which were required only in the case of the thicker bones. Such was the process, adds Lo, that is meant by the term 契 *ch'i*, found in the *Odes* and the *Record of Rites*. Legge, not then in a position to understand the true nature of the operation, translated the word *ch'i* by "singe," and Couvreur, in the latter work, by "billet."

The hollow having been made from the back of the tortoise shell or bone, the next step was the application of heat within the cavity. This was termed 灼 *shao* or scorching. It resulted in the appearance of fine fissures visible on the face of the shell or bone, vertical first, and afterwards lateral crackings starting from the main fissure. Such compound fissures constitute the well-known term 兆 *chao*. Among a large number of examples observed by Lo, he reproduces fifteen varieties, of which the following are some,— , , , , , and . It is pertinent to remark that though these are all faithful representations of actual *chao* or "fissures," yet it is clear that they are the originals not of the character 兆 *chao*, but of the character *pu*. In fact, the former word has not been identified on the bones, and perhaps does not occur there.

Failing the use of gouge or auger, the application of heat would not generate the required cracks. But when thus reinforced, the scorch produces a main fissure corresponding to the main or longitudinal axis of the oval or round cavity. From this main fissure, the smaller branching cracks may have been started by a second application of heat.

Such was the mechanical side of the diviners' mystery, and by, presumably, the variations in the curves and bifurcations of the branching fissures, they ascertained, or professed to ascertain, the good or ill omen disclosed, and as Lo reminds us, they also recorded the nature of the inquiry at

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the side of the oracular fissures. So much he claims we can tell of this ancient system of divination, by the evidence of our own eyes.

At this point I might conveniently leave what many readers will perhaps think the unimportant technicalities of the diviners' craft, but I feel reluctant to pass over the scholarly passage with which Lo Chên-yü concludes his admirable volume. The topics here debated by Lo belong, it is true, to a far-away epoch, and are so remote from all concern with the twentieth century and its normal affairs, apart altogether from the gasping struggle for life of civilization, just terminated, that it may seem hard not to regard the discussion of the questions involved as an exercise of sterile pedantry, and a vain beating of academic air.

"Having learnt," writes Lo, "by ocular demonstration the general character of the system of the ancient divination by fissures (古卜法), and having tested it by the passages in the Third Part of the *Rites of Chou*, the *Book of Odes*, the *Record of Rites*, and the various authors under the Chou and Ch'in dynasties, where such divination is mentioned, and finding for the most part an accord existing, we establish the fact that there was no great difference between the divination methods of the Shang and Chou dynasties, and that Chêng K'ang-ch'êng's annotations on the *Odes* and the *Rituals* contain many errors."

This is because the Han scholars were already unable to grasp clearly the mode of divination practised under the Shang and Chou dynasties. The *Ta Ya* Section of the *Odes* contains the line 爰契我龜 *yüan ch'i wo kuei*, (see Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Vol. 4 Part 2, p. 438, where he translates this by "There he singed the tortoise-shell," adding that he "cannot tell why 我 is used before 龜"). The word *ch'i* in that Ode is the same as the *ch'ieh* in the sentence of Hsün Tzŭ 荀子, "鍥而不舍之 *ch'ieh êrh pu shê chih*," that is, "(sound wood) is carved and not thrown aside," and 契 is the primitive form of 鍥. In early times the word 契 *ch'i* was usually defined as 刻 *k'ê* to carve.

(The *I Hsi Chiu Chia Chu* 易繫九家注; the *Shih Ming* 釋名; the *Kuang Ya* 廣雅, Section *Shih Yen* 釋言;

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the *Biography of Mei Ch'êng* 枚乘傳 in the *Han Shu* with collected annotations; the Notes on the *Biography of Chang Hêng* in the *Hou Han Shu* 張衡傳注; all to the same effect. Lo's note).

What Han Fei Tzŭ, and the Section on the Chief Diviner, 大卜, *Ta Pu*, in the *Chou Li*, with Chêng Ssŭ-nung's comment thereon, refer to as 鑿龜 *tso kuei*, "chiselling tortoise-shell," and what Chuang Tzŭ, Hsün Tzŭ and Han Fei, together with the Imperial Regulations (王制) Section of the *Record of Rites*, describe as 攅龜 *tsuan kuei* "boring tortoise-shell," are both identical with the term 契 *ch'i*.

(The primary sense of the syllable 契 *ch'i* in the expression 書契 *shu ch'i*, was also that of 刻 *k'ê* to carve. Before the use of bamboo and silk, characters were in all cases incised (刻 *k'ê*), and the oracular sentences are a proof of it. When Chêng Ssŭ-nung in his note on the functions of the 小宰 Hsiao Tsai, or Deputy Administrator-General, treats 書契 *shu ch'i* as equivalent to 符書 *fu shu*, indentures,* that is another and distinct sense of *shu ch'i*. And the word as used in the passage of the Ch'ü Li Section of the *Record of Rites*, 執右契 *chih yu ch'i* "holding in the hand the right half of the note," and also in Kuan Tzŭ in the passsage 使無券契之責, "in the case of a loan without written agreement, are both used in the sense of 符書, or indentures. When the *Shuo Wên* describes 契 *ch'i* as 大約 *ta yo*, a greater Deed, that is taking indentures 符書 as the primary sense, which is probably erroneous. Lo's note).

* The New English Dictionary under *Indenture*, writes:—Originally both copies were written on one piece of parchment or paper and then cut asunder in a serrated or sinuous line, so that when brought together again at any time, the two edges exactly tallied and showed that they were parts of one and the same original document: hence the expression, 'pair of indentures.' Occasionally a word, sentence, or figure was engrossed on the space where they were divided, as in the space between a bank cheque and its counterfoil."

With regard to the phrase *shu ch'i*, the "Convention écrite" of Biot, which occurs in paragraph 20 of Book 3 of the *Chou Li*. I have been unable to verify Lo Chên-yü's reference. Chêng Ssŭ-nung is not quoted at all on this passage in the Imperial Edition of the *Chou Li*, nor is the expression 符書 there employed by any of the other commentators cited.

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The sense of 契 *ch'i* being 刻 *k'ê*, to carve, the instrument by which carving was done was similarly named. This is what is referred to in the paragraph of the *Chou Li* (Book 24, Par. 19) headed 萑氏 *ch'ui shih*, the Master of the *ch'ui* wood, where the text is 掌共燋契 *chang kung chiao ch'i*, "whose duty is to provide the charcoal-stick and the chisel." The *ch'i* was what they chiselled with. The *chiao* was what they applied heat with. Tu Tzŭ-ch'un's (杜子春) annotation by itself distinguished clearly, and accords perfectly with the facts,* while Chêng (K'ang-ch'êng) adopts a separate sense of *ch'i*, for in one place he says:—

"In the passage of the 士喪禮 *shih sang li* Section of the *I Li*, running 楚焞置于燋在龜東 *ch'u t'un chih yii chiao tsai kuei tung*, 'the brushwood kindling-sticks were placed on the charcoal to the east of the tortoise-shell,' *ch'u-t'un* is *ch'i*, and was used to scorch the shell"; and in another place Chêng says, "以契柱燋火而爇之契既然以授卜師 *i ch'i chu chiao huo erh yo chih ch'i chi jan i shou pu shih*, sticks the *ch'i* into the burning *chiao* and blows up (the flame), and when the *ch'i* is alight hands it to the augur." And in his comment on the Shih Sang Li passage, Chêng further says, 楚 *ch'u* is 荊 *ching*, brushwood, and 荊焞 *ching t'un* is what was used to bore holes in the tortoise-shell. Chêng was thus the first to fall into the error of treating *ch'i* and *chiao* as one and the same object, and 鑽 *tsuan* and 灼 *shao* as identical processes. And it was owing to Chêng's minute familiarity with the Three Rituals that this error obtained currency. And this is also a trustworthy proof that in the Han era the mode of divination practised in Yin and Chou times was already lost.

K'ung (Ying-ta) in his Commentary on the *Odes* also treats *ch'u t'un* as equivalent to 契 *ch'i*. And Chia, 賈氏, (? Chia Kung-yen) in his Commentary on the *I Li*, also states that in boring the tortoise-shell, brushwood 荊 was used, thus multiplying the brood of error by handing down the dictum of Chêng K'ang-ch'êng. So that when we come to Li Hua

* His note is 契謂契龜之鑿也, "*ch'i* is the term for the chisel used for chiselling the tortoise-shell." He is not further quoted as defining 燋 *chiao*.

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李華 we find him explaining that in divination living tortoises were employed! The greater the interval from antiquity, the less the knowledge of the ancient system.

As regards the practice of employing bones for divination, this is a point on which the old records are silent, but on the other hand, it is mentioned in the Sung Dynastic History, in the Records of the Western Hsia (西夏傳), and in Hsü T'ing's General Description of the Black Tartars (? Bargu Mongols), 黑韃事略. We cannot tell whether these methods of inspecting good or evil presages were identical with the ancient ones, but the Western Hsia had a mode of augury by scorching a sheep's shoulder-blade with burning *moxa* (in the Sung History the character 胛 *chia*, shoulder-blade, is erroneously written 脾 *p'i*, the spleen. Lo's note).

The Black Tartars likewise scorched the 枚子骨 *mei tzŭ ku** of the sheep, and termed the process "burning the guitar" (燒琵琶), and these methods exactly correspond to the Shang practice when divining, of using the shoulder-blade (肩胛骨).

It is indeed a remarkable fact that divination once in use in the Central Country, 中夏 *chung hsia*, should survive only on the fringes of the Empire, but that there, after the lapse of 2,000 years, it should still persist.

Further, what was already obscure to the Han scholars regarding the divination of the Shang and Chou dynasties, Mr. Hu Hou, Vice-President of a Board, in his *Examination of the System of Divination by Tortoise-shell* (卜法詳考), working out the indications found in the Ritual Classics, has determined by his own deductive reasoning. His arguments are extremely ingenious and lucid, and tested by the evidence that I have had under my own eyes, tally with it with perfect accuracy. This is again a plain proof that the scholarship of the present Dynasty (*sic*) surpasses that of all previous ages.

I draw attention to the Work of the Vice-President Hu Hou, because it is at present but little known.

[To be concluded.]

* It is difficult to decide what bone was so named. It may by the tibia of the sheep, but is certainly not the shoulder blade.

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LE GRAND PÉLERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

BY

HENRI DORÉ S.J.

[*Continued from p. 56*].

Article IV.—*La montagne du "Glaive," au cours des siècles.*

I. Curiosités naturelles.—

1° L'arête des Corbeaux, point culminant de la montagne du Glaive sur le versant nord. Les corbeaux aiment à voltiger autour de ce haut sommet, et les vautours accrochent leurs aires dans les cavités de son flanc ravagé.

2° Le rocher du Double Homme, formé de deux pierres accolées l'une à l'autre, comme deux hommes, épaule contre épaule.

3° La grotte des Hirondelles, creusée dans le flanc S.E. du rocher. Les hirondelles se réfugient très nombreuses dans cette grotte profonde.

4° La grotte de la Vue sur Mer, peu profonde, large d'une dizaine de pieds et haute de vingt. Elle ressemble à un

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observatoire taillé dans le roc. Le soleil l'inonde de ses premiers feux : on la nommait anciennement, la grotte du Soleil Levant. C'était un poste d'observation de tout premier choix, pour admirer la majestueuse beauté de la mer, quand les vagues déferlaient sur la base rocheuse de la falaise.

5° La grotte des Loutres de Mer, percée dans l'angle S.E. du rocher à l'ouest de l'Observatoire de la Mer. L'entrée haute et étroite est un peu en biais ; à peine y a-t-on pénétré qu'on s'aperçoit qu'elle est fort profonde. Dans les temps anciens, quand la marée pénétrait encore dans cette caverne, les loutres de mer suivaient le flot montant et s'y laissaient introduire.

Bien souvent on l'appelle la caverne des Japonais, Wo-tse-tong 倭子洞, parce que sous les Ming 明 les paysans avaient dû s'y cacher pour échapper à leurs vexations.

6° La grotte de Pou-ti. La caverne de Pou-ti 普提 est ainsi nommée parce que dans les temps anciens un vieux bonze y avait établi sa demeure ; matin et soir il chantait ses prières et récitait son chaplet bouddhique.

Pou-ti 普提 désigne parfois l'Illumination, mais souvent cette expression signifie simplement Bouddha ou bouddhique. Nombre de pagodes consacrées à Bouddha portent le nom de Pou-ti-shan-yuen. *

7° Mo-kien-che 磨劍石, La Pierre à aiguiser les Sabres. Les amateurs de légendes racontent que jadis les dragons des eaux aiguisaient leurs sabres sur cette roche saillante au flanc S.E. Elle est tombée à l'eau.

8° L'Esplanade du suicide, à l'angle S. E. Les vieilles légendes racontent que ceux qui voulaient en finir avec la vie allaient se placer sur cette plate-forme dominant l'abîme, et les esprits venaient les précipiter dans les flots.

9° Plate-forme de la Cuisson de la Pilule, sorte d'esplanade rocheuse assez rapprochée de la Rotonde du Soleil Levant, et sur laquelle le tao-che Tcheng Jo-hiu 陳若盧 installa son fourneau pour la combinaison alchimique de la pilule conférant l'immortalitè. †

° *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. II, pp. 4-11.
† *Ibid.*, liv. III, p. 9.

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10° Le Vivier, appelé aussi le Bassin pour la protection des Êtres Vivants. Sur ses bords on installa le Pavillon de la protection de la Vie. Le Pont des Fleurs odoriférantes se trouvait aussi dans les mêmes parages.

Le vivier a été comblé, il ne reste plus trace du pont ni du pavillon, qui ne sont plus que de vieux souvenirs d'un passé glorieux.*

II. Temples.—

1° Le temple de Ti-tsang-wang 地藏王, bâti au sommet de la montagne, dans la bonzerie Ti-tsang-ngan 地藏菴. Ti-tsang-wang, le Roi des Entrailles de la terre, le Maître des Enfers, honoré spécialement à Kieou-hoa-chan 九華山, au Ngan-hoei 安徽. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, vol. VI, p. 157 *et seq.*

2° Yo-che-tien 藥師殿, temple de Yo-che-fou 藥師佛, Bhaishajyaguru, membre de la Triade bouddhique. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, vol. VI, p. 85.

3° Hiuen-ti-tien 玄帝殿; temple de Hiuen-ti ou Hiuen-t'ien-chang-ti 玄天上帝, le Chef des Pavillons noirs, plus connu dans le peuple sous le nom de Tcheng-wu 眞武, le vainqueur des démons, divinité taoiste fort en vogue.

4° La pagode du Soleil Levant, élevée juste au-dessus de l'Observatoire de la Mer, au sommet de la paroi inclinée et surplombant les flots.

Les poètes chinois ont chanté en termes pompeux ce site sauvage, véritable antre de dragons, entouré de vieux arbres ruineux. Ils tressaillent au spectacle des beaux matins, quand le globe lumineux monte au-dessus des flots, qui viennent se briser sur la roche en une longue et sinueuse frange d'écume. Leurs vers nous peignent la féerie de ces mille rayons de feu, flèches lumineuses, qui enflamment tout ce qu'elles touchent.†

Article V.—*Les Hôtes de la montagne de l'Armée.*

Avant de décrire les particularités physiques de cette montagne il est nécessaire de donner quelques notes biographiques sur les personnages célèbres qui y ont élu

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. III, pp. 5-14.

† *Ibid.*, liv. V, pp. 12-15.

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domicile, ou dont le passage a été plus spécialement notifié dans l'histoire et les traditions écrites. La mémoire de ces hommes anime pour ainsi dire chaque pli de la roche, et transforme les flancs de la falaise en autant de pages vivantes qui nous mettent devant les yeux les vieux souvenirs d'antan.

Commençons par les Quatre Sages honorés dans la pagode, Se-hien-se **四賢祠**.

1° Fan-Tchong-yen **范仲淹**, nom posthume Wen-tcheng **文正**.

Né à Ou-hien **吳縣** au Sou-tcheou **蘇州**, reçu docteur en 1015 sous Song Tcheng-tsong **宋貞宗**, il remplit plusieurs charges mandarinales pendant le règne de Jen-tsong **仁宗**, 1023-1056. En 1043 il fut admis à la cour, grâce à la protection de Ngeou-yang Sieou **歐陽修**, et mourut âgé de 64 ans. Il a donné son nom à la digue Fan kong-ti, qu'il fit élever sur les bords de la mer. Il est honoré dans les pagodes de Confucius. (Voir *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tome XIII, Confucéisme, partie iii.)

2° Hou Ngan-kouo **胡安國**, nom posthume Wen-ting **文定**, de Tchong-ngan **宗安** du Kien-ning **建寧**, reçu bachelier à 25 ans, éléve de Tchou Tchang-wen, ami de Tcheng I **程頤**, fut reçu au doctorat en 1097, devint grand Examinateur, et mourut à 65 ans, en 1138. Auteur de plusieurs ouvrages célèbres, honoré parmi les Sages dans la pagode de Confucius. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, partie Confucéisme, tome XIII.

3° Yo Pong-kiu **岳鵬舉**, nom posthume Ou-mou-wang **武穆王** et Ou-Fei **武飛** C'est le célèbre Yo Fei **岳飛**, général des Song **宋**. Il naquit à Tang-Yn-hien **湯陰縣** au Honan, batailla sous Song Hoei-tsong **宋徽宗**, 1122, sous Song Kao-tsong **宋高宗** 1133, etc. Patriote vaillant et dévoué, il tomba victime du traître ministre Tsing-hoei **秦檜**, qui le fit assassiner dans sa prison, avec son fils. L'empereur Hiao-tsong **孝宗** lui fit élever un temple; il fut depuis honoré comme un demi-dieu, type du guerrier. Sous la république chinoise, 1917, il est encore honoré officiellement avec Koan-kong **關公**, le dieu de la guerre.

4° Wen Tien-siang **文天祥**, nom posthume Tchong-lié **忠烈**, naquit à Liu-ling, docteur assistant du Tribunal

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des Rites sous le règne de Song Li-tsong, 宋理宗 période Pao-yeou 寶祐, 1256. Général au Kiangsi, battu par les Mandchoux, il se sauva à Tong-tcheou 通州 avec son compagnon d'infortune, le maréchal Kin 金, à qui il rendit les derniers devoirs. Refusant de se soumettre à l'envahisseur Koublaï Khan, il fut exécuté en 1282: il avait 47 ans. *

Ces petites notices nous aideront à comprendre la vénération des Chinois pour la pagode des Quatre Sages. Il y en a pour tous les goûts: les militaires ont leur héros de prédilection, les lettrés y trouvent deux littérateurs de la pagode Confucéenne, enfin les habitants du pays s'honorent d'avoir donné l'hospitalité à un des derniers tenants de la dynastie chinoise des Ming. Ce choix ne manque point d'habilité.

5° Yen tchen-jen 燕眞人, le génie taoiste Yen, dont le nom personnel était Hoan 幻. La date de son existence est inconnue; les notices que les écrivains nous ont laissées rapportent seulement qu'après avoir voyagé par monts et par vaux, cet homme excentrique se retira dans la solitude de Kiun-chan. Il vivait dans une grotte creusée dans le flanc rocailleux de l'îlot, let ouvrant vers le S.E. Sur une large roche aplatie, non loin de l'entrée de sa caverne, il mena à bonne fin ses expériences d'alchimie, et composa la précieuse pilule d'immortalité. De là vient son nom: Esplanade de la cuisson de la pilule.

Dans ces temps primitifs l'îlot de Kiun-chan 軍山 était infesté de bêtes fauve et de serpents; personne n'osait y aborder, l'immortel Yen Hoan y vécut pourtant en paix avec ses féroces compagnons. Hiver comme été, il portait le même habit.

Un jour qu'il passait le pont de l'Ivre-mort, au sud de la ville de Tong-tcheou 通州, on vit des nuages s'amonceler tout autour de lui et le nimber d'une fumeuse auréole. Après ce prodige le pont échangea son premier nom, contre celui de Pont de la Vision de l'Immortel.

Un jour il dit subitement à ses visiteurs, "Je dois partir." Alors sans avoir éprouvé le moindre malaise, il quitta la

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 8; *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, vol. XII, (Yo Fei).

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terre, glissa sur l'azur du ciel, et disparut à leurs yeux interdits. *

6° Le bonze Tche-tsong 智宗, prénom Fa-kong 法空, vécut au XVIIe siècle. Il fut l'ami du maréchal Wang Yang-té 王揚德, promu au poste de commandant en chef de Lang-chan en 1626.

Ce bonze, né au Shansi 山西, était d'un naturel sérieux, ne comprenant pas la plaisanterie. Pendant sa jeunesse il visita les bonzeries célèbres, puis, un jour, prenant son chapelet bouddhique à la main, il monta sur un roseau flottant et descendit le cours du fleuve Bleu jusqu'à son embouchure. Arrivé en face de Kiun-chan, alors une haute falaise en pleine mer, et isolée des autres montagnes, il y aborda. N'y trouvant aucune habitation, il se réfugia dans la grotte habitée jadis par Yen-tchen-jen. Il n'avait pour compagnons que les animaux sauvages et les reptiles. Un jour il voit se dresser au-dessus de sa tête un énorme serpent aux yeux flamboyants, qui le fixe et semble écouter les prières. Le bonze l'asperge avec l'eau lustrale contenue dans une fiole, et se contente de lui dire, "Retire toi." Le serpent obéit.

Les chroniques supplémentaires (liv. XX, p. 16) racontent qu'un grand serpent venait écouter le récitatif chaque fois que Tche-tsong chantait ses prières en frappant sur le poisson de bois (*mou yu* 木魚). Un jour le bonze fut témoin d'une lutte acharnée entre le serpent et un monstre marin, qui se mesurait avec lui sur le rivage: tous deux se battirent jusqu'à mort. Tche-tsong prit leurs cadavres et les enfouit sur le versant N.E. de la montagne. Cette légende aura donné naissance au dicton populaire, "Kiun-chan recèle le tombeau d'un poisson et d'un serpent."

Vers cette même époque Wang Yang-té occupait un petit poste militaire à Lang-chan: le bonze lui parut plutôt un personnage étrange. Tche-tsong, éclairé d'une lumière préternaturelle, lui prédit qu'après dix années il deviendrait maréchal

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, pp. 11-12. Un autre chroniqueur raconte que Yen Hoan était passionné pour le vin. Un jour qu'il s'était endormi ivre mort, on vit des nuages s'assembler autour de lui. *Annales de Tong-tcheou*, liv. XXII, p. 16.

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de Lang-chan. Aussitôt après la prédiction vérifiée, Wang Yang-té batit une résidence pour le bonze sur le sommet de la montagne, qui dans la suite compta 16 pagodes; une communauté ne tarda pas à s'y constituer. Il manquait pourtant de l'eau potable, gros inconvénient pour cette nouvelle bonzerie perchée tout au haut de la montagne. Le bonze Tche-tsong frappa le rocher avec son bâton, et il en sortit une eau limpide et abondante, qui ne cessa plus de couler.

Un jour devant la salle des conférences, il aperçut un objet ressemblant à une pousse de bambou; il se baissa et toucha cette pointe avec le bout de son bâton; aussitôt tout le ciel se couvrit de nuages, et ses disciples s'écrièrent "C'est le dragon!" Dans un clin d'œil la pluie commence à tomber par torrents.

Les notables le prièrent de venir s'installer dans la ville de Tong-tcheou; dans cet établissement ses disciples se sont toujours perpétués jusqu'à nos jours.*

7° Le bonze T'cheng-k'ien 淨 謙, prénom Mou-chan 牧 山. Son pays natal fut le Fou-kien. La pagode de Kiun-chan lui était confiée au temps de l'empereur Kang-hi, 1662-1723. Il écrivit aux notables et aux principaux habitants du pays, pour leur faire connaitre le dénûment où il se trouvait, manquant de vêtements et de vivres. Or voici que sur ces entrefaites s'éleva un violent typhon, qui fit rage pendant plusieurs jours; la barque chargée de le ravitailler dans son îlot ne put tenter la traversée, et le pauvre bonze mourut de faim. Les gens de la contrée en furent touchés de compassion.†

8° Ting Fou-song 丁 腹 松, prénom Mou-kong 木 公, nom honorifique T'ing-fou 挺 夫. Natif de Hai-men 海 門, après une inondation du Kiang il alla habiter Tong-tcheou. Sa famille était pauvre, mais, grâce à son intelligence remarquable, et par un travail opiniâtre, il put être admis á la licence en 1684, sous le règne de Kang-hi. En 1703, sous-préfet de Fou-fong 扶 風 (Chen-si), il passa son doctorat et fut reçu premier. Démissionnaire pour cause de maladie, le

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 13.
† *Ibid.*, liv. X, p. 14.

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peuple l'obligea à rester à son poste; par une année de sécheresse il obtint la cessation du fléau, et on demanda à l'empereur l'autorisation de lui rendre un culte, en reconnaissance de ses bienfaits.

Il se retira dans la solitude de Kiun-chan; comme cette montagne se trouve à gauche des quatre autres, c'est-à-dire à l'Est,* il fut surnommé le Sage de la Montagne de Gauche. Beaucoup d'hommes remarquables allèrent le visiter dans son ermitage, où il vécut heureux jusqu'à l'âge de quatre-vingts ans.†

9° Tchang Tche-teou 張之斗, colonel de Lang-chan, dont nous donnerons la notice au chap. II, art. 1, passa ses dernières années sur la montagne de Kiun-chan. (Voir sa biographie, c. II, art. 1, *Les Hôtes de Passage.*)

Article VI.—*Le site de la Montagne de l'Armée et ses Pagodes.*

I. Le site.—

1° Le Rocher de Pou-touo 普陀, sorte de dôme qui surplombe le sentier en lacet tracé sur le flanc de la montagne. Sous cet abri rocheux on est à l'abri du vent et de la pluie.

2° La Trompe d'Eléphant; c'est ainsi qu'on a nommé un relief rocheux qui encercle le flanc N. E. de la falaise, sur une longueur de près de cent mètres, et qui par sa configuration fait penser à la trompe d'un éléphant.

3° La Pente de l'Essai du Sabre. Au dessus d'un tas de débris pierreux on voit une coupure de plusieurs centaines de pieds, pratiquée dans la paroi du rocher; c'est là dit la légende, que l'immortel Liu Tong-pin 呂洞賓 essaya son sabre sur la roche.

Liu Tong-pin est un des Huit Immortels. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, vol. IX, p. 499.

4° Le Sommet des Bolides. A l'Ouest de la grotte de Yen-tchen-jen le héros taoiste, sur la partie S. E. de la hauteur,

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* Les cartes chinoises sont disposées à l'opposé des nôtres, le Sud est en haut et le Nord en bas. En Chine c'est la gauche qui est la place d'honneur, à l'Est.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. IX. p. 19.

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on trouve un amas de pierres arrondies comme des œufs; elles proviennent, dit-on, d'une pluie de pierres qui seraient tombées du ciel pendant une nuit de la 9e lune, la 18e année de Choen-tche 順治, 1661.*

5° La pointe du Bec de Vautour, saillie du roc, sur le flanc droit de l'îlot, près de la grotte du Nuage Blanc. Cette excroissance ressemble au bec d'un oiseau de proie.

6° La grotte du Nuage Blanc. Au-dessus d'un éboulis de rochers, apparait une excavation à peu près carrée, et d'une quarantaine de pieds de côté; on lui a donné le nom de Grotte du Nuage Blanc parce que, matin et soir, des nuages blancs s'échappent de cette caverne.

7° Le caverne du Héros Taoïste (tchen-jen 眞人). Elle est sise à l'Ouest de la grotte du Nuage Blanc, et peut avoir aussi trente ou quarante pieds de côté. L'entrée en est très basse, il faut se courber pour y pénétrer. Ce fut dans cette grotte que Yen-tchen-jen parvint à l'immortalité.

8° L'esplanade de la Cuisson de la Pilule. Près de la grotte précédente s'éleve une esplanade, haute d'une vingtaine de pieds; la surface supérieure est parfaitement plane. Sur cette roche Yen-tchen-jen installa son fourneau et procéda aux expériences d'alchimie que lui permirent de composer la pilule vivifiante, conférant l'immortalité.†

9° La source du Nuage Blanc. Nous avons vu que le bonze Tche-tsong 智宗, souvent nommé Fa-kong 法空, fit jaillir cette source en frappant le rocher avec son bâton. Elle surgit à mi-côte, sur le versant Nord. L'eau qui en sourd est douce et limpide; elle passe pour n'avoir point d'égale en qualité dans les pays au Nord du Kiang.

10° La pierre Pour Goûter l'Eau de la Source. On dirait une sorte de table de pierre, haute de cinq pieds, formant un plan carré d'environ trois pieds et demi de côté; elle est située tout près de la fontaine du Nuage Blanc.

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* C'est précisément cette même année que le président du Ministère de la Guerre, Sou 蘇, fit brûler en partie les pagodes de la montagne de Kiun-chan. Cette pluie de bolides semble fort avoir été inventée, pour persuader le peuple que c'était une punition du ciel.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. II, p. 4-12.

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Les immortels de la seizième grotte des cieux* viennent goûter l'eau de la source sur cette plate-forme de pierre. On y a gravé les trois caractères, Ping-tsiuen-che 品泉石, Pierre pour Goute: l'eau de la Source.

11° Tcha-tsao-che 茶竈石, la Pierre du Fourneau pour l'infusion du Thé. Comme l'eau de la précédente source est d'une qualité exquise, les immortels ont eu l'idée d'installer un fourneau sur les bords de la fontaine, pour infuser leurs feuilles de thé.

La pierre sus-dite, longue d'une trentaine de pieds et large de vingt, offrait toutes les conditions voulues, aussi fut-elle choisie pour l'installation.

C'est de ce belvédère situé à mi-côte sur le flanc oriental de la haute falaise, que les immortels admiraient les levers de soleil, "quand le glorieux flambeau du jour montait dans son orient, investissant tout l'horizon de ses rayons étincelants." Sur ce thème les poésies abondent.

12° La fontaine de Lait. De cette source cachée sous la pierre, découle une eau doucereuse et blanchâtre comme si on y avait mêlé des gouttes de lait.

13° L'Abreuvoir des Chevaux. Petite douve au bas de la montagne, elle servait d'abreuvoir aux chevaux de bataille des dragons, aux temps où ils avaient établi leur camp sur cette montagne.

14° La pierre de la Langue de Loup, excroissance du rocher au front N.E. On lui a encore donné les noms de Pierre de la Trompe d'Eléphant, et Pierre de la Cosse de Poivre. La cosse du poivrier a un peu la forme de cette pierre.

15° La roche de la Dent du Nuage, au-dessous du Nid de la Pluie et des Nuages. C'est à faux qu'on a pris l'habitude de la nommer La Dent du Loup.

16° Les Pierres Foudroyées, amas confus de pierres couleur jaune rougeâtre, qui paraissent avoir été frappées par le feu du ciel.

17° L'Arête du Partage des Eaux. D'une fissure de la roche, vers le socle de la montagne, dans la partie Sud,

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* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, partie III, Taoïsme.

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s'échappe un filet d'eau, qui alimente un petit ruisseau. Ce faible courant d'eau en se heurtant à une grosse roche, se partage en deux branches, l'une coule vers le S.E., ses eaux sont douces; l'autre tourne au N.O., son eau est salée.

On a nommé Arête du Partage des Eaux cette roche taillée en forme d'animal; on l'a aussi appelée, la Pierre du Tigre Couché.

18° Le chenal de la Culotte. On appelait ainsi l'ancien canal qui aboutissait sur les bords du Kiang, au temps où les alluvions avaient déjà mis une bonne distance entre la falaise et le fleuve. Ce chenal après s'être enfoncé dans la côte à une distance de quelques *li*, se bifurquait en deux branches, dont l'une tournait vers l'Ouest et l'autre vers l'Est. On l'avait plaisamment surnommé Le Chenal de la Culotte.

19° Le Nouveau Chenal. Ce canal aboutissait à un gros bourg à l'Est de Kiun-chan. Naguère une partie de cette population se composait d'émigrés de l'île de Tsong-ming 崇明, gens violents et difficiles à gouverner. Ce bourg était un repaire de pirates.*

II. Les Pagodes.—

Les temples élevés sur la montagne de l'Armée étaient beaucoup plus nombreux que ceux bâtis sur les autres petites montagnes au N.O.

D'abord elle est plus élevée, d'après les mesures données récemment, sa hauteur au-dessus du niveau de la mer est de 118 mètres, et son pourtour équivaut à 2,330 mètres.

Tout le monde sait que les Chinois aiment à percher leurs pagodes sur les plus hauts sommets: Satan aime les hauts lieux. Une raison plus péremptoire, c'est que pendant assez longtemps Kiun-chan s'est posée comme l'émule de sa voisine Lang-chan. Le bonze Fa-kong, grâce à la générosité du maréchal Wang Yang-té, donna une vigoureuse impulsion à la succursale de Pou-touo, et on pourrait même se demander s'il n'eût point réussi à éclipser Lang-chan, au cas où le ministre Sou Na-hai 蘇納海 n'eût ruiné de si beaux débuts.

En effet, quand les établissements furent brûlés en 1661, seize pagodes superposées avaient été construites sur le flanc

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. III, pp. 6-16.

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de la montagne, au-dessous de la grotte nommée le Nid de la Pluie et des Nuages, et son sommet était couronné par le beau temple Pou-touo-pie-yuen 普陀別院. *

Outre ces deux raisons, il faut se rappeler que Kiun-chan était resté un îlot, qui rappelait mieux les origines du pélerinage à Koan-yng 觀音, dans sa Seconde Ile de Pou-touo, succursale du grand pélerinage de Pou-touo-chan, aux iles Tcheou-chan 舟山.

Après le désastre de 1661, Kiun-chan ne reprit plus son ancienne vogue, et sa rivale la Montagne du Loup monta de triomphe en triomphe jusqu'au point où nous la trouvons de nos jours.

1° Temple du Second Pou-touo, c'est-à-dire une succursale du grand pelerinage à Koan-yng dans l'île de Pou-touo. Temple bâti par Wang Yang-té et le bonze Fa-kong en 1628. C'était un ex-voto, en reconnaissance de la prédiction que lebonze lui avait faite 12 ans auparavant. Deux ans donc après son élevation au maréchalat de Lang-chan, il tint à payer généreusement sa dette de gratitude.

2° Ta-che-tien 大士殿, c'est-à-dire le temple de Koan-yng ta-che, élevé en 1683 sur les ruines des précédents, par le notable Pao Tse-ming 保嗣敏.

En 1661, Sou Na-hai, président du Ministère de la Guerre, fut chargé de l'inspection des côtes. Pour éloigner les pirates, il résolut de faire démolir toutes les pagodes des îles côtières. A cette époque la Montagne de l'Armée était encore une île; elle partagea le sort de toutes les autres et ses pagodes furent en partie brûlées et ruinées. Le temple bâti par Pao Tse-ming était donc une restauration de l'ancienne pagode élevée par Wang Yang-t'e.

3° Si T'cheng-ngan 西淨菴, temple occidental dédié au bonze T'cheng-kien 淨謙. (Voir sa notice, Art. V.)

4° La salle des Louo-han 羅漢. Les Louo-han sont des bonzes remarquables qui sont parvenus à la parfaite connaissance de la doctrine, les arhans indiens. (Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VII, p. 214). Ce temple fut élevé plus tard sur les ruines de la pagode dédiée à T'cheng-Kien.

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. V. pp. 14-15.

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5° La vieille pagode de Wang-ling-koan, bâti sur la pente orientale, et brûlée dans l'incendie de 1661. Wang-ling-koan est une divinité taoïste. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. IX, p. 594.

6° La pagode de la Miséricorde; consacrée à Koan-yng et brûlée par Sou Na-hai.

7° Se-hien-se, 四賢祠, le temple des Quatre Sages. Nous avons donné le nom et la biographie de ces hommes, Art. V.

Ruinée bien avant le cataclysme de 1661, elle fut reconstruite sur la Montagne du Loup dès 1535, par un mandarin militaire de Tong-tcheou. Puis quand le docteur Ting Fou-song 丁腹松 se fut retiré dans le solitude de Kiun-chan, il fit relever cet ancien temple sur l'emplacement qu'il occupait anciennement sur cette même montagne. Cette restauration eut lieu en 1722, la dernière du règne de Kang-hi.

8° Ting-kong-se 丁公祠, temple dédié au docteur Ting Fou-song 丁腹松, bienfaiteur de la bonzerie de Kiun-chan, où il se retira pour y mourir dans la solitude.

9° La Grotte pagode. Ce temple était aménagé dans le Nid de la Pluie et des Nuages, caverne creusée sur le flanc droit du mont.

10° Pagode de l'Herbe Brillante. Allusion à la poignée d'herbe que Çakyamouni reçut de la main d'Indra, pour l'étendre sur son siège au pied de l'arbre d'illumination.

11° Temple de Koan-yng Passant la Mer. Ce temple se trouvait jadis entre le stupa élevé sur le tombeau du bonze Fa-Kong, et le temple de la Miséricorde; il fut détruit en même temps que ces deux monuments en 1661.

12° Temple d'Amitha. On l'appelait aussi le temple de la Tour, parce qu'il était peu distant de la Tour des Six Concordes.

13° Le temple de l'Illumination, pagode construite près d'une roche où un bonze fut illuminé, et non loin du retranchement élevé par le général Tchang Tche-teou. Colonel de Lang-chan, à la fin des Ming, et battu par les Mandchoux, il se sauva à Kiun-chan, où il fit cette levée en pierres sèches, pour occuper ses loisirs.

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14° La pagode de l'Apparition du Soleil; tournée vers l'orient, près de la Fontaine de Lait. C'est Phœbus à son petit lever, entr'ouvrant les rideaux de l'aurore.

15° Ling-sing-ngan 靈新菴; nouvelle pagode de Ling-tai-chan-che 靈臺禪師, bonze de Kiun-chan, honoré comme un saint personnage.

16° Hoan-tchou-ngan 幻著菴; Temple de l'Apparition de Yen-tchen-jen. Il faut se rappeler que le nom personnel de ce héros taoïste était Hoan.

17° Le temple de la Coupe Flottante. Avant l'illumination un prodige s'opère, le bol ou la coupe du futur bouddha flotte sur l'eau sans s'enfoncer.

18° La pagode d'Où l'on Contemple l'Eau. On appelait ainsi la Taverne du Lion, à l'angle N. O., d'où on dominait le cours du fleuve Bleu.

C'est du haut de ce rocher que les poètes Hou Kong-suen 胡公孫 et Ling Tao-mou 凌道木 ont écrit leurs beaux vers, en contemplant le soleil descendant de nuage en nuage, et de ses derniers feux empourprant l'horizon.

19° La pagode de la Lune se Mirant dans l'Eau.

20° La pagode de Ti-tsang-wang 地藏王. Ce pavillon à étage était tout au sommet de la montagne, derrière la pagode Succursale de Pou-touo; il eut le même sort que ce temple et fut brûlé le même jour en 1661.

21° L'observatoire du Kiang, pavillon à étage du haut duquel la vue s'étendait sur le fleuve et sur la mer; il était perché sur la plus haute esplanade au S.E. L'incendie de 1661 en fit un monceau de ruines.*

Depuis l'an 1916 un autre observatoire a remplacé celui des bonzes: la poésie cède le pas à la science. Mr. Tchang Kien, l'académicien de Tong-tcheou, a fait construire une tour d'observatoire et un établissement attenant, puis a pris à son service un ancien employé de l'observatoire de *Z*i-ka-wei, pour commencer une série d'observations sur la Montagne de l'Armée.

On parle aussi d'y établir une station de télégraphie sans fil. La gloire sourit de nouveau à la spoliée de 1661.

Annales des cinq Montagnes, liv. V et VI, *passim*.

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CHAPITRE II.

La Montagne du Loup et son pélerinage.

(Du VII au XVIII siècle).

Article I.—*Les célébrités de la Montagne.*

I. Les cinq préfets modèles.—

1° Hia Pang-mo 夏邦謨, prénom Choen yu 舜俞, docteur, eut pour lieu d'origine le province du Se-tchoan 四川; il fut nommé préfet de Tong-tcheou 通州, en 1517. Son éloge fut gravé sur une stèle en pierre érigée à Lang-chan.

2° Tong Han-jou 董漢儒, prénom Tao-fou 道夫, docteur, de Ho-nan, et préfet de Tong-tcheou en 1532. Des vers gravés sur une pierre élevée à sa louange sur la montagne de Lang-chan rappellent sa mémoire.

3° Ling Yun-tcheng 林雲程, prénom Teng-k'ing 登卿, natif du Fou-kien, docteur, fut choisi pour préfet de Tong-tcheou en 1575. Ce mandarin fut un des grands restaurateurs des pagodes de Lang-chan.

4° Tcheou Tchang-yng 周長應, prénom Pé-eul 百二, né au Se-tchoan, reçu au doctorat sous le règne de Wan-li 萬曆, fut nommé à la préfecture de Tong-tcheou en 1620.

Mandarin réputé intègre, grand amateur de beaux paysages, poéte à ses heures, il aimait à visiter la montagne du Loup et travailla à la composition des *Annales de Lang-chan.**

5° T'chen Tsou-hiun 陳祖訓, prénom Tchao-hoa 昭華, fut originaire de Hai-ning au Tche-kiang. Après son admission à la licence il fut nommé préfet de Tong-tcheou en 1625. Il se fit une grande réputation de probité et d'intégrité, et gouverna son district avec beaucoup de sagesse. Le fléau des sauterelles, qui sous son administration ravagèrent les sous-prefectures voisines, ne s'abattit point sur le territoire de Tong-tcheou; on regarda cette préservation comme une recompense de ses vertus.

A ses moments libres son meilleur passe-temps était une excursion à Lang-chan. C'était un amateur de poésie et de

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 1-3.

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beaux points de vue; il composa plusieurs pièces de vers sur le paysage des cinq montagnes.

II. Les six maréchaux.—

Autrefois, les cinq montagnes de Tong-tcheou formaient comme une forteresse avancée, elles étaient les vraies portes de la haute mer, et devenaient le point de mire des pirates.

Les Japonais opérèrent maintes fois des descentes sur ces îlots, qui assuraient la liberté de la passe. Longtemps Lang-chan fut consideré comme la clef du fleuve Bleu,—c'était le Ou-song des temps anciens. Aussi le gouvernement chinois, persuadé de son importance, en avait confié la défense à un maréchal de l'empire.* Les six noms qui suivent rappellent ceux qui se distinguèrent tout specialement dans cette charge.

1° T'an King-tcheng 譚敬承, Hounanais, né à Tchang-cha 長沙, reçut le grade de docteur militaire en 1571, et fut nommé maréchal de Lang-chan en 1586.

2° Wang Ming-ho 王鳴鶴, prénom Yu-k'ing 羽卿, naquit à Hai-tcheou 海州 au Kiang-sou. Il fut reçu au doctorat militaire sous Wan-li en 1586, puis nommé maréchal de Lang-chan en 1596.

3° Yang Yng-tchoen 楊應春, de Nanking, docteur militaire en 1589, devint commandant général des troupes de Lang-chan en 1619. Lettré et poète, type du maréchal littérateur.

4° Tchang King-fang 張景房, né à Tchang-chou 常熟, au Kiang-sou. Il passa son doctorat avec succès en 1589, fut promu au poste de Lang-chan, et succéda à Yang Yng-tchoen.

5° Kiang Tche-tsing 江之清, du Yun-nan, docteur militaire de la promotion 1595 occupa le poste de maréchal de Lang-chan, vers 1625, à la fin de la période Tien-ki.

6° Wang Yang-té 王楊德, prénom Sin-i 心抑, de Hoei-ki 會稽; en 1610 il parvint au doctorat militaire et en 1626 fut nommé maréchal des armées de Lang-chan et des alentours.

* De nos jours encore, l'officier supérieur qui commande aux troupes de Tong-tcheou garde le titre officiel de "Commandeur de la montagne du Loup blanc."

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Ces derniers quatre officiers paraissent s'être succédé.*

III Les hôtes de passage.—

A. Sous les Tang 唐.

1° Li King-yé 李敬業, originaire de Tsao-tcheou 曹州 au Chan-tong 山東. Son nom de famille n'était point Li 李, mais Siu 徐; son père Siu Tsi-fou 徐勣輔 s'était distingué dans les armées de Tang Kao-tsou 唐高祖, pendant les guerres qui eurent lieu au changement de dynastie. Kao tsou 高祖, reconnaissant de ses loyaux services, lui conféra le titre de Duc, et changea son nom de famille Siu en celui de Li. Pour ce motif on rencontre ca et là dans les auteurs tantôt Li King-yé 李敬業 tantôt Siu King-yé 徐敬業.

Li King-yé de concert avec Lo Ping-wang 駱賓王 et plusieurs autres, se mit à la tête des loyalistes, contre l'usurpatrice Ou-heou 武后, 684-705, et tenta s'emparer de Yang-tcheou 揚州. L'entreprise échoua, son armée fut dispersée, son fils Li-kiong 李綱, lui et tous ses proches, prirent la fuite avec Lo Ping-wang. Les fugitives se sauvèrent à Pe-choei-tang, (Liu-se 呂四), gros bourg actuel sur la digue de Fan-kong-ti à l'Est du district de Tong-tcheou. Li King-yé échappa à la mort, il fut même nommé mandarin de Joen-tcheou 潤州, après le rétablissement de l'empereur Tchong-tsong 中宗, mais il périt sous les coups de Li Hiao-i 李孝逸.

Quelques auteurs prétendent que ce fut lui-même qui rendit les derniers devoirs à Lo Ping-wang, et qu'il l'ensevelit à Tong-tcheou; plus generalement on croit que ce fut son fils Li Kiong. †

2° Li Kiong 李綱, prénom Chang-ngan 尙莞, fils de Li King-ye. Au moment de la déroute de Yang-tcheou il suivit Lo Ping-wang à Liu-se 呂四, qui alors s'appelait Pe-choei-tang 白水傷 et formait la pointe extrême à l'Est de la presqu'île haimenoise.

Après la mort de Lo Ping-wang, Li Kiong, son fidèle compagnon d'infortune, lui procura une sépulture honorable,

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* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 3-5.

† Kang-kien-i-tche-lou 綱鑑易知錄, liv. 46, p. 3. *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, p. 16-18, etc.; liv. X, p. 7, 8.

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s'occupa des habits funèbres, puis écrivit sur sa pierre tombale: "Tang Lo Ping-wang tche mou 唐駱賓王之墓 tombe de Lo Ping-wang, de la dynastie des Tang.

Li Kiong eut un fils connu dans les lettres sous le nom de Li Siué-ya 李崖; toute le famille se fixa sur le territoire de Hai-men. *

3° Lo Ping-wang 駱賓王, naquit à I-ou 義烏, au Tche-kiang. Des l'âge de 7 ans il pouvait déjà composer des pièces de vers; il devint un des plus célèbres lettrés de son temps, et exerça la charge de censeur impérial.

Dans une proclamation restée fameuse il dénonça à la vindicte publique l'usurpatrice Ou-heou. Il se joignit à Li King-yè, juge criminel de Mei-tcheou; tous deux se mirent à la tête des loyalistes et vinrent mettre le siège devant la ville de Yang-tcheou. L'expédition fut malheureuse, leurs troupes se débandèrent, ce fut un sauve-qui-peut. Lo Ping-wang, Li King-yé et son fils Li Kiong, se sauvèrent à Liu-se. Lo Ping-wang erra quelque temps sur la mer, aux approches des côtes, puis finalement mourut pendant une traversée vers Tong-tcheou. Nous avons vu comment Li Kiong lui donna des habits funèbres et prit soin de sa sépulture.

La tradition s'était conservée que le tombeau de cette homme célèbre devait se trouver à l'Est de Tong-tcheou. En 1514 un paysan nommé Tsao 曹, en creusant la terre dans les campagnes de Hoang-gni-keou 黃泥口, à l'Est de Tong-tcheou, découvrit ce vieux tombeau, et la pierre tombale avec l'inscription. Le chapeau et les habits du mort étaient parfaitement conservés.† Le paysan s'empressa de recouvrir de terre le tombeau qu'il venait de trouver, puis emporta chez lui la pierre tombale et la brisa de peur de susciter de grosses difficultés.‡

Tchong-tsong, après son rétablissement sur le trône en 705, fit recueiller les œuvres littéraires de Lo Ping-wang, les fit imprimer à Yang-tcheou et relier soigneusement, pour

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, pp. 17, 18; liv. X, p. 7.

† Ce détail serait plutôt de nature à éveiller de grave soupçons sur la véracité du récit, sinon pour le fond, de moins dans les circonstances.

‡ La violation d'une sépulture entraine souvent la peine de mort.

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assurer leur conservation jusqu'aux siècles les plus reculés. Bien que le succès n'eut pas couronné ses efforts, Lo Ping-wang fut un patriote et un loyaliste, et sa mémoire mérite d'être transmise à la postérité.*

Le tombeau de Lo Ping-wang fut de nouveau restauré en 1748, la 13e année de Kien-long, par le lettré Lieou Ming-fang 劉名芳. Après des recherches à Hoang-gni-keou, il découvrit une pierre tombale enfouie sous terre dans un marécage; l'extrémité supérieure apparaissait seule. Il fit creuser la terre, et on retira une pierre brisée, sur laquelle on avait gravé des caractères. Deux seuls restaient lisibles, Tang Lo 唐駱 . . . c'est-à-dire, Lo, (de la dynastie de) Tang . . . la partie inférieure du caractère du Lo 駱 était seulement un peu effacée. Lieou Ming-fang fit connaitre sa découverte au préfet de Tong-tcheou, nommé Tong 董; le transfert de la tombe fut décidé. Cette même année on la transporta à Lang-chan, à l'Ouest du tombeau du maréchal Kin 金. Les frais furent couverts par une souscription.† De nombreuses compositions littéraires sur ce thème sont rassemblées aux passages ci-dessous indiqués dans les *Annales des cinq Montagnes.*

Le texte de son épitaphe se trouve dans le livre XII, p. 23. Ce n'est qu'un confirmatur de ce que nous venons de raconter. L'épitaphe actuelle fut écrite l'an 1748, par Wang Mong-ting 王孟亭, lettré de Pao-yn 寶應 au Kiang-sou, quand le tombeau fut transporté à Lang-chan.

B. Sous les Song 宋.

Le maréchal Kin 金. Il vint au monde à Ki-choei 吉永, au Kiang-si; son nom personnel était Yng 應. Sur la fin des Song il fut chargé de couvrir l'accès occidental de Kiang-sou, menacé par les troupes victorieuses de Koublai Khan, 1260-94. Battu et refoulé par les armées envahissantes, il se réfugia à Tong-tcheou avec son compagnon et ami Wen Tien-siang 文天祥. Dix jours après se declara la maladie qui le conduisit au tombeau en 1264, le 11me de la III lune intercalaire. Wang Tien-siang l'inhuma à l'Ouest de Tong-

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, pp. 17, 18; liv. X, pp. 7, 8; *Kang-kien-i-tche-lou*, liv. 46, p. 3.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, pp. 16-25.

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tcheou et fit graver sur pierre une épitaphe en vers, qu'il composa à sa mémoire.*

La 16e année de Choen-tche, 1662, Wang Yeou-ting 王猷定 de Nan-tchang-fu au Kiang-si, trouva son tombeau en piteux état, dans un bas-fond; il demanda au préfet Pong Che-cheng 彭士望 de transférer ses restes dans un lieu plus convenable, et on le fit inhumer à Lang-chan, au bas de la côte de l'Est, et à l'Ouest de la grande pagode de Koan-ti, (dieu de la guerre).

La 12e année de Kien-long, 1747, Lieou Ming-fang 劉名芳 et son ami Ting Yeou-yu 丁有煜 firent restaurer le monument, le tombeau fut entouré d'un mur de pierre, une table de pierre fut placée sur la tombe, et une stèle en pierre remplaça celle où on avait gravé les vers de Wen Tien-siang. Lieou Ming-fang, après avoir lavé cette vieille pierre cassée en morceaux, avait pu encore déchiffrer quelques restes de l'épitaphe.†

C. Sous les Ming 明

1° Tou Long 屠隆, prénom Wei-tcheng 緯眞, nom honorifique Tche-choei 赤水, littérateur remarquable, gradué de la promotion 1577 sous Wan-li. Son pays natal fut le Tché-kiang.

Ce lettré était l'ami intime des deux ministres de la guerre, Kou 顧, et T'chen 陳; toujours il se montra affectionné au bouddhisme. Son plus grand plaisir était de venir, simplement vêtu, se promener sur la montagne de Lang-chan, s'enquérir des souvenirs du passé et composer des poésies.

2° Tchang Tche-teou 張之斗, prénoms Han-tcha 漢槎 et Han-tchong 漢冲, nom honorifique Hi-yuen 希垣. Né à Nan-king, suivant les uns, ou du pays de Wei-nan 渭南, d'après d'autres auteurs. De cette confusion vient probablement le diversité de ses noms et prénoms. Il reçu le grade de docteur militaire sous Wan-li, 1595, et occupa le poste de

* Tong-tcheou étant alors en pleine anarchie, Wen Tien-siang enfonca 7 petites pointes dans le cercueil et cloua une planchette par-dessus, afin de pouvoir le reconnaître quand la paix serait revenue. Ces détails sont consignés dans l'épitaphe qu'il composa. Cf. *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. XI, p. 3.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VII, pp. 13-16; liv. X, p. 8.

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colonel à Lang-chan et général au Tché-kiang pendant les dernières luttes des Ming contre les Mandchoux. Quand la victoire eut définitivement désérté ses drapeaux il fit une prostration vers le Nord, en déplorant le sort de sa patrie, puis, renonçant à toute affaire de ce monde, il se retira sur i'îlot de Kiun-chan. Pour occuper les loisirs de sa retraite, il éleva une esplanade en pierres sèches sur le flanc de la montagne. Sur cette plate-forme préférée il demeurait des journées entiéres occupé à siffler. Presque sa seule nourriture consistait dans une copieuse et quotidienne libation de trois litres de vin. Quand la faim se faisait sentir, il cueillait au gré de ses caprices quelques herbes sauvages pour les manger. Les gens du pays ont surnommé cette esplanade La Plate-forme du duc Tchang. *

3° Wang Yeou-ting 王猷定, prénom Yu-i 于一, nom honorifique Tcheng-che 楨石. Lorsque les Mandchoux eurent envahi le Kiang-si il dut s'enfuir de Nan-chang, sa ville natale; ce n'est qu'après avoir traversé mille dangers qu'il atteignit la montagne du Loup. Là il se livra à ses études favorites sur les antiquités, il recueillit avec soin tous les vestiges du passé, et se lia d'amitié avec Fan Kouo-lou 范國祿, notable de Tong-cheou. Ce fut lui qui découvrit les ruines du tombeau du maréchal Kin Yng 金應, et obtint du préfet Pong Che-cheng l'autorisation de le transférer au pied de la montagne de Lang-chan. Lui-même voulut composer l'épitaphe en vers, qui fut gravée sur sa pierre tombale en 1622.†

IV. Le héros taoïste et les saints bouddhistes.—

A. Le héros taoiste Yu 虞.

Yu Tchen-jen 虞眞人, solitaire de la montagne du Loup, était du pays de Hoei-ki 會稽; il vivait à l'époque du royaume du Ou 吳 (Hoai-nan). Pourvu de la mystérieuse recette de Tong-hoa-tchen-jen 東華眞人,‡ il se nourrit des

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 9.

† *Ibid.*, liv. X, p. 10.

‡ Tong-hoa tchen-jen, ou Tong-hoa ti-kiun 東華帝君 est le titre posthume du dieu des immortels, Tong wang kong 東王公. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tome IX, p. 488

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effluves du soleil et de la lune,* acquit la légèreté et la subtilité des immortels, puis, quand l'enfançon fut parvenu à sa maturité, une bande de grues se réunit dans la nue et un jeune homme † lui fit signe en disant "Tong-hao ti-kiun vous appelle, venez." Aussitôt Yu Tchen-jen monta une grue, s'éleva dans les nuées du ciel, en faisant de la main un geste d'adieu aux mortels.‡

B. Les Saints bouddhistes.

1° Le bonze Tche-hoan 智幻 vécut sous les Song; il naquit à Ling-i 臨沂 au Chan-tong; son nom de famille était Tien 田. Il est regardé comme le fondateur de Lang-chan.§ Il faut bien se garder de le confondre avec le génie taoïste Yen tch'en-jen 燕眞人, ou Yen Hoan 燕幻. D'après la méthode chinoise qui consiste à prendre le second caractère du nom pour designer un personnage, il s'en suit que tous deux sont appelés Hoan.

Le bonze Tche-Hoan était un docteur qui fut converti au bouddhisme par la lecture du Leng-yen-king 楞嚴經. Il comprit alors l'instabilité des honneurs humains, la vanité des plaisirs de ce monde, et la douceur du "farniente" abstractif du bouddhisme. Il se donna à l'étude de la doctrine san-mo-ti-fa 三摩地法.

Sous le règne de Song T'ai-tsong, période Tai-ping-hing kouo 太平興國 les bonzes dans une réunion élurent Tche-Hoan supérieur de la bonzerie de Lang-chan, appelée alors Koang-kiao chan-yuen 廣敎禪院, Monastère bouddhique de la propagation religieuse. Ce fut lui qui construisit la tour du bonze Ta-cheng;‖ il se fit même passer pour un avatar de ce thaumaturge indien. "Jadis", disait-il avec emphase, "je refusai d'habiter la capitale de Tchang-ngan 長安, et je m'en

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* C'est-à-dire du Yang et du Yn (principe actif et principe passif), qui combinés avec le Ki, matière, engendrent l'enfançon, d'après la théorie taoïste.

† Pe-ho-tong-tse 白鶴童子, fils de la tisserande. Cf *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tome IXX, p. 653.

‡ *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 11.

§ Cette question sera traitée dans les articles suivants.

‖ C'est la tour actuellement existante, élevée en l'honneur de Tacheng, dont nous allons donner la notice historique (Art. 4).

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allai vers Se-tcheou 泗州, où je bâtis un temple;* maintenant, j'ai l'intention de m'établir dans l'îlot de Lang-chan, au-dessus de la mer, pour convertir les pays de l'Est." Un écrit trouvé sur lui acheva de convaincre qu'il était vraiment une réincarnation de ce bonze.†

Rien de plus frequent que ces ridicules prétentions inventées par les bonzes, pour se poser en hommes extraordinaires aux yeux des populations ignorantes et crédules. C'est un moyen facile et peu dispendieux, de se créer un titre de noblesse surhumaine. Cette branche d'industrie n'a pas, me semble-t-il, attiré toute l'attention qu'elle mérite, et nous verrons quel merveilleux parti les bonzes ont su en tirer, pour l'établissement de leurs grands pélerinages, à Kieou-hoa-chan 九華山, dans le province de Ngan-hoei et à Lang-chan au Kiang-sou.

2° Louo-ngan Hoei-wen-chan-che 羅菴慧温禪師. Hoei-wen avait pour nom de famille Tcheng 鄭; il naquit à Fou-tcheou 福州. Après avoir erré de pagode en pagode, il se mit sous la conduite du bonze Tchou-ngan 竹菴, à Tong-ling 東林. Quand Tchou-ngan cessa d'administrer cette pagode, il se fit disciple de Ou-nan 悟南, supérieur d'une autre grande pagode. Tous les bonzes qui le connurent declarèrent à l'unanimité que cet homme avait une science peu commune pour tout ce qui concerne les questions de doctrine.

Sous le regne de Tong Sou-tsong 唐肅宗, pendant l'époque de regne K'ien-yuen, 758-60, Hoei-wen 慧温 rentra au Fou-kien, où il retrouva son ancien maître Tchou-ngan 竹菴. Plus tard il devint supérieur de la pagode de Lang-chan, où il mourut. Son stupa avait été construit au-dessous de l'emplacement du "Pavillon perché sur nuages." Depuis longtemps ces souvenirs s'était effacés dans la mémoire de ses successeurs, quand un beau jour le bonze Hong-tchou 弘宙, en se promenant sur la montagne, découvrit la pointe d'un stupa qui sortait un peu du sol. C'était sous le règne de Choen-tche, 1644-61. On fit des fouilles et on

* Allusion aux faits et gestes du bonze Ta-cheng, qui quitta la capitale et alla batir sa pagode de Ling-hoai 臨淮 au Se-tcheou.

† *Annales de cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. p. 11—12.

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découvrit le stupa de Louo-ngan Hoei-wen. Le monument fut restauré; c'est ainsi que la mémoire de ce fondateur de Lang-chan fut ravivée. D'après ces données, (*Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. X, p. 12) Louo-ngan est de beaucoup le plus ancien supérieur de Lang-chan. De là il faut conclure que le titre de "premier fondateur" donné à Tche-hoan est un "titre de convention," insoutenable au point de vue historique.

3° Le bonze Yu-hoan 玉環.

Le bonze aux "Pendants de jade," Yu-hoan, fut ainsi surnommé parce qu'il portait de longs pendants d'oreille en jade. Il venait de Si-yu 西域 de l'Inde (Turkestan); ce qu'on raconte de lui nous montre qu'il était un des tenants du Yogisme, ou de l'école des magiciens du Tantrisme. Ses pendants d'oreille excitaient la plus vive curiosité; on n'y voyait aucune trace de fissure ou de soudure, cependant il pouvait les enlever et les remettre à volonté; il pouvait aussi les abaisser et les remonter, on entendait alors comme le roulis d'une poulie.

Le bonze pétrissait des pains avec de la farine, puis les collait tout autour de son ventre pour les faire cuire, au bout d'un certain temps il les retirait tout croustillants; les malades qui en mangeaient recouvraient la santé.

Yu-hoan disait être arrivé en Chine sous Ming Ying-tsong 明英宗, 1457-62, (période Tien-choen 天順) apportant un bagage considérable. Ce dire du bonze était un mensonge manifeste, une industrie pour se poser en immortel, car sous le règne de Kang-hi il habitait la pagode de Louo-han 羅漢 sur la montagne de Kiun-chan, et le peuple l'appelait souvent le bonze Louo-han. * Un jour pendant un entretien avec les lettrés Fan Kouo-lou † et Kong Hin-chan 康昕善, il mourut subitement. Fan Kouo-lou composa son éloge funèbre en vers;

* C'est-à-dire bonze d'une doctrine consommée, ou bonze thaumaturge.

† Fan Kouo-lou 范國祿, prénom Jou-cheou 汝受, nom honorifique Che-chan 十山, célèbre lettré du pays, amateur de beaux paysages et retiré dans la solitude à Lang-chan. Kang Hin-chan était un notable de la region.

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Kang Hin-chan lui fit don d'une paire de souliers: on déposa le tout dans son cerceuil.

Dans les jours qui suivirent, un voyageur revenant du Nord trouva les pendants d'oreille et l'éventail du bonze, posés au beau milieu du sentier à l'Est de Lang-chan; ces reliques furent aussi enfermées respectueusement dans sa tombe.*

[*La suite dans le numéro prochain.*]

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, X, p. 14

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STUDIES IN CHINESE PSYCHOLOGY

BY

HERBERT CHATLEY. D.SC. (LOND.)

II. FATE AND FORTUNE.

THE real object of all knowledge is prophecy. Even the exhilaration which arises from success in the pursuit of "pure" science is due to the subconscious sense of the possibilities of foreknowledge and practical utility which have been obtained. One may even go further and say that the evolution of mentality is only valuable in so far as it produces practical results, although by a paradox it attains such results best when the attention is diverted from utilitarian ends. In China, as elsewhere before the days of strictly experimental science, the attainment of foreknowledge was deemed to be more speedily possible by various apparently direct methods than by the tedious process of trial and error. These methods may be summarised under three classes:—

(*a*) The development of certain latent faculties of seerdom in man. (Clairvoyance, actual or symbolic).

(*b*) Deduction from certain reputed simple relations of natural phenomena to human interests. (Astrology and systematic divination).

(*b*) Perception of the operation of certain external quasi-human agencies upon man. (Spiritistic divination).

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It is characteristic of the ritualistic tendencies of the Chinese mind that emphasis should have been laid on class (*b*), but both the others figure largely in actual practice and classical records. One of the factors which may have led to this preference was the doctrine of fatalism which numbers many adherents in Asia. Chinese philosophy speaks much of "Heaven's Decree" (*T'ien Ming*, 天命) especially in relation to political matters, but qualifies its acceptance of a pure determinism by a belief in the Decree of Heaven being expressed in some manner by the popular will (cf. *Vox populi vox Dei*). This may either be interpreted to mean that the moral law is the expression of common interests or in a mystical manner that Heaven is incarnate in the people. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the problem of determinism versus freewill arose early in Chinese thought, the freewill aspect of the question being well illustrated by the extraordinary faculties which the "Superior man" can attain. As far as the writer can see the solution of the problem is comparatively simple. Events *are* determined by a chain of cause and effect, but most human affairs include in that chain one or more links which are essentially human, and we who feel and act cannot separate ourselves from the motives and mechanism which are those particular links, so that with respect to them we are conscious of freedom. To put it another way, the emotions we experience arise in connection with the mental and physical changes which precede a certain event and in so far as those changes affect that event we are free because we are parts of the cosmos just as much as the sun or the earth. It is perhaps permissible to think that Chinese have the same idea when in the *Ta Hsüeh* (大學) and *Chung Yung* (中庸), they suggest that the "Superior Man" has as much influence on the people as Heaven and Earth. Is it not a fact that our mental lives, especially in great societies, are more influenced by our fellow men and especially our superiors than by purely natural considerations? The social emotions of patriotism and sex are just as strong, nay, often stronger, than those of hunger.

This digression was not made without an object, since the writer wishes to show that the Chinese mind, cloudy

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though it may often be, has arrived at two apparently diametrically opposed results and yet reconciled them:—

(1) There is a Heavenly prototype of Earthly conditions, by the study of which the future may be foreseen.

(2) It is within the power of man to greatly affect the future.

The line of reconciliation is that of identifying the man of influence with the supernatural causes, and is logical so far as it goes.

The Chinese practice of divination at the present day has been described by the writer and others and it is sufficient to say that it usually consists of three steps:—

(i) The induction of a special psychical condition by prayer and attention.

(ii) Sortilege by means of a stereotyped set of instruments (stalks, dominoes, etc.)

(iii) Interpretation of the results of the sortilege by reference to a tabular oracle, sometimes the *I Ching* (易經) but in many instances special pronouncements prepared by Buddhist or Taoist priests.

In former times methods involving a tortoiseshell and stalks were used at the Court, but the books carefully specify that such methods are only to be used in so far as they agree with the opinions of the elders and the interests of the people, or as a casting vote in case of doubt. Exactly what the tortoiseshell method was is doubtful, but the general opinion inclines towards a practice of scorching the shell and studying the forms of the cracks. This is still done in Tibet with the shoulder blades of sheep and was formerly known in Europe as "scapulomancy."

The induction of the special state is often reduced to a mere piece of ritual, such as a ko-tow before an idol and the lighting of a bundle of incense sticks, but in its full form undoubtedly aims to bring the diviner into the "automatic" condition so that the sortilege will be under the control of the subliminal mentality. Thus presupposing the sortilege has been effected by supernormal causes, its interpretation is effected by means of written oracles which are themselves considered to have been produced in the inspired (*i.e.*, automatic)

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condition. In the commentaries on the *I Ching* it is stated that the "stalks" which are the instruments in the standard method of divination by that book represent, according to their grouping, Heaven, Earth and Man, and the counting out by fours, which is the principal part of the manipulation during the sortilege, corresponds to the four seasons. Thus the diviner is reproducing on a small scale the operations of Heaven and Earth, modified by Man, and finally arrives at one of the famous hexagrams (*Kua* 卦), each of which is one of the sixty-four possible combinations of the Positive and Negative Influences (*Yin Yang* 陰陽).

The development of seerdom is a part of the "fixation of the soul" which has been previously dicussed, and in its Taoist form again implies that the mind of man can be identified with the effects of Heaven and Earth.

Spiritistic divination very closely resembles in principle the procedure of Occidental "spiritualism." It is usually performed at the ancestral temple or grave of the departed spirit. A ritual of prayer, censing and chants is performed and the medium, who is usually an old woman, becomes obsessed by the deceased, speaks with his voice and announces the fate of the relations. This aspect of divination calls attention to the second dominant feature in Chinese notions as to fate, *viz*:—the influence of the dead. The whole system of ancestral worship, Feng-Shui, and spiritism, implies that after Heaven, Earth and the Superior Man, the Dead play the next most important part. If we substitute for these four the solar energy, earthly substance, cultural environment and heredity, it is obvious that the Chinese are not so far from the truth. Add to this that the operations of these causes are focussed principally in the subliminal mentality and can only be detected therein by the stimulation of automatism, we see that there is a perfectly logical basis for the main Chinese position in these matters. On the other hand, and this is the real point at issue between the East and West, the substitution of automatic revelation for conscious scrutiny, if carried beyond a certain point, opens the way to feebleness of mind and an inability to adjust oneself to new conditions, or, in plain language, it leads to superstition and conservatism.

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III. SEX IN CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.

It has often been remarked that the Chinese classics are free from "impure" suggestions. The literati have also always opposed, at least in theory, government by women and have traced many of the imperial misfortunes to the system of eunuchs. The female sex has always been looked down upon by Chinese thinkers, the only exceptions made being those of women of noteworthy chastity or continence. This indicates a mental condition which is similar to that of mediaeval Christianity, *i.e.*, the deliberate mental suppression of sexual emotion, and as such is quite as noteworthy as an over-expression of such ideas would be.

In the middle of the last century Canon McClatchie in translations of the *I Ching* and the works of Chu Hsi (朱熹) endeavoured to show that the Yin Yang system was fundamentally sexual and therefore *de facto* impure. His ideas did not meet with a sympathetic reception but there remains something to be said for them. Almost undoubtedly the philosophers who elaborated the Yin Yang system did consider that sex was the most noticeable form of duality in the human race, but the writer considers that they did so in a spirit of pure reason without any intention to reduce the cosmos to a base method of expression. Whatever may be said to the contrary, bipolar attraction and repulsion is a fundamental feature of things, and no modern philosopher worthy of the name can regard sex as mere accident.

In actual life there can be no disguising the fact that the Chinese man tends to be irregular in his sex relations, that the Chinese woman is over-repressed and that the general tone of current Chinese literature and custom in no way corresponds to the standard apparently set by the classical literature. Herein one may perhaps see the outworking of an idea which is current in India and Tibet, *viz*:—that sex energy is the fundamental source of evolutionary activity and may be diverted to mental ends by repression.

We may say that there are five distinct ways of regarding this question which are current in different parts of the world at different times:—

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(i) Sex emotion is a natural and most important fact in human life, and if diverted leads to abnormality generally of a mental kind. (Freud, Jung and Stanley Hall).
Extremists hold that all mental abnormalities arise in this way but this is almost certainly an over-statement.

(ii) Sex is an accidental character of which far too much is made. (Tolstoi).

(iii) Sex energy is the devil and needs to be repressed with all possible force. (Christian and Buddhist asceticism).

(iv) Sex energy is the raw material for the development of psychic forces. (Indian Tantrism or Kundalinism).

(v) The universe is sexual; all polarity is sex and all sex is polarity.

It would be absurd to lay down the law on such a subject in a short essay but it does appear to the writer that there is a comprehensive way of using all these ideas, and that the Yin Yang philosophy has made some progress towards such a notion which is simply as follows:—

Sex is a most important dual distinction of living beings, the energy of which is a large part of the vital impulse and can be controlled to a considerable extent for both mental and social ends, but cannot be wholly deprived of its essential character.

To those who have studied the subject this may appear a mere truism, but as there are many to whom the subject is too repellant or technical for analysis, this formula may serve for some as a means of understanding the Chinese point of view.

[To be continued.]

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WU-T'AI-SHAN AND THE DALAI LAMA

BY

CHRISTOPHER IRVING

Introductory Note.—The following account of Wu-t'ai-shan—one of the Four Famous Mountains of Chinese Buddhism—and the Dalai Lama, was written immediately after my return from the journey to which it refers. Though it has not hitherto been published, references to my reception by the Dalai Lama appear in Sir Francis Younghusband's *India and Tibet* (pp. 377 *ff.*). The information there given concerning my visit to Wu-t'ai was obtained by him from a short official account which I prepared for the use of the Foreign Office. Those who wish to acquire some accurate knowledge of the events which caused the Dalai to leave his capital and become a wanderer for several years in Mongolia and China could not do better than consult Younghusband's book. It is an authoritative narrative of an interesting and romantic episode in Anglo-Indian history, written by one who played a distinguished part in the events described, and who was responsible for the successful negotiations which followed the famous march to Lhasa.

A brief account of the Dalai Lama at Wu-t'ai-shan is given in a book by a French traveller, M. le Vicomte d'Ollone, of which an English translation has been published under the title *In Forbidden China*. M. d'Ollone visited the mountain and interviewed the Dalai shortly before the latter left Wu-t'ai for Peking. On page 300 he writes as follows: "Not far from

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where I was, at a distance of five days' march, in the retirement of the famous mountain of Wu-t'ai-shan, there resided at that moment, the Dalai Lama, the Living Buddha, the inaccessible pontiff-king of Tibet, whom none of our predecessors had succeeded in approaching." I may, perhaps, be permitted to remark, with regard to this passage, that my interview with the Dalai took place about two months before M. d'Ollone reached Wu-t'ai, and that we were both anticipated by a distinguished American--Mr. Rockhill.

Of all the sacred hills of Buddhist China none has had a longer or more illustrious Buddhistic history than Wu-t'ai shan. Its importance for the study of Buddhism can hardly be exaggerated. The student who has made himself familiar with the religious traditions of this one mountain may be said to have already equipped himself with a sound fundamental knowledge of the history of Chinese Buddhism from its earliest beginnings up to the present day.

Wu-t'ai has unquestionably owed much of its great religious importance to its geographical position. Though it formed part of the mountainous region of north-eastern Shansi, ancient highways through the central portion of that classic province always rendered it easily accessible from those old seats of Chinese imperial rule, Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an. But it also lies close to the western boundary of the present metropolitan province of Chihli, and is therefore within fairly easy reach of Peking; while its proximity to the vast Mongolian plateau is shown by the fact that its northern spurs are crossed by an inner section of the Great Wall of China.

It is not, then, to be wondered at that Wu-t'ai has always been peculiarly sensitive to the innumerable alterations of religious policy on the part of the rulers of the land. When a Buddhist emperor ascended the throne, Wu-t'ai was always the first or among the first of the holy hills to draw prosperity from the sunshine of imperial favour; and when, owing to Confucian hostility or other causes, Buddhism went under a cloud, that cloud was sure to break in a pitiless thunderstorm over the temples and pagodas of Wu-t'ai-shan.

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But Wu-t'ai has not been merely the passive recipient of favour and the passive victim of hostility. Its influence over the fortunes of Buddhism, in all the lands to which the Mahāyānist doctrines have penetrated, has been active and potent. The very rigours of its winter climate have had the indirect effect of extending its influence far and wide; for it has been the practice of many of its monks to leave Wu-t'ai at the approach of the cold weather and to spend the winter as pilgrims or as wandering "revivalists" among the monastic centres of the more genial south. In this way the fame of Wu-t'ai was carried at a very early date not only to the utter-most boundaries of China and its dependent states but even to countries that lay beyond the sphere of China's political activities. It was to Wu-t'ai, for example, that the Japanese empress Tachibana, in the ninth century of our era, despatched a memorable religious mission under the monk Egaku; and this mission was by no means the only one that found its way to Wu-t'ai from the court or monasteries of Japan. During the past six hundred years, however, by far the largest contingents of non-Chinese pilgrims to Wu-t'ai have come from Tibet and Mongolia. To the Mongolians, more especially, the mountain has long been an object of deep reverence; and indeed the influence of Lamaism (the corrupt form of Buddhism professed in the two countries just named) has become so strong that all the richest temples and most of the holiest places on the mountain have passed under Lama control. Communities of monks of the ordinary Chinese type, professing one or other of the usual forms of Chinese Buddhism, are still to be found at Wu-t'ai, but neither in numbers nor influence do they stand comparison with their Lamaist rivals. The high-priest or chief abbot is a "Living Buddha" who in secular affairs possesses many of the administrative powers of a civil "mandarin," and who in spiritual dignity is overshadowed only by the priestly rulers of Tibet and one or two of the most exalted of the prince-lamas of Mongolia.

In the eyes of the Buddhists of Mongolia and Tibet, the climax of Wu-t'ai's age-long fame was reached as recently as 1908; for in that year the sacred mountain received as

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its guest a personage no less holy and illustrious than the Dalai Lama himself. *

Though the royal pontiff had been a wanderer and an exile ever since he fled from Lhasa in 1904, it would be far from correct to assume that he suffered the miseries and privations of a hungry and hunted fugitive. He was never without an enormous retinue of courtiers and retainers, and he was careful to visit only those regions of Mongolia and north-western China in which he was sure of a worshipful reception. He arrived at Wu-t'ai about the middle of March, 1908, accompanied by a bodyguard of Tibetan troops and a small army of lamas. The baggage must have been prodigious in quantity, for it is said to have been distributed among no fewer than eight hundred camels; but a great deal of this baggage consisted of 'tribute' and of presents to be showered upon the court-officials of Peking on the occasion of the approaching state-visit to the emperor. The great man and the officials and ecclesiastical dignitaries who were in daily attendance on him were all accommodated in the lamasery which crowns the hill known as the Pusa-ting or (less familiarly) the Hill of the Spiritual Vulture. The remainder of the retinue distributed itself among the other monastic buildings on the adjoining slopes.

The great *Hui* or annual festival in honour of the patron-saint of Wu-t'ai—the Bodhisattva Wên-shu—occupies the second half of the sixth month (lunar calendar), but it is

* L. A. Waddell (*The Buddhism of Tibet* and *Lhasa and its Mysteries*) has shown that the designation *Dalai* (which, he points out, should properly be Talai or Talé) was a Mongolian title given by Altan Khan in 1576 to "the third of the series of yellow-cap hierarchs," and that the Dalais did not attain the temporal sovereignty of Tibet till two generations later. The first Dalai Lama, according to Rockhill, was born in 1543. His name was So-nam-jya-ts'o. "He visited Altan Khan, who had been prompted to invite him through Khutuktai Setzen his nephew, who, in 1566 had conquered Tibet. The Mongol princes, imagining that *jya-ts'o* (in Mongol *talai* or *talé*) was his family name, addressed him as Talé lama: such is the origin of the name." This is translated by Rockhill in his *Tibet from Chinese Sources* (*Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, April 1891, p. 286). He adds "The Tibetan name of the Talé Lama is Jyal-wa jya-ts'o (Ocean of Victory). He is also spoken of as Chyab gon rin-po-ch'e, 'Precious Protector.'"

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hardly too much to say that the pilgrim-season at Wu-t'ai lasts all through the summer. The year 1908 was one of unusual activity and unusual worldly prosperity for the monks and lamas of Wu-t'ai, inasmuch as the presence of the most august of the Living Buddhas greatly increased the sanctity of the mountain and attracted an unparalleled number of pilgrims. But if the resident monks and priests derived material as well as spiritual advantages from the presence of the Dalai Lama, they soon realized that these benefits carried with them some corresponding obligations and responsibilities. They discovered, for example, that His Holiness was not disposed to immure himself within the narrow limits of his residence on the Pusa-ting, or to content himself with receiving the homage of the faithful in his sumptuous throne-room; and when he announced his intention of paying a formal visit to every important shrine on Wu-t'ai-shan there was much dismay among the numerous abbots and lamas who had allowed their temple-buildings to fall into a state of decay or disorder, or had failed to maintain their censers and images and sacred vessels in a state of decorous cleanliness. As soon as the word had been passed round that the *Fo-yeh*—'the Lord Buddha'—intended to *ch'ao t'ai*—that is, to pay ceremonial visits to all the five peaks of the mountain and to all their temples—there was inaugurated a period of scouring and washing, restoring and burnishing, such as the holy mountain can rarely have known since the beginning of its long religious history.

The summer of 1908, then, was an exceptionally favourable time for making a journey to Wu-t'ai-shan. The temples shone with unwonted splendour, the monasteries were thronged with pilgrims from Tibet, Mongolia, and all the northern provinces of China, clouds of fragrant incense were rising ceaselessly from hundreds of altars, and on the sacred height of the Pusa-ting—one of the holiest places in the Far-Eastern world, if the veneration of fifty generations of devout Buddhists could make it so—sat enthroned the Lama-Pope.

In the course of a long and lonely ramble through western China, I arrived at Wu-t'ai-shan on July 4th, 1908.

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My little caravan approached the mountain from the north, and our first view of the monasteries and temples was obtained from the Hua-yen Pass, which is about 7,500 feet above sea-level. From this pass is clearly visible the little hill of the Spiritual Vulture *(Ling-chiu-fêng)* or *Pusa-ting* (Peak of the Bodhisattva), with the great lamasery sacred to the Bodhisattva Mañju'srî on its summit and the vast white pagoda or stupa, popularly but of course erroneously supposed to have been founded more than two thousand years ago by the Indian emperor Asoka, near its base. The Pusa-ting with its temples is the most conspicuous object in the long valley overlooked by the pass, but there are clusters of monastic buildings to be seen through all its visible length. From the Hua-yen pass to the Pusa-ting there is a direct path, perhaps four or five miles long. It is tortuous and rock-strewn until the floor of the valley is reached, after a descent of about fifteen hundred feet. The Pusa-ting rises only to a few hundred feet above the level of the valley, but the valley itself is about six thousand feet above sea-level. It is completely surrounded by the various hills of the Wu-t'ai range, though the five summits that give the mountain its name are not peaked and are not, therefore, very conspicuous. Trees are scarce except in the neighbourhood of the monasteries and in sheltered places, and the hill-slopes are therefore far less attractive to the eye than those of Wu-t'ai's rival in height and sanctity—the forest-clad Omei. Wu-t'ai has, indeed, its woodland ways and mossy fairylands, especially in the neighbourhood of the beautiful Nan-t'ai—the southernmost of the five summits—but the pilgrim who keeps to the beaten tracks between shrine and shrine is unlikely to find himself a guest in the sequestered homes of the dreaming rishi.

I found excellent quarters for myself and my party in the monastery or lamasery of the Ta-t'a or T'a-yüan-ssŭ, which derives its name and importance from the great white pagoda. I was therefore almost the next-door neighbour of the Dalai Lama. A few hours after my arrival I received an official call from a Chinese captain named Wang Fang-lin, who had been appointed by the Chinese Government to the command

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of His Holiness's Chinese body-guard. Wang and his little troop of cavalry, who belonged to the Chinese garrison at the town of Ta-t'ung, near the Great Wall, had been entrusted with duties which made their position extremely uncomfortable. The Chinese Government held them responsible for the Dalai Lama's personal safety, and expected them at the same time to prevent his horde of Mongols and Tibetans from preying upon defenceless Chinese farmers or from otherwise misbehaving themselves. Wang (assisted in this respect by two civil officials) was also expected to keep an eye on the political side of affairs and to report to his superiors any dealings which the Dalai might have with the outside world. What made Wang's position peculiarly difficult was that he and his troop of Chinese soldiers were regarded by the Dalai and his suite with a dislike and suspicion which they made no attempt to conceal. Wang himself was not admitted to the great man's presence, and indeed neither he nor the so-called Chinese body-guard were allowed within the precincts of the great lamasery. On the occasions when the Dalai issued forth on horseback for the purpose of visiting the shrines of Wu-t'ai-shan, he was followed and preceded by a cavalcade of his own Tibetans, and the Chinese guard with Wang at its head was obliged to take up a modest position at the rear of a procession of which it formed no recognized part.

The churlish attitude of the Tibetans may have been due partly to jealousy and partly to fear, but it is also probable that they regarded Wang as a spy. Wang himself was a thoroughly good-natured and well-meaning man who bore slights and insults with a dogged patience worthy of a nobler cause; but he confessed to me that he would feel relieved of a most disagreeable burden when the dilatory 'Buddha' resumed his migrations.

The privilege of entering the sacred precincts of the Dalai Lama's abode was denied to a Chinese official but it was readily accorded to a member of the race whose martial activity had obliged the incarnate Avalokitésvara to flee from his capital and his country. The news that an Englishman had arrived at Wu-t'ai was not long in reaching His Holiness's

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ears; and I was informed on the evening of my arrival that the Dalai Lama was prepared to receive me in private audience on the following day.

The well-known Asiatic custom of exchanging presents on occasions of ceremonial visits is strictly observed by Tibetans and Mongols; and one of the first remarks made to me by the Chinese-speaking lama through whom the details of the interview were arranged was a question as to the nature and number of the presents which I proposed to offer for the Dalai's acceptance. It was necessary that the presents should precede me, in order that they might be scrutinized and their value estimated by those officials whose task it would be to advise the "Buddha" as to the presents to be sent by him in return. I was faced by a somewhat perplexing problem. I had not visited Wu-t'ai for the express purpose of meeting the Dalai, and I had brought no presents with me except a few insignificant articles which I had intended for distribution among friendly villagers and petty officials, in the course of a lengthy journey. The most imposing of these articles was a stereoscope. There were also some thirty or forty stereoscopic photographs, which included several views of London and one of His Majesty King Edward VII driving in a state carriage through the gates of Buckingham Palace.

I was assured that these presents—especially the photograph of the emperor of India, whose minions had expelled the Living Buddha from his sacred capital, would gratify His Holiness immensely; but, feeling that their intrinsic value was hardly worthy of the occasion, I explained that I was quite ready to spend a little money for the benefit of the ruler of Tibet if there was anything to be bought at Wu-t'ai which was likely to meet with his approbation. "A happy thought," said the lama, with an intelligent smile. "You need not buy anything at all; send the money just as it is and let the Lord Buddha* have the spending of it."

The problem was thus solved to the general satisfaction. The stereoscope, the photographs, a pair of scissors, a pocket-knife, some lead pencils, and a few other small articles were

* Fo-Yeh.

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neatly tied up in paper parcels, and with them went a packet containing fifty taels in uncoined silver.

My interview with the Dalai Lama took place, as arranged, on Sunday, July 5. From my quarters in the T'a-yüan-ssŭ to the lamasery on the top of the Pusa-ting I was escorted by a body of Captain Wang's Chinese troops; and at the doorway I was received by a Tibetan guard and almost immediately ushered into a small audience-chamber. The Dalai Lama was already seated, awaiting my arrival. He sat on a low dais, and did not move from this position during the interview. He was clothed in a dark red robe, the upper part of which was partly concealed by a loose garment of yellow silk. The sleeves were cuffed with broad bands of blue. As to his personal appearance, little need be said here, for he subsequently became a familiar figure to many Europeans in Peking and (more recently) in India. One of his predecessors was described by an Englishman who made his way to Lhasa in 1811 as "poetically and affectingly beautiful."* To describe the present Dalai Lama in these terms would be unjustifiable, but at least it may be said that there was nothing disagreeable either in his manners or in his appearance.

Four or five attendant lamas stood at their sovereign's right hand, while on a table at his left were placed the presents which I had sent him on the previous day. One of the lamas acted as interpreter, for the conversation was conducted in Chinese on my part and in Tibetan on the part of my exalted host. I opened the interview with the orthodox Tibetan salutation, by unrolling in front of the Pontiff a ceremonial scarf (*k'a-tag*) made of yellow silk. The conversation that ensued was almost wholly of a formal and complimentary nature and did not last more than fifteen minutes. The Dalai Lama referred to his forthcoming visit to Peking, and remarked that he looked forward to meeting the British Minister there, in order that he might assure the minister of

* This occurs in Thomas Manning's rather gushing account of his experiences in Tibet. The passage is quoted in Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*.

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his anxious desire for the maintenance of eternal harmony between Tibet and the Indian empire. That this harmony had been unhappily interrupted in recent years was, he observed, entirely the result of regrettable misunderstandings. He asked some questions relating to my travels in various Buddhist lands, and evinced some curiosity regarding the present state of the Lamaist religion in England. On this subject I endeavoured to discourse with statesmanlike vagueness.

As I made my farewell bow, two lamas stepped forward at a sign from their master. One put over my shoulders a white silk scarf, the other placed in my hands a white paper parcel which looked familiar. I had no sooner withdrawn from the audience-chamber than the lama who had acted as interpreter hurried after me and pointed to the parcel. "That" he said "contains your fifty taels of silver. The Lord Buddha thanks you for your presents, but declines to accept the gift of money." "In that case," I replied, "please inform the Lord Buddha that it will be my pleasant duty to distribute this silver among the temples of Wu-t'ai." This distribution, I may add, duly took place on the eve of my departure from the mountain.

On returning to my own quarters I found that messengers had already arrived with presents from the Dalai. They consisted of rolls of red Tibetan cloth and several bundles of *Tsang-hsiang*—Tibetan incense of the finest quality.

Next day I learned from Captain Wang that the Dalai Lama's refusal to accept the gift of money was inspired by a wish to show Western foreigners that there was nothing sordid or mercenary about the incarnate Avalokitésvara. It must be admitted, however, that no such considerations prevented him or his suite from accepting handsome money-offerings from Mongols and Chinese; and, indeed, had he not received such offerings it is difficult to see how the daily expenses of himself and his enormous retinue could have been defrayed, in spite of the fact that he received a handsome allowance from the Chinese Government.

Two days before my departure from Wu-t'ai an incident took place which illustrated the inharmonious relations

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existing between the Pontiff's Tibetan suite and the Chinese guard, and showed at the same time that the Lord Buddha was not wanting in a certain rather malicious sense of humour which, if it might have been excused in a mere man, was hardly becoming in an incarnate divinity.

Captain Wang was obliged by his orders to accompany the Dalai Lama on all his excursions. One morning he was roused from sleep at an unusually early hour by the startling news that the Lord Buddha was lost. A lengthy cross-examination of the taciturn Tibetans who guarded the lamasery resulted in the discovery that His Holiness had slipped out of his quarters before daybreak with an escort of six or seven lamas and attendants and had been seen on horseback cantering briskly down the valley. Wang hastily donned his uniform and assembled his soldiers. As he was mounting his pony, a Tibetan lama from the Pusa-ting casually volunteered the information that the Lord Buddha had left word to the effect that he intended to pay a surprise visit to the Nan-t'ai, the most distant of the five summits of the sacred mountain. Captain Wang groaned, and perhaps uttered a malediction or two: for he was not of airy build, the weather was sultry, and his religious instincts were not of a soaring nature. In faithful obedience to his trust, however, he started off in pursuit of the errant pontiff, and did not draw rein until, after a long and tiresome journey of many miles, he arrived weary and travel-worn at the top of the Nan-t'ai to find not a trace of the Dalai Lama! Returning to the Pusa-ting, unkempt in outward appearance and dejected in spirit, the honest Wang learned how he had been tricked. The Dalai had gone only as far as the Kuan-yin-tung, a temple picturesquely situated on a steep hillside within a short walk of the Pusa-ting itself. The unhappy Wang had passed within sight of this little temple on his way to the Nan-t'ai, and from its upper windows his movements had been inspected with amused interest by the Living (and laughing) Buddha.

In September, 1908, the Dalai Lama left Wu-t'ai and paid his memorable state-visit to Peking. He was received in audience and suitably entertained by that unhappy

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captive-emperor, Kuang-hsü, and the masterful empress-dowager. His formal reception was, indeed, one of the last great court-ceremonies of the reign, for the two rulers of China—the real and the nominal—both died while he was still in the capital.

An indication of the Dalai Lama's theoretical position with respect to the suzerain power is to be found in the rules which governed the relations between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Amban or Resident at Lhasa. In the *Hsi-tsang T'u-k'ao* we read that when the Amban interviewed the Dalai he was formerly obliged to approach him with a reverent obeisance; but in the fifty-eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1793) an imperial edict was issued in which it was ruled that the Amban was equal in rank to the Dalai Lama and therefore should not do obeisance as an inferior. In consequence of this edict, the Amban and Dalai thenceforward greeted one another on terms of equality.

Partly for political reasons, and partly because he was the privileged guest of the Chinese nation, the Dalai Lama during his visit to Peking was treated with somewhat exaggerated respect. But the empress-dowager may well have regarded the Tibetan potentate with an interest that was not based on considerations of state-policy. She herself, like her predecessors on the throne of the Manchus, professed a more or less fervent belief in the Lamaist form of Buddhism; more than this, it is a well-known fact that in her lighter hours Her Majesty was wont to look upon herself as an avatar of Kuan-yin, and, indeed, it can be proved that she posed as such before the photographer's camera. Now as the Dalai Lamas are also understood to be incarnations of Kuan-yin (the Chinese name for Avalokitésvara), it is obvious that a delicate problem for courtiers and ecclesiastics would have arisen if Her Majesty had called upon them to define the precise nature of the Dalai's spiritual relationship to herself, or to pronounce judgment as to whether it was he or she who was a false pretender to the honours of bodhisattvaship. But if it ever occurred to the capricious empress to put her faithful courtiers to confusion by propounding any such problem, a mightier power than either empress or priest-king

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speedily intervened to relieve them from the necessity of solving it. Before the Dalai's short visit to Peking had come to an end, the empress-dowager ceased to illuminate the darkness of this unappreciative world; and it need not surprise us to learn that the Peking populace regarded her death as a striking illustration of the well-known fact that if two "Living Buddhas," or two incarnations of the same Bodhisattva, are rash enough to manifest themselves simultaneously in the same place, one of them must perforce withdraw to another world to await in patience the result of one more revolution of the wheel of metempsychosis.

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A MING DYNASTY PAINTING

THE coloured picture, which is presented to our readers by the generosity of an anonymous donor, is reproduced from a painting on silk by Ch'iu Ying 仇英, who lived in the middle of the sixteenth century. Ch'iu Ying was celebrated as a copyist rather than as an original artist; but in China the copying of masters is not regarded as it is in the West, where it brings little honor.

The subject of the painting is an imperial garden scene. The Emperor is seen critically or sentimentally looking on a scroll held before him by court ladies. This is the celebrated Emperor Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 of the T'ang dynasty, whose reign of 44 years began in glory and ended in shame. He came to the throne in 713, and is commonly referred to as the Emperor Ming Huang 明皇, from his posthumous title. For a time he was a model ruler, but after some years he changed and went from bad to worse. His passion for the famous Yang kuei fei 楊貴妃 destroyed him. She was a concubine of one of his sons, but was transferred to the father's harem, was promoted to be *kuei fei*, (second rank of concubine), and through her great beauty won such power over the infatuated monarch that he left the rule of his empire to others, especially the favourite's family, while he plunged with her into a life of infamous extravagance and luxury. This resulted in an insurrection, the flight of the court, the demand of his own soldiers for vengeance on the Yang family, the execution of the beautiful favourite before his eyes, and his abdication.

In the picture Yang kuei fei is seen seated, with court ladies in attendance, listening to to the court band of musicians, quite like a good person.

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ARCHIBALD J. LITTLE

ARCHIBALD JOHN LITTLE (b., April 1838, d., Nov. 1908) was born in the city of London, the eldest son of a physician, (reckoned among the distinguished men of his time for his original work in medicine and surgery). Educated at St. Paul's School, then under the shadow of the Cathedral, and at the Berlin Gymnasium, he next learnt the tea business at Thompson's in Mincing Lane. What seemed to his father a favourable opening presenting itself, he went out to China in 1859 to join a German firm. His first engagement came to an abrupt end, for on his first Sunday, when he expressed a wish to go to church, the head of the firm himself instructed the chair coolies where to take him. The lad, finding he had been taken to a den of infamy, went home as best he could and horse-whipped his taipan. This stormy opening did not prevent him from rising in business. From the first he studied Chinese with a Chinese teacher, who all through life remained one of his ideals, and his knowledge of the language led to his being employed to carry treasure during the Taiping rebellion through the region occupied by the rebels, between the head waters of the Tsientang river and the Poyang Lake. A series of letters to his father about these travels described also his visit to the celebrated King-tê-Chen porcelain works, the first time a European had entered them. The contents

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of two stalls were broken over his head when some chance betrayed that he was not a Chinese.

He started business on his own account in 1862, at the newly opened port of Kiukiang; this was merged two years later in a new firm, which he assisted in founding in Shanghai. When this was shortly after wound up he continued in business with his brother Robert, afterwards so well known for many years as the Editor of the *North China Daily News*. A third brother, Louis, became also distinguished in China, especially for his treatment of abscesses of the liver.

Unfortunately, whilst Archibald Little was in England, starting a London branch of his business, his brother and partner decided to leave China, and the business he had built up was shortly afterwards wrecked. Archibald Little turned what seemed a crushing misfortune into what became the success of his life, proceeding first to Ichang and then to Chungking, and from that time devoting himself to opening up Western China to trade, whilst connecting it with the rest of the world by steam navigation. In 1887 he succeeded in getting built a stern-wheel steamer with which he hoped to navigate the rapids of the Upper Yangtse. But the Chinese Government refused to allow him to try, compelling him to sell S. S. *Kuling*.

He had married in 1886 Alicia Bewicke, already some what known as philanthropist and novelist, and he and his wife now considered whether they should leave China for ever with the money he had made. Half they longed for England, but his love for China conquered. A new treaty between China and Japan a few years later altered the position, the little steamer *Leechuen* was built in Shanghai, and acting as his own captain and engineer, his wife the only European with him, he set out from Shanghai in January 1898, arriving triumphantly at Chungking on March 8, 1898, to be greeted with enthusiasm by the Chinese there, as well as by all Europeans. Since that time steam navigation has never ceased, and there are now several steamers plying between Ichang and Chungking. Until he ran his own little steamer between Hankow and Ichang, in winter, that bit of the river had always been considered impassable, except in summer;

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therefore he may be considered to have added 1500 miles of river to the navigation of the world, through some of the most beautiful scenery the world can shew, and also brought the rich and fertile province of Szechuan into commercial relations, from which it had so far been cut off by the mountains that enclose it.

On his first voyage to Chungking in 1884 he wrote letters to his father, which, more fortunate than those written on his travels among the Taiping rebels, were safely preserved and were published as *Through the Yangtse Gorges*, in 1888. The book immediately won favourable recognition, has passed through several editions, and has not yet been superseded as a guide to the Upper Yangtse. He had previously written a *Retrospect of Events in China During the Year 1875* for the China Branch of the Asiatic Society; as also, for a Shanghai newspaper, a very charming account of yachting in the Chusan archipelago, but it was *Through the Yangtse Gorges* that established him as an author. *To Mount Omi and Beyond* soon followed, with a continuous stream of articles, mostly embodied, like the two previously mentioned, in *Gleanings from Fifty Years in China*, brought out after his death. But his great work was *The Far East*, written for Mr. MacKinder's series, shewing how the history of each country is the outcome of its Geography and Geology. A third edition of this book has lately appeared, or rather it should be called a reprint, no one having been found capable of bringing it up to date. *Across Yunnan*, consisting of his letters to his brother's newspaper and again published after his death, necessarily lacks his final corrections and elaborations, but is so far the only English volume on this most fascinating region.

The Rat's Plaint, a translation in verse of an old Chinese legend, he wrote as amusement when he and his wife were about to establish their home in beautiful Szechuan, she writing *A Marriage in China* on the same 26 days' voyage from Ichang to Chungking. It would he impossible to describe the hard work done in England, addressing Geographical Societies and Municipal Meetings, trying to get people to have sufficient faith in his schemes for China

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to put money into them. But now a fresh enterprise attracted him. Steamers require coal, and at last not far from Chungking he discovered and obtained a concession for a coal mine, equal if not superior to Cardiff. Eager to perfect the working of it, he was trying to obtain leave to run a light railway from the coal mine to the river when his health suddenly gave way, and he left for England, a dying man, broken hearted that his schemes had not been crowned with complete success. He had pictured a smiling, well-fed population, no longer crawling in the dark on hands and knees into the mine, but erect, loading trucks and making a steam engine do their hard work for them. He had pictured happy homes for his Chinese workers, schools, and a Recreation Club,—also the best coal in the world got out in the best way. He had hoped to see no more ill-paid trackers risking their lives in the remorseless rapids. From the first he had delighted in the study of the Chinese language, loved the Chinese people, and when already too weak to sit up he began the book it had for years been his dream to write, *The History of China*. But he could but begin it. "At least footbinding has been done away with!" he said one day "That *has* been accomplished." His heart had been wrung during his first visit to Chungking by the agonised wailing of a little girl whose feet were being bound, while he was staying a guest in her father's house, and he had often said "If any war could be justified it would be a war to conquer the Chinese just for one day and then forbid for ever that cruel torture." He inspired his wife with the desire to free the womanhood of China from binding their feet; he helped and guided the movement. And this satisfaction he certainly had that, thanks to him, footbinding was done away with in some parts, and checked in others many years sooner than it otherwise would have been.

Whilst dying he would often repeat lines by Miss Maud Battersby, beginning,

"So much to do! so little time to do it!

Graved in granite over his Cornish tomb (in Falmouth) tand the last, his favourite lines:

"Our longing for the Perfect is a token
That we shall reach Perfection's Home some day."

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TAOIST TALES

BY

MAJOR W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

[*Continued from page 18*].

PART II

ONE of the earliest collections of Taoist and other marvellous tales is that published under the title *Sou shên chi* 搜神記. Critics say that the collection as originally written was lost, and that the existing versions are made up of a number of fragments rescued from other works and pieced together with considerable amplification from the pen of the compiler. Several different editions of the book are to be obtained at the present day. The one used here is dated 1875, and contains twenty *chüan*. According to its sub-title, the author was a certain Kan Pao 干寶 (*hao* Ling-shêng) of Hsin-ts'ai, who lived under the Chin dynasty and was an equerry in personal attendance upon the emperor 晉散騎常侍新蔡干寶令升. Other accounts give his name as Yü Pao 于寶. See Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, and De Groot, *Religious Systems of China*, IV, pp. 78, 126. Quoted in the latter is an interesting account of the circumstances that gave rise to the writing of the book.

Together with the *Sou shên chi* there is often sold a supplement in ten *chüan*, called *Sou shên hou chi*, which is attributed to the chrysanthemum-loving poet and dilettante

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T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛, better known as T'ao Yüan-ming 陶淵明. T'ao Ch'ien was born in the middle of the fourth century, about a generation later than Kan Pao.

The second of the following tales has many parallels in the folklore of other countries, and probably for that reason may be found more readable than many of these legends by those unfamiliar with the thought and feeling of Taoism; for it must be admitted that some initiation is necessary before the Western mind can appreciate much in Taoist lore that is entirely foreign to our civilization. The present writer ventures to contend, however, that no Taoist tale, seemingly fatuous at first sight, should be dismissed without study as worthless. Sympathetic search will often reveal underlying an apparently weedy tangle many a flower of human thought and endeavour.

THE HERMIT OF CHIAO SHAN 焦山.

Chiao Shan is the rocky islet in the Yangtse near the treaty port of Chinkiang, known to foreigners as Silver Island. The beauty of the island and its surroundings has attracted many lovers of nature—disciples of Lao Tzŭ and Sakyamuni alike—wishing to escape from worldly vanities. Its shores are rich in ancient associations. On its western side, looking out upon a long vista of the mighty river, is a cave sacred to the memory of the sage who made it his hermitage, and thrice refused the imperial mandate to an audience at Court.

TRANSLATION FROM *Sou shên chi*, I, 2.

To one who had lived the life of a hermit on Silver Island for the space of seven years Lao Chün gave a wooden awl, telling him to bore through a rock five feet thick with it. "When this rock is bored right through," said he, "you will attain to *TAO*."

At the end of forty years the rock was perforated, and indeed the hermit had by then mastered the mysteries of hsienship.

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The Fairy of the Conch, 螺女

An immense conch-shell is the clue to the identification in pictures of the subject of this tale. Several variations of the theme are to be found in Taoist literature.

Translation from *Sou shên hou chi*, V, 1.

There lived in Fu-chou (lit. 候官) during the reign of An Ti 安帝 of the Chin 晉 dynasty [A.D. 397-418] a man named Hsieh Tuan 謝端. Left an orphan early in life with no relatives to care for him, he was brought up by a neighbour till he reached man's estate. The life he led was blameless; for his character was strong and upright, and his bearing modest and courteous. When the time came for him to fend for himself in the world, his neighbours pitied him because he had no wife. They took counsel together about getting him married, but were unsuccessful.

Tuan was late to bed and early to rise, labouring in the fields with ceaseless industry. Scarcely did he stop day or night, so hard did he work.

Time went on till one day he picked up at the foot of the city wall a huge conch-shell, big as a three-pint pot. Regarding it as a great rarity, he carried it back with him, and put it for safe keeping inside a jar, where he left it for the next fortnight or so. Tuan continued as usual to set forth early each dav for his work in the country, but on returning home found that a hot meal had been prepared for him. He imagined that he was indebted to a neighbour for this kindness, and, since things continued thus for some time, thought it only right to go and thank him. The neighbour replied "Why thank me for what I have never done?" Tuan thought that the neighbour had misunderstood his meaning, but when the same thing occurred several times, he was more insistent in his questioning. Thereupon the neighbour laughed and said, "My dear boy, you have evidently brought a wife home on the sly and set her to do your cooking. Why pretend that I did it for you?" Tuan was dumbfounded and full of perplexity, not understanding the affair.

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Some days afterwards he set forth, as was his wont, at cock-crow, but as soon as it was light crept back home stealthily, and peeping through the fence, looked into the room. There as he watched he saw step out from the jar a young girl, who proceeded to kindle a fire in the stove. Tuan entered and walked over to the jar to look for the conch-shell, but all he saw was the girl busy at the stove. He exclaimed "Bride, whence came you to be my helpmate?" The sound of this voice threw the girl into a state of great alarm and embarrassment, and instinctively she sought to get back within the jar; but in vain, for Tuan blocked the way. Then she answered: "I am the Spirit of Crystal Streams (Pai shui su nü 白水素女) and I come from the Milky Way. Because you were orphaned so young and because your conduct is modest and prudent, the Supreme Ruler of Heaven 天帝 took pity on you and specially charged me to look after your home and prepare your meals for the space of ten years. Should you get rich or marry before ten years had passed, my orders were to return. But, now you have needlessly and by stealth taken me unawares and pried upon me. Since you have beheld me in the flesh, it is no longer seemly that I remain; I must abandon my mission and depart. However, from now onwards you may somewhat abate your toil in the fields, and take to fishing and gathering firewood as a means of livelihood. For I will leave this shell behind me, and your store of rice, if kept in it, will never fail." Tuan besought her to remain, but all to no avail. Just at that moment there came a sudden gust of wind and rain, and with it the fairy vanished. He set up a shrine to her memory, and there made votive offerings on days of festival.

Tuan always had enough for his needs, but never gained great riches. One of the local gentry gave him his daughter to wife; and eventually he attained to the office of a district magistrate.

To the present day there stands on the road to Fu-chou a shrine dedicated to Su Nü 素女, who is no other than the Fairy of the Conch.

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TING LING-WEI 丁令威

This is one of the *hsien* associated in legend and art with the crane—a bird eminently fitted to serve as an emblem of longevity; for according to popular belief it lives to a fabulous age. Indeed, it is often called 仙鶴.

Ting Ling-wei appears in pictures with a crane beside him, or he is shewn being carried through the clouds astride its back. Sometimes he figures transformed into his bird shape, and perched upon one of the carved pillars that formerly were used as grave monuments.

The following is translated from *Sou Shên hou chi, chüan* I, p. 1:—

Ting Ling-wei was a native of Liao-tung 遼東 [the Manchurian province of Shêng-ching 盛京], who studied *TAO* in the Ling-hsü Mountain 靈虛山. By and by he transformed himself into a crane and flew back home, where he perched upon a tombstone near one of the city gates. A youth raised his bow with the intention of shooting him; whereupon, flying to and fro in the sky, Ting sang these words:—

> "A bird there is and that is Ting Ling-wei,
> His home he left a thousand years ago;
> Its walls unchanged, its folk now turned to clay:
> Far better be a *hsien* than moulder so."

Then he soared up to heaven.

At the present day people living in Liao-tung, who bear the family name of Ting, will tell you that an ancestor of theirs ascended to Heaven and became a *hsien*, but they do not know what were his personal names (*ming* and *tzŭ*).

HAO TA-T'UNG 郝大通

Artists have naturally chosen the one incident in this somewhat dull tale that lends itself to pictorial treatment. It is, moreover, a situation that appeals to their sense of humour. A bearded unkempt figure, Hao Ta-t'ung sits cross-legged beside stream and bridge and surrounded by a band of

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laughing urchins, whose childish sport is in telling contrast to the dignified aloofness of the venerable sage. Rapt in meditation, so still does he sit that the stones piled upon his head keep the shape of a miniature pagoda.

The tale is derived from a popular illustrated book of Taoist tales that, like the *Lieh hsien chuan* of Huan-ch'u, is omitted from the official canon 道藏.

TRANSLATION FROM *Lieh hsien ch'üan chuan* VIII, 16. 列仙全傳

Hao Ta-t'ung was a native of Ning-hai 寧海, and was known as the Ancient One 太古 (*tzŭ*), and as the Serene Philosopher 恬然子 (*hao*). He was quite young when his father died, and thereafter he ministered to his mother's wants with extraordinary dutifulness and filial piety.

Once in a dream a divine being 神人 made clear to him the secret meaning of the Canon of Changes 易經 handed down from the Chou age. Thus he was enabled to grasp the meaning of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 and to master the arts of music, astronomy, and divination.* On the festival of the 9th day of the 9th moon† at Ning-hai he underwent transmutation and entered into possession of *TAO*. Some time after on Mount Ch'i 岐山 he met him who had expounded the Canon of Changes in his dream. Of all that Hao foretold relating to happiness and misfortune. not one prophecy remained unfulfilled.

Hao Ta-t'ung was seated in silent meditation close by the bridge of Chao Chou 趙州, when one day in order to divert a crowd of urchins he piled up upon the crown of his head loose bricks and stones in the shape of a pagoda, and told them not to knock it down. Rapt in contemplation and oblivious of his surroundings, so motionless did he sit that,.

* 卜筮 lit., divination both by the tortoise-shell and grass-stalk methods.

† When people climb heights for kite-flying and picnics, with a view to obtain longevity, in commemoration of the escape of Huan Ching, 桓景 from a general slaughter, of which he had been warned by the magician Fei Chang-fang 費長房.

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although the river overflowed, he remained thus with the tower of stones intact for the space of six years.

In the first year of the *pao-ch'ing* period [A.D. 1225] he cast the slough of his mortal body at the Hsien-t'ien Monastery 先天觀, Ning-hai, and became a *hsien*. He had then reached the age of 73, and three years before that had made all preparations for his own funeral.

[*To be continued.*]

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A STUDY IN EARLY CHINESE RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

THE adjective in the title to these papers is meant to include the time of the first contemporary records; that is, to the close of the period embraced by the *Ch'un-ch'iu* classic. The authorities on which we thus have to depend are few in number, but there are very different views current concerning their authenticity, and it is therefore advisable to tell the reader how they will be regarded in these papers.

I. The *Shu-ching*. The last book of this classic is of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period itself; it, and the one before it, may however have been added since the collection was made; but it is not safe to regard the classic as having been compiled earlier than the 7th century, B.C. The compiler tells us plainly that the first five books, (the "I and Chi" is part of the original "Counsels of Kao-yao,") were written by himself after a study of antiquity, and are not ancient documents. Coming to later times he found original documents which could be used entire, and to them he added explanatory notes of the circumstances in which they were written. The principle which guided him in his selection was rather to teach ethics than to preserve history; so that the documents which he chose are largely hortatory and most of the historical facts of the *Shu-ching* depend on the authority of the compiler in the

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7th century, and it is in these parts of the classic that we find most of the references to religion: as, however, he found original documents suitable to his ethical purpose there were probably other records which would supply the facts for the brief narratives.

Special reference is required here to only one book—the Tribute of Yü; it surveys an extent of empire which cannot have existed before the time of King Hsüan, and therefore it is one of the latest books of the classic.

After the burning of the classics by Shih Huang-ti, two versions of the *Shu-ching*, the "Ancient Text" and the "Modern Text," were recovered; neither was complete, and half the books of the original classic are lost. An influential school of modern criticism maintains further that the Ancient Text was again lost and that those books of the present classic which were not in the Modern Text are forgeries of the 6th century A.D. As however this view is not received universally, readers will probably be divided between the two schools; so that these doubtful books should not be wholly disregarded in these papers, but when used they will be noted.

II. The *Preface* to the *Shu-ching* may have been written by the compiler, but probably it is of later date.

III. The *Shih-ching* or Book of Odes, though compiled after the *Shu-ching*—probably immediately before Confucius' time,—its contents are more genuine, in not being annotated or mixed with the views of its compiler. The difficulty is to ascertain the date of the individual odes; but when this can be done they are genuine documents.

IV. The *Ch'un-ch'iu* is the original state-annals of Lu, unaltered but only abridged, probably by Confucius, for publication. Written by a succession of official historiographers, they are genuine historical records.

V. The *Tso-chuan* will be taken as the work of Tso-ch'iu Ming 左邱明 of the Analects and for whom Confucius made his abstract of the Lu annals. We shall allude to him, perhaps incorrectly, as Tso-shih. It may be thought that, considering the remoteness of the times of Yao and Shun he is, as an authority on those times, not much inferior to the compiler of the *Shu-ching*; but two and perhaps more

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centuries would make a difference to the documents, especially when we consider the constant decline of the royal house and the activity at that time of irresponsible chroniclers; nor does his historical judgment inspire equal confidence; two reasons for this must suffice here: he evidently had scanty knowledge of the royal archives, where the best documents would be lodged, and with even poorer opportunities he still ventures to carry his statements further back and with more detail than the older historian dare.

VI. The Bamboo Annals are taken as work of the 3rd century, B.C. They are not official, but were compiled before the destruction of the feudal states and whilst their records were still extant.

VII. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's annals of Ch'in were, he says, drawn from the official chronicle, and will be received as such. In his essay on religion (ch. 28) he adds many facts which are not in his Ch'in annals and so will not be used in these papers.

VIII. The *I-ching* or Book of Changes: the original text on the sixty-four hexagrams is a work of our period, but the appendices are all to be considered as being later.

The above authorities, of varying weight, will be used in these papers, and as far as possible we hope to keep ourselves unbiassed by the opinions of later writers. The *Chou-li* is probably a work of the late years of the Chou dynasty and much of the *Li-chi* is later still.

These opinions are not meant to be dogmatic; they may all be contested by the reader, and are only given to explain upon what principles the following papers are based.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES.

A—The Analects.
B—The Annals of the Bamboo Books.
D—The Doctrine of the Mean.
H—The *Shu-ching*.
L—Dr. Legge's Chinese Classics.
M—Mencius.
O—The *Shih-ching*.
P—The Preface to the *Shu-ching*.

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R—The *Li-chi*.
SM—Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien: his chapters being long, and in most editions not divided into paragraphs, the volume and page of Prof. Chavannes' translation are given.
T—The *Tso-chuan*: for convenience of reference the figures refer to the page in Dr. Legge's translation in the 5th vol. of his Chinese Classics.
The romanization adopted is that Giles' Dictionary.

SECTION I. NATURE WORSHIP.

The most prominent and probably the most ancient of those regular sacrifices to natural objects which were continued into later times was the *wang* 望. When Shun in the ancestral temple had taken over the government in the first month and had examined the gemmous revolving sphere, he offered a *lei* 類, sacrifice to Shang-ti, a *yin* 禋, to the Six Honoured Ones, a *wang* to the hills and streams, and extended his knowledge to the host of spirits. In the second month he made an imperial progress to Mount T'ai in the east, where, after a burnt offering, he offered a *wang* to the hills and streams in order and then received the nobles of that region; in the fifth, eighth and eleventh months he went to the south, west and north, performing the same ceremonies; then he returned to the ancestral temple and offered a single steer.* Later he formed the twelve provinces and raised mounds upon twelve hills, presumably one in each province, for the *wang* sacrifice.† The Canon of Shun is not a contemporary document but history written when the *Shu-ching* was compiled in the middle of the Chou dynasty; in many of the other books documents are quoted, but not here: the author may have had some sort of memoranda of the early emperors and he says that he had examined into antiquity; but if he found any genuine records it was necessary to re-write, explain and expand them, and it is impossible

* H—II, i. 4-8.
† H—II, i. 10.

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to be sure how far they justified his conclusions: thus, the paragraph concerning the first month of Shun's administration is probably the author's summary of what he took to be the religious observances of the time, rather than a genuine record of what was actually done in that month. Chinese writers, especially the older ones, have an inbred tendency to regard their national customs as of immemorial antiquity; and while we cannot deny that our author had ground for saying that Shun, whilst still at his centre of government offered a *wang* sacrifice generally to the hills and streams, and then in the four quarters offered it to them individually, we must suspect that he is really carrying the customs of his own time into the far past. Still, if any reliance is to be placed upon him at all, the names of Shun's sacrifices are likely to be correct: the *wang* was then in use; it was the most frequent of all the sacrifices and was offered locally on the hills of the four quarters. The Tribute of Yü is no better an authority for those times; according to it the hero when engaged upon the flood sacrificed on various hills;* the rite here is called *lü* 旅, a word usually meaning "bodyguard" or "visitor," and it is not said to include the streams, but how else it differed from the *wang* does not appear, and it is not mentioned again. These are the only references to the worship of hills in the more authentic books of the *Shu-ching*. In the doubtful "Completion of the War" we read that King Wu, on his march against Yin, made an announcement to "great Heaven, sovereign Earth, and the famous hills and great rivers by which he passed";† here the hills and rivers are considered apart from the sovereign earth. The same book says that after the battle of Mu he offered a burnt offering and a *wang*, announcing the completion of the war.‡

The *Tso-chuan* gives ample proof that the *wang* was a fundamental rite in the Nature worship of the mid-Chou dynasty in all the feudal states. It was offered to the natural features of the country, and also in times of flood, drought,

* H—III, i. (i.) 65, 76, (ii.) 14; cf. A—III, 6.
† H—V, iii. 6.
‡ H—V, iii. 3.

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pestilence, or illness of the ruler;* and such phrases as "the host of *wang*" imply a number of lesser objects which might be worshipped.† Every state presided over the hills and streams within its borders; so when there happened to be a great landslip upon a mountain, or when a river became nearly dry, it was noted in the records, and the prince curtailed his dishes, did not appear in full dress or indulge in music; he lodged outside the city, ordered silk offerings to be prepared and the Recorder to write a confession of his faults, and then did sacrifice.‡ It followed that he could offer the *wang* only in his own state, and when King Chao of Ch'u 楚 was ill, divination attributed it to the Ho and he was urged to sacrifice to that river, but he refused, saying, "According to the sacrifices commanded by the three dynasties, a ruler may not go beyond his own state to offer the *wang*; although I am deficient in virtue my faults are not against the Ho." § Such appears to have been the rule, and it was in conformity with what we gather was the real object of the *wang*,—the welfare of the state. Nevertheless, King Chao's ancestor, after his great victory at Pi, sacrificed to the Ho where the battle was fought‖, and a marquis of Chin once asked for royal permission to sacrifice to a river and some hills on the other side of the Yellow River and presumably in the royal domain, but his real object was to attack the Jung 戎 of that neighbourhood;¶ and in neither of these two instances is the sacrifice called a *wang*.

We are told very little of the form of the rite, but Shun is said to have raised mounds, which suggest altars, and when the marquis of Chin sacrificed to the hill in the royal domain he used victims. The word *wang* means to "look towards," as though the sacrifice were not actually on the mountain, but the journeys to it shew that it was offered at least in its neighbourhood, and the mounds

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° T—617b, 649-650, 665b, 672a, 717b.
† T—617b, 650.
‡ T—357b; the sacrifice here is not named.
§ T—810b; cf. R—III, iii. 6.
‖ T—321a.
¶ T—668a.

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were upon it though not necessarily on the summit. This worship of mountains largely affected the governmental policy, and the tours of inspection which were made by the kings were really pilgrimages to the hills of the four quarters, whilst the guardianship of a hill was sufficient reason for creating a feudal lordship.* Though a mountain appears to have been the principal object of the *wang*, rivers, as we have seen, partook in the rite; and they, especially the Ho, more often than mountains, are called upon to witness an oath or to grant a prayer—a piece of jade or some precious thing being cast into the water.† In these passages the *Tso-chuan* frequently speaks definitely of the spirit, *shên*, inhabiting the river, in a way not found in the older books, where hills and streams are sacrificed to as if themselves sentient and influential.

We gather, then, that the *wang* was originally a local rite to individual hills, and that in Shun's time even the regular state sacrifices at appointed times were performed at least within sight of the hill itself. But in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period there is a new idea attached to the regular sacrifice in the feudal states which may have influenced the writer of the Canon of Shun when he described the first month of the emperor's reign. In Lu the state *wang* had become ancillary to the *chiao* sacrifice to Heaven and was called the "Three *wang*"; the numeral is explained, probably correctly, by supposing that in Lu there were three great natural objects of worship, yet it was only one sacrifice, offered not at any of the objects themselves, but in the suburb of the capital, to all of them, and it comprehended the whole state. It was the Lu sacrifice to Earth as correlate of Heaven, and the combined rite was an expression of the idea of unity in all the powers of nature; yet the numeral in the name betrays the original *wang* to have been local. The *fang* 方 sacrifice to the four quarters would seem to express the notion of the Earth in its entirety better than the sacrifice to individual hills and streams; the *wang*, however, was probably more

* A—XVI, i. 4.

† T—190b, 261b, 557b, 703a, 748b, etc.

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ancient and more widely used, and was connected especially with the more concrete features of the earth, those active agencies which poured blessings upon men; and the choice of it as ancillary to the great sacrifice to Heaven was from an instinct of dependence upon fundamental nature as seen in the hills and streams.

The next sacrifice of Nature worship was the *shê* 社; it goes back at least to the Hsia dynasty, and being mentioned in the document of the "Speech at Kan"* its early use is better authenticated than even that of the *wang*: and the duke of Chou 周公, the day after offering two bulls outside the city offered a single bull at the *shê* altar in the city.† In the book of Odes the imperial *shê* is mentioned only twice, once in time of drought and both times in connection with the *fang*.‡ The Lu annals do not tell us of any specific *shê* sacrifice, but it was at this altar that victims were offered at eclipses,§ floods,‖ and fire;¶ it was probably also here that the *yü* 雩, sacrifice for rain, was offered, which is so often mentioned in the classic.** All these had to do with gathering in the produce of the land, the *shê* was the altar of the fruitful soil worked by man.

The passage in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* about the sacrifice in time of flood says that the altar then used was the one "at the gate"; there were, then, more than one altar of the name, and indeed they were all over the country for the use of

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* H—III, ii. 5.

† H—V, xii. 5.

‡ O—II, vi. 7; III, iii. 4.

§ S—III, xxv. 3; xxx. 5; VI, xv. 5.

‖ S—III, xxv. 5.

¶ T—671b.

** Mostly in the autumn but also as early as the seventh month: S—VIII, vii. 8; IX, xvii. 5; X, iii. 5; xxv. 4; XI, vii. 6; etc.; these being mentioned would be special, though they are all called "great." According to the *Tso-chuan* the regular sacrifice for rain —as in the early part of the year (T—46a, cf. R—IV, ii. (ii.) 8). On one occasion of drought in Wei, they made enquiry by the tortoise-shell whether sacrifices should be offered to the hills and streams (T—177b) but, especially as the answer was unfavourable, this does not invalidate the statement that the proper place for the *yü* was the *shê* altar.

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husbandry; and when Ch'i ceded lands to Wei, it gave five hundred *shê* altars.*

The statement in the *Li-chi* that, besides the *chiao*, the *shê* sacrifice in Lu was by royal grant, must be qualified; if it means merely that royal rites were allowed to the marquises, it may be so, but the altars being all over the state they were used by the people as well as by the ruler,† also the *shê* and *chi* 稷 were the two principal altars in all the feudal states, and on one occasion the marquis of Lu went to Ch'i expressly to see its *shê* altars.

In the doubtful "Great Declaration" King Wu declares that he offered an *I* 宜 to "great Earth,"‡ and as we have seen in another doubtful book, he made an announcement to "sovereign Earth"; in both of these passages the word is *t'u* 土, the soil or agricultural ground in distinction to *ti* 地, the earth; Dr. Legge translates *I* by "do reverence to" and whether it was the name of a specific sacrifice may be doubted; at all events, like the *lü* in the Tribute of Yü we hear no more of it and cannot distinguish it from the *shê*.

Little is said of the *chi*; it is mentioned in the *Shu-ching* in connection with the *shê* and, like it, it goes back to the Hsia dynasty. It does not appear in the text of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, and in the commentary it is chiefly mentioned in combination, again with the *shê*, to express the general worship in states other than Lu; it is to be differentiated, and we find that in Ch'i there was an altar of the name in or near to the capital.§

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* T—843a. It is said that there was one altar to about every twenty-five families. (R—IV, i. (ii.) 7). Chuangtzŭ (Legge's translation in *Sacred Books of the East*, p. 217) speaks of an oak of such vast size that it was considered to be a *shê* tree, which would mean that these altars of the people were erected near to any wonderful object of nature. The *po shê* 亳社, in Lu, was a commemorative structure not used for sacrifices (S—XII, iv. 8; T—814a; 629b; on which see further down); the term *chou-shê* 周社 was used in opposition to it, meaning the real *shê* altars (T—763b).

† S—III, xxiii. 3. Yet in the *Analects* the phrase "servant of the altars of land and grain" 社稷 evidently means a royal minister, as though the king alone had the prerogative of their use (A—XVI, i. 4). The meaning of this passage has not been fully explained.

‡ H—V, i. (i.), 10.

§ T—629a.

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Its special use does not appear in our authorities, but the name and the later custom would show that it was the altar of the grain and harvest: hence its association with that of the tilled land.

The *fang* was offered to the four quarters of the compass, and in this way it was more comprehensive than the original *wang*, but we find it mentioned only in the odes of the mid-Chou, and that but seldom;* nor does it seem to be alluded to in the *Tso-chuan*, except perhaps by the sacrifices in the four villages of Sung, to which we shall shortly refer: this, together with the silence of the *Shu-ching*, points to its late introduction and strengthens the belief that in their worship the early Chinese conceived of the Earth only in its parts of hills, streams and tilled soil.

These are the sacrifices offered to the Earth in its various aspects. The evidence, by no means complete, tends to show that the earth was at first worshipped in its separate features, and only later more in its entirety, but still bounded by the confines of the states, and it was worshipped with Heaven. On the other hand the heavens, as shown in the records, were always considered as one, and there is no trace of separate heavenly bodies being regularly worshipped.† In some cases oaths were taken by the sun as well as by the heavens;‡ but amongst the many nature rites, except deprecatory sacrifices, *yung* 禜, § there was none specially to sun, moon, or stars, much less any differentiation of the aspects of the heavens, like Zeus of the bright sky and of the storm. The god of thunder was not yet born. Even in their entirety the heavens bore a less part in the rites than the earth with its hills and streams.

In the older books the only sacrifice which can have been to Heaven is the *ch'ai* 柴; it is mentioned twice, once when Shun instituted his tours of inspection, and again,

* O—II, vi. 7; III, iii. 4.

† See the passage in the *Li-chi* further on, where the sun is included in the heavens which were the main object of the sacrifice. To-day, in Central China, men may occasionally be seen to *k'ow-t'ow* and burn incense to the sun in eclipse.

‡ T—478b; 501b.

§ T—580a.

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according to the doubtful book "The Completion of the War," on the still more special occasion when King Wu overthrew the Shang dynasty.* The name means "fire-wood," but the object of the sacrifice is not stated; as both Shun and Wu however offered a *wang* at the same time, the connection of the *ch'ai* with a sacrifice to the hills and streams and the precedence given to it, suggest that it was for Heaven, for which the use of fire, not used in the other sacrifices, would be appropriate. This is the traditional view of the *ch'ai*, and is in accord with the known facts; but when it is argued that these special sacrifices to Heaven show that there were also more regular ones it must be pointed out that there is no trace of them in the early times, that even the special *ch'ai* depends upon doubtful authorities, and that if used it may with equal probability have been the beginning of a new cult not yet regularized. It will already have been noticed that when the compiler of the *Shu-ching* enumerated the sacrifices offered by Shun, though there was one to Shang-ti and one to the Earth there was none to Heaven. So also the "Speech at Kan" the earliest authentic book of the classic which is purely documentary, does indeed teach the moral government of Heaven but threatens punishment before the altar of the land.†

Later the *chiao* 郊 was associated with Heaven, but we find no indisputable record of its being used before the Chou dynasty or even at the beginning of it. The word means "suburb" or "frontier." On founding the new capital for king Wu's son as he hoped it would be, the duke of Chou offered two bulls at the *chiao* on the *ting* day in the third month; § but it is not called a *chiao* sacrifice, and the word

* H—II, i. 8; V, iii. 3. Some take T'ang's dark-coloured victim of H—II, iii. 4, to have been an offering to Heaven; it also is in a doubtful book. The passage will be referred to in the next section. According to R—IX, ii. 1, the first thing done by the Chou kings when on their tours of inspection was to offer a *ch'ai*. The statement may only be an inference from the Canon of Shun. The Annals of the dynasty show how seldom these tours were made and they give no details.

† H—III, ii. 5.

§ H—V, xii. 5. It was twenty-eight days after the full moon of the second month, that is, about the full moon of the third month.

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may not refer to an altar, but to the suburbs in contradistinction to the sacrifice offered next day in the city, and which is specifically called a *shê* sacrifice. The day, the month, and the number of victims do not conform with the *chiao* of later times either in Chou or in Lu, nor would the duke, at least not according to the fully established custom, take the place of the king in the regular *chiao* rite.* If this view of the passage,—and it appears to have been Dr. Legge's view,—be correct, there is no reference to this sacrifice in the more authentic books of the *Shu-ching*, and in the Odes there is only one doubtful reference as late as king Hsüan's reign.† If, however, the "Great Declaration" be accepted as genuine, the sacrifice was fully accepted under the Shang dynasty,‡ and the *Tso-chuan* traces it back to the Hsia;§ but it is not until we come to the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period that we can be sure of its being used.

It is in the Annals of Lu that we find the most authentic information about the *chiao*. Under the first and fourth months of sundry years there are entries that it was not offered. The hindrance in the first month is repeated injury to the successive victims that had been chosen;‖ that in the fourth month is always an adverse divination for the choice of a day;¶ on one occasion it was repeated five times and yet a favourable answer could not be obtained. It is never mentioned as being offered without difficulty in the firs

* If he was ever regent he had already resigned, and the king was certainly not an infant.

† O—III, iii. 4, 2. Other odes may have been used at the *chiao* or in the ancestral temple: it is difficult to distinguish Hou Chi as remote arcestor and as assessor to Heaven.

‡ H—V, i (iii) 3.

§ T—617 b.

‖ S—VII. iii. 1; VIII, vii. 1-4. The fourth paragraph of the latter year is clearly out of place, and should be under the first month. In the first month of two other years the victim was injured, another divined for, and the sacrifice presumably offered: (S—XI, xv. 3; XII i. 3).

¶ S—V, xxxi. 3-5; VIII, x. 2; IX, vii. 2; xi 2. The phrase is "divined about the *chiao*," but in two of the years the text adds that the divination being adverse the victim was let go, and so it must have been for the choice of a day: when in the first month another victim had to be chosen the text says specifically "divined for a bull."

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month, but is so mentioned in the fourth month,* and once again in the ninth.† Under the safe rule that the classic does not record routine ceremonies but only those which were in some way noteworthy, it stands out clearly that the *chiao* was properly offered in the first month and probably only then. The first mention of it in this month is in the year 606 B.C.; from that time onward the solstice was commonly in the first month, and we therefore cannot learn from the classic whether it was the solstice or the beginning of the calendar year which fixed the time of offering in that month: it is unfortunate that no mice gnawed the horns of the victim in the early years of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* when the solstice was still in the old year. Neither the cycle day nor divination for the day is mentioned in the first month; it may have been fixed by rule and no choice allowed. The *Li-chi* states that it was the *hsin* after the solstice, and we shall see that when the day of the sacrifice in the fourth and ninth months is given it was always a *hsin* day. The victim was a single bull chosen by divination.

On both occasions in the first month and once in the fourth when the sacrifice had to be abandoned, the *wang* was still offered; the notice of it is held to mark an irregularity shewing that the lesser rite should not have been observed without the principal;‡ but this opinion may be doubted: the *wang* was only ancillary when offered with the *chiao*; by itself it was a complete sacrifice and might be offered without the other; still the occasion would be unusual, and it was quite proper to record it. On the other hand, when the *chiao* is said to have been offered there is no mention of the *wang*; this use of the *wang* was a part of the *chiao*, which was not complete without it. When Shun and Wu offered their *ch'ai* sacrifices the *wang* is also mentioned: at that time it had not become an integral part of *ch'ai* as later it was of the *chiao*.

In the fourth month the *chiao* is once said to have been offered apparently without difficulty and according to the

* S—XII, i. 4.
† S—VIII, xvii. 6.
‡ T—293a.

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rule of the classic; it was therefore unusual; but there were repeated attempts to hold it in this month, always, (except that once), baulked by the inability to choose a day, and on one occasion divination was repeated five times but still a suitable day could not be had. The day, then, was not fixed, as it probably was in the first month, but, when named, it was a *hsin* day, of which there were two and generally three in every month, so that divination may have been for one of these. Tso-shih says that this spring *chiao* was offered to Hou Chi 后稷, the Father of Husbandry, and should have been at the season of the "coming of insects before the spring ploughing."* His statement must be accepted for the custom of his own time. The coming of the insects before the ploughing is explained to mean the third month, which at that time would generally be in February, just at the ancient season for the New Year, and the fourth month was irregular because too late for the ploughing. So far the explanation holds, because divination five times for a *hsin* day might overflow from the previous month. But if the sacrifice were properly held in the third month we should expect the classic to record the failure just as it did in the first month; again, according to this view, the diviners failed or refused to choose a day in the third month. Sticklers for rule might find means to hinder a sacrifice in an improper month,† but why in the proper month? There were certain days available and divination had simply to choose between them, where accident could not happen as it might in the choice of a victim. There attaches then some uncertainty concerning the propriety of this spring *chiao* in Lu, and we can only say that it was sufficiently established, probably for the third month, to satisfy Tso-shih. The difficulty was only in the day, which, as we have seen, points to there having been a degree of choice not allowed in the great solstitial sacrifice. There was no difficulty in the choice of a victim; perhaps here the rule was still less rigid.

*T—431 a.

†A prominent statesmen of Lu found his belief in divination confirmed by its refusal to sanction a *chiao* sacrifice in the fourth month. The diviners knew their business.

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In the winter sacrifice the ritual, as we see from the *Li-chi*, was strict; several perfect animals were stalled for three months and one of them chosen by divination, so that if all were injured the rite could not be held. If in the spring this ritual were not required, any perfect bull would suffice and could always be procured; so that both in the day and the victim the rules for the spring rite appear to have been less strict than for the winter, and this may point to its having been a more recent as it was a less important sacrifice. Why then was it introduced? The greater sacrifice was in the first month: if it was always so, and we do not know that it was not, in early times it would be offered just before the spring ploughing. But the year was gradually begun earlier, through insufficient intercalation; for some time the sacrifice might follow it until, say, it came to the solstice; as the solstice was known to be the turn of the solar year the sacrifice, now almost dissociated from the spring ploughing, might acquire a new significance and become connected with the beginning of the longer days. But then how about the spring ploughing? and if the sacrifice were put back to the spring, how about the solstice which had, perhaps for generations, been associated with it? It is conceivable that in some such way a second *chiao* may have come into existence, and it is worthy of note that the first mention of the *chiao* in the fourth month is in the year B.C. 629, soon after the solstice began to be regularly in the new year. The shifting of the calendar could not but raise difficulties for those rites which were connected with agriculture and fixed to one month.

Our authorities are silent about the sacrifice in the ninth month except that the notice of it shows that it was in some way irregular; it too was on a *hsin* day.

Lu is the only feudal state in which *chiao* is known to have been offered:* in the other states when sacrifices are mentioned generally it is not the *chiao* and the *wang* but the

* R. has it that it was offered in Chi 杞, with the Hsia rites, and in Sung with the Yin rites (R—VIII, ii. 1) but there is no confirmation of the statement: it is probably merely an amplification of A—III, ix. In T—81ob, *chiao* refers merely to the suburb of the capital of Ch'u.

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shê and *chi*.* Though there is no classical proof of the fact, the Lu sacrifice, peculiar as it was to one feudal state, was probably by special grant from the crown; had it been altogether usurped by a second-rate state like Lu, it would have been usurped also by the ambitious larger states. Tradition has it that the privilege was granted with the original patent instituting the marquisate. According to the Bamboo Annalist, marquis Hui begged permission from king P'ing to use "the rites of the *chiao* and of the ancestral temple," but was refused: as the Lu chronicles begin only five years later and do not mention any subsequent grant of the permission, if it was given it must have been during that short interval whilst king P'ing was still alive; this is improbable; the emphasis in the phrase of the Bamboo Annals then should be on the word "rites" and not on "*chiao*," and the grant previously made had not allowed the full royal ceremony.

The above is about all that we can glean from the *Ch'un-chiu* and its great commentary concerning the *chiao*; it refers only to Lu and we have to be content with the later authorities of the *Chou-li* and *Li-chi* for any knowledge of the royal sacrifices. An abstract of the account in the *Li-chi*† will be interesting.

In the *chiao* sacrifice, we are told, they welcomed the coming of the long days; it was a great thanksgiving to Heaven and the sun was its principal object. The victim was a steer to exemplify their sincerity; it was of the dynastic red colour; the one intended for Shang-ti was required to be kept in a clean stall for three months; there was another victim for Hou Chi; should anything infelicitous occur to the one for Shang-ti it was used for Hou Chi; this latter was still required to be perfect in all its parts. The sacrifice was on a *hsin* day; when first offered by the Chou dynasty it

* T—659b. In Chêng, 926b, 454a; in Chin, 491a; in Ch'i, 346, 588b; in Ch'u, 458a, 722a; in Sung, 13b, 711b; in T'sao, 398b; in Wei, 465a, 798a; in Wu, 722a. So usual is the phrase that it is applied once to Lu, 261a.

† R—IX, ii. 2-8.

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was at the solstice.* In divining,† the tortoise-shell was operated upon at the shrine of the High Ancestor and the king received the answer at the shrine of his father; he then stood by the lake‡ and heard the result announced publicly, thereby showing how to receive instruction; he then issued the prepared orders for the ceremony in the Ancestral temple to the officers of the royal clan, and at the gate of the palace to the others. The place of sacrifice was in the south suburb, most open to brightness and warmth; on the day of its celebration the people, without being commanded, swept and watered the road and turned it up afresh with the spade; they kept torches burning in the neighbouring fields;§ those who were in mourning put off their sackcloth and refrained from wailing. Meanwhile the king in his ordinary skin cap was waiting for intimation that all was ready; he then put on his robe emblazoned with ascending dragons and his state hat with twelve pendants of jade pearls, the number of Heaven. He rode in a plain carriage because of its simplicity; from his flag there hung twelve streamers and on it were figured dragons, the sun and moon. The sacrifice was offered on the ground which had been swept to mark the simplicity of the ceremony, the vessels were of earthenware and gourds to symbolize the productions of Heaven and Earth. All things originate with Heaven, and man with his great ancestor: this is why Hou Chi is associated with Shang-ti; in the *chiao* there are gratitude to their origin and remembrance of their beginning. The *Li-chi* admits in another place that improprieties had crept into the *chiao* rites of Lu,‖ but in the passage which we have summarized it describes the royal ceremony without respect to time; what it says therefore can be applied with certainty only to the time of composition, which probably at

* H. nowhere says that king Wu offered a *chiao*: after the battle of Mu he offered a *ch'ai* and a *wang* on a *kéng* day, the next being a *hsin*.

† The day being fixed on the solstitial *hsin* day; divination here, as in S, would be for the victim.

‡ Probably in the college ground.

§ It was in the early morning.

‖ R—VII, ii. 1.

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the earliest was not much before the close of the dynasty: * and we may take it that then Shang-ti was associated with the great royal sacrifice at the solstice. † If there is anything certain about the underlying idea in the *chiao* it is that it was some form of Nature worship. As far as is known, there was no regular worship of Heaven before it, but on special occasions a burnt-offering was offered along with a sacrifice to Earth in the form of the *wang*: and in Lu the *chiao* was associated with the *wang* but took precedence of it. The conclusion seems to be almost inevitable that the fundamental idea of the *chiao* was the worship of Heaven. Shang-ti at a very early time became almost a synonym for Heaven in its moral government, and naturally was associated with its worship, but originally the *chiao* was offered to the visible heavens as its ancillary was offered to the visible earth.

The *Li-chi* does not very clearly distinguish between the principal sacrifice to Shang-ti and the subsidiary one to Hou Chi; that they were two combined sacrifices and not genuinely one, may be inferred from the analogy of Lu, but that the worship of Hou Chi was the original purpose of this part of the sacrifice cannot be assumed any more than that Shang-ti was the original purpose of the principal part of it: it was some form of worship of the earth, and remembering the custom in Lu and the early connection between the *ch'ai* and the *wang*, this latter may have been the ancillary also to the royal *chiao*, but there seems to be no direct evidence of it, and in truth Hou Chi had little to do with the worship of hills and streams; ‡ he was connected rather with

* This ninth book of the *Li-chi* is held to be a continuation of the preceding ones, which are imbued with Taoistic ideas and adopt such late theories as the *yin* and *yang* and the *t'ai-i*.

† Another writer in the *Li-chi* connects Shang-ti also with the Lu rite (R—XVIII, ii. (ii.) 24); the statement is attributed to Mêng Hsien-tzŭ 孟獻子, of Lu, who used it to justify a proposed innovation in the Ancestral temple; it was he who, Tso-shih says, found confirmation of his trust in divination because it prohibited the *chiao* sacrifice in the fourth month (T—431, a). In the *Tso-chuan* he is a legalist, in the *Li-chi* an innovator.

‡ When, according to the *Tso-chuan*, Hou Chi was the principal in the spring *chiao* sacrifice of Lu, the *wang* was still the ancillary sacrifice: and Hou Chi was not connected directly with it.

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the *shê*; and a passage in the Doctrine of the Mean says that by the *chiao* and *shê* the early Chou Kings served Shang-ti.* We must leave it at this, with the suspicion that there was some difference between the royal and the Lu solstitial sacrifices which marquis Hui worked to have removed.

When early authorities give so little information it may be thought futile to discuss the *chiao* in such detail; but the importance of the sacrifice to the Nature worship of the early Chinese and to the evolution of the modern Imperial worship demands a statement of all that is known, and excuses some tentative suggestions for further investigation.

Seasonal worship of nature did not stop with the solstice and the coming of spring: the lesser divisions of the year were observed regularly in worship; the beginning of every month, including the intercalary, was solemnly "announced" and a sheep offered. †

All these sacrifices to Nature were in the open air. Victims were slain; their number, being fixed by rule, was not dependent upon the zeal of the offerer. We have seen that in the great solstitial *chiao* only one bull was used. The Greek hecatomb was abhorrent to the Chinese mind; only once do we read of any occurrence of the kind; when, in the semi-barbarous Ch'in, the earl offered 300 bullocks at the great altar of Fu 鄜 in B.C. 677.‡ There were altars with a tablet upon them;§ but no temple; the only building was one for the convenience of the prince.‖ So too there was no separate class of priests; the ruler himself was the priest: others were subordinate, as the prayer master, probably a department of the Recorder Office, and the astrologer; the master of ceremonies would have to do with the rites, but the most important were the diviners, the only real officers of religion, learned in the Book of Changes. All these however,

* D—XIX, 6.

† A—III, xvii; cf. S—VI, vi. 8.

‡ SM—Vol II, p. 23.

§ T—515b: where it says that the marquis of Ch'en, "hugging the *shê*," went to meet his conqueror; this would mean that he carried the tablet of the *shê* altar as a sign of the submission of his state.

‖ Cf. T—814b.

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except the master of ceremonies, who belonged to the palace, were really officers of the Ancestral temple.

The idea of nature being more or less independent in all its aspects, an idea which was embodied in the great sacrifices, would be fruitful of many lesser rites; so we have the *pa*, 軷 and *tsu*, 酢, offered to the Road;* the *po*, 伯, to horses or hunting;† the *no*, 儺, to remove pestilence‡ and the *ma*, 禡, to the more abstract War,§ where all three characters are used as neuter verbs and do not imply a personal spirit any more than does the use of a charm. None of them are described and they were more or less special in their use. But there is one regular sacrifice not mentioned in the older books, only in the *Li-chi;* as however it soon afterward became obsolete it was probably a survival from the times which we are reviewing. It was *cha*, 蜡 or 祭; there were eight in the year, the great one being at the close of the year, when the people brought products of the harvest, did honour to the former husbandmen, gave offerings to the Superintendent of Husbandry, to the buildings and boundaries of the fields, and "received" the cat and the tiger, giving them offerings because they killed the field mouse and the wild boar. Such a varied festival, with men got up as wild beasts, may easily have become a Saturnalia, and a disciple of Confucius after seeing it is said to have thought the people mad.¶

Besides these recognized sacrifices there were others offered by individuals to strange objects. They were illicit and in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period were regarded by the best thinkers as being essentially immoral; nevertheless they were widely used by the highest in the land; those which Tso-shih mentions appear to have been introduced into his work for the purpose of quoting the remarks which they called forth and not because they were unusual. The duke of Sung enter-

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* O—III, ii. 1; iii. 6-7; cf. T—616b.

† O—III, ii. 6.

‡ A—X, x. 2

§ O—III, i. 7.

‖ R—IX ii. 9-11, 13.

¶ R—XVIII, ii. (ii.) 23; cf. VII, i. 1.

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tained the marquis of Chin and used the music of the "Mulberry Grove," the royal music of his Shang ancestors: his guest the marquis thought it unlucky and left the banquet during its performance, but notwithstanding his caution he was taken ill on the way home and the tortoise shell revealed that his illness was caused by the spirit of the Mulberry Grove; therefore it was proposed to go back to Sung to appease the deity by sacrifice; but his chief minister would not consent, saying "If there be such a spirit let it trouble those who used the music."* Confucius said that Tsang Wên-chung, 臧文仲, by sacrificing to a strange bird, showed his want of knowledge.† When portents appeared the certainty which was foreshadowed might, it was thought, sometimes be averted by sacrifice: so when a comet alarmed the people of Ch'i, marquis Ching was only prevented from sacrificing to it by the philosopher-statesman Yen-tzŭ, 晏子; "It is of no use" he said; "you will but practice a delusion; Heaven does not waver in its purpose; if there be a broom-star in the sky, it is for the removal of dirt."‡ On the occasion of a great flood in Ch'êng, dragons were seen fighting together and the people wished to sacrifice to them, but Tzŭ-ch'an 子產 said "When men fight, dragons pay no heed: why should we heed them? If we want nothing from them they will want nothing from us."§ Once when king Chao of Ch'u was ill, a cloud like a flock of red birds was seen round the sun for three days, and the astrologer said that it foreboded a fatal result but that by a deprecatory sacrifice the evil might be diverted to one of his ministers: the king refused to save his life on these terms and so died.‖

These deprecatory sacrifices, called *jang*, 禳 and *yung*, 禁, were not to spirits purely evil; they were offered to the Yellow River, the great object of worship in Chin; the theory seems to have been that they were for the Director of the element

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* T—446.
† T—234b.
‡ T—718a.
§ T—675b.
‖ T—810b.

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concerned; it was so on the occasion of a fire in Sung and Chêng.*

The reader of the *Tso-chuan* may be surprised to find that though demons and evil spirits were accepted, they were not worshipped by the class of people who appear in its pages.† A passage in an ode of king Hsüan's time, full of metaphors, and to be quoted when we come to speak of Shang-ti, describes the ravages of the "demon of drought" but does not say that he was worshipped; and when the sun was "eaten" in eclipse the demon was not bribed by sacrifice but, as he still is, frightened by the beating of drums.‡ It may have been different with the vulgar; though even in the *cha*, reverence was not done to the wild boar and the field mouse which destroyed the crops, but to the tiger and cat which helped to preserve them.

Thus far we have met with no personal names of spiritual beings except ancestors. The sacrifices were offered to the hills, the soil and the road as themselves spiritual. In the Preface to the *Shu-ching* there is a passage that T'ang the Successful "wished to change the *shê* but it could not be done;"§ if such be the historical fact it seems to imply a personality in the *shê*. But it is not until the mid-Chou times that we find any natural object, except perhaps Heaven, or any human art to be distinctly personified. The Father of Husbandry, 田祖 in two late odes is the earliest:‖ and in king Hsüan's drought ode Hou Chi is spoken of apparently as the Father of Husbandry.¶ In *Ch'un-ch'iu* times his cult was established. His date as a man was supposed to be known, and since the spiritual office was necessary to the success of husbandry, other holders of it had to be postulated before him, and Tso-shih affirms that there

* T—671a.

† Cf. T—293b, 625b.

‡ H—III, iv. 4.

§ H—Pref. 13.

‖ O—II, vi. 7, 8.

¶ O—III, iii. 4, Probably Ode—III, ii. 1, praises him as Father of Husbandry but it is of uncertain date. The other odes to Hou Chi are from the Ancestral temple.

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were such.* In the same passage he explains the necessity of these Directorships by the theory that though man is dependent upon nature, nature cannot fully use its inherent powers without the co-operation of man. He answered the question why dragons could not be caught alive; it was not because they are more knowing than other animals but because all creatures must have their own officers, and if neglected they lie concealed; in this way, he says, there anciently were officers of the Five Elements who were made dukes of the highest grade and (after death) were sacrificed to as spirits of the altars of land and grain: but in his day there was no officer of water, and therefore dragons, belonging to that element, did not appear and could not be caught.† He gives the names of the five ancient Directors under the emperor Yü. The idea is not worked out fully, but it seems to be that the directorship of the elements lay in the family with the high ancestor as the head, but that the fulfilment of its duties by the living descendant was also necessary to its continuance; so the spiritual directorship was liable to decay, and in this way, either by neglect or by the extinction of the family, the directorship of water was in abeyance.

It appears from this that although Tso-shih affirms that anciently there was a Director of water there was none in his own time,‡ and that the other four were not commonly known even to the official class; this tends to show that personal gods were not fully established. Tso-shih's religion accepted most of the superstitions of the age, and here he is trying to give them consistency. Personification of the aspects of nature probably began with the people and, as would be expected, the Father of Agriculture was the first; but the Directors of the elements were the creation of the schools; that of fire grew out of the fire on the hearth and was at first confined to the homes.§ The process was extended to other

* T—731b, one Hou T'u 后土: he and Hou Chi are still worshipped all over the country districts: the first of the gods and their shrines the most numerous in China.

† Ibid.

‡ Cf. T—671b; where there appears to have been one in Chêng.

§ T—439b.

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aspects of nature. In Chin the river Fên was worshipped in the *wang* sacrifice; the spirit presiding over it was carried back to the legendary emperors, and was said to reside in a certain star and not in the river; but neither the marquis nor the historiographers of Chin knew about the mythology of the Fên nor of the star presiding over the State until instructed by the learning of Tzŭ-ch'an from Chêng.* In this teaching of the schools the old naturalistic idea of the streams being themselves living and potent is abandoned.

The Preface to the *Shu-ching*, of about Tso-shih's time, recognized the possibility of changing the gods and appeared to expect it with a new dynasty, but admitted that it was not done by the Shang dynasty. Now, however, when supposed historical human beings were deified, the theory became a necessity; but it exposed the new spiritual Directors to a charge of usurpation, which may have been felt by Mencius when he explained that the old ones were changed when things in their department went wrong.†

There are two entries in the Lu Annals which bear upon the evolution of personal deities. Under the year B.C. 585 we find that a shrine was erected to a former marquis who had been dead for some two and a half centuries and whose sacrifices in the regular course would have long been discontinued: Tso-shih says that it was because of the great victory recently won over Lu's powerful enemy Ch'i: this and the fact that his posthumous title was 'Martial' suggest that he was deified as god of War in Lu: indeed the phrase in the text may be translated "we instituted a temple of War.‡" Seventy years later the shrine of another marquis of still older date was re-erected and his name, 'the Ardent,' suggests that he was made god of Fire.§ The former at least was not an instance of changing the god after Mencius' principle, for things had gone well with the state arms: although there had long been a sacrifice to War in the abstract when armies were in motion, there probably was no god of War during

* T—580a.
† M—VIIb, xiv.
‡ S—VIII, vi. 2: Cf. T—360a.
§ S—XI, i. 5

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peace in Lu before B.C. 585. Also when a great fire broke out in Sung in B.C. 564 "the headmen of the four village districts were ordered to sacrifice, the officer of prayer in the Ancestral temple was ordered to offer horses on the four battlements, and to sacrifice to P'an Kêng 盤庚 their ancestor of many centuries ago, outside the west gate.*" Here three separate sacrifices were offered: that by the headman was probably the *fang*, that of horses would be to the City or to War; only the one outside the gate has a personal object. P'an Kêng may have been the god of fire in Sung; we might have thought him to be more suitably worshipped in time of flood, but "water extinguishes fire." If these instances in Lu and Sung be accepted for departmental gods, they show that each state had its own. Tso-shih's Directors of the Elements were dynastic and do not exclude local deities of the feudal states.

As far then as we can find from our records, these professional gods were all deified ancestors of ruling houses; in Lu the shrines to them were still connected with the Ancestral temple and Hou Chi had his permanent place in the royal temple. By the creation of personal gods Nature worship began to be dominated by Ancestral worship. The process was natural enough if the personification of the Elements were a recent process; even in Tso-shih's time the number of personal gods was few compared with what might be expected in an old polytheism, and it is doubtful whether some of them were fully established even then, the only certain one being Hou Chi. But there may have been other illicit spirits worshipped by name privately: marquis Yin of Lu, when a young man at the opening of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period, had been made a prisoner and prayed to Chung-wu 鍾巫, whose shrine was in his gaoler's house; after his release he set up one of his own to this spirit or person in the enclosure of the *shê* altar and worshipped every year in the eleventh month:† this is the only irregular spirit which has a name, if indeed it be a name. It was probably referring to such cases and, by implication, to the Directors of the

* T—439b.

† T—34b.

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Elements, that Confucius called it "servile" to sacrifice to another man's dead.*

We cannot leave the subject of Chinese nature rites without considering human sacrifices. The *Shu-ching* and *Shih-ching* make no suggestion of such a custom, but the Annals of Lu give two instances of it, one in B.C. 641 from Chu, 邾 and the other in B.C. 531 from Ch'u.† To these the *Tso-chuan* adds a third occurring in Lu, B.C. 532, when, after a victory, Chi-sun I-ju 季孫意如 offered some of the prisoners in sacrifice at the *shê* altar of Po.‡ The victims in Chu and Ch'u were both rulers of states, the latter, like those in Lu, a prisoner of war; they were more judicial or political executions, like T'ang's threat to put the disobedient to death before the *shê* altar, than religious rites; and Tso-shih says that I-ju's act was the first of the kind which had occurred in Lu. Although it was meant to emphasize the military prowess of the state, the historiographer refused to stigmatize his country by recording it in the official chronicle, and he was possibly not the only official who resisted the innovation, for the rite was not performed at a regular altar. There were however other occasions more strictly attaching to Nature worship in which human beings might be offered, and we find that the burning of witches or emaciated persons is spoken of by Tso-shih as though it were a popular remedy for drought in the time of the marquis Hsi: but it is not called a sacrifice and on that occasion was not actually done. §

Chuang-tzŭ, quoting from an old book, says that bulls with white cheeks, pigs with long snouts and men suffering from piles were not sacrificed to the Ho. ‖

All these rites, numerous as they were, still do not show the full extent of the hold which Naturalism had upon Chinese thought. The law of nature applies everywhere: it

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* A—II, xxiv.; cf. T—157a.

† S—V, xix. 4; X, xi. 9.

‡ T—629b.

§ T—180a; cf. R—II, ii. (iii.) 29: here the victim was exposed to the sun.

‖ *Sacred Books of the East*:, vol. xxxix, p. 220. Prof. Giles omits the word which makes it a quotation but still translates in the past tense.

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gives the five material elements which, manifested in man, became the five tastes, colours and musical notes*; when there is excess of any of them there is confusion and men lose their proper nature which the five relationships are framed to support; the social grades and ceremonies were all supposed to be based upon the law of nature; also occupations and trades were influenced by some aspect of Nature in beast or bird.† When bad government prevailed in the neglect of the fundamental proprieties, not only was man thrown into confusion but the elements themselves were out of gear; the beasts and vegetation of the earth were disturbed and wandered from their proper course. This teaching runs all through the *Shu-ching*, and it was the essential function of a ruler to observe the first signs of want of harmony between man and nature, so that early steps might be taken to correct it; for this purpose he ascended his observatory on the first day of the new year and at the beginning of every season to note the appearance of the sky and to make prognostications.‡ Eclipses, especially when not at the solstice or equinox §, comets ‖, new stars and all unusual appearances gave occult warnings to the learned and brought fear to the ignorant, and deprecatory sacrifices were offered.

This primitive naturalism, giving a common life to all things, rather telluric than spiritual, and which pervades the earliest Chinese rites, is a fruitful secure of astrology, divination, geomancy and fetishism: all these were deeply impressed upon the minds of the best of the people.

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* T—708b. The pentatonic scale was adopted in order to correspond with the five elements, tastes and primary colours:—so at least says Tso-shih (cf. T—580b).

† T—667b. This may be a toteristic idea. The tale about the birth of earl Mu of Chêng gives us perhaps the only suggestion of a personal totem (T—296a). Tso-shih enlarges upon the origin of clan names (T—49b-50a) but does not allude to totemism; only four or five of the clan names in the classic might betray totems. The names of many of the barbarous tribes, as written by the Chinese, have the dog or the insect radical; but the special character used to imitate the sound would of course be chosen for them by the Chinese in contempt.

‡ T—144a, 680a. H- V, iv. 32-38.

§ T—667a, 688b, 702b; cf. 109a.

‖ T—668a.

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Astrology formed a large part of the learning of the times; it had to interpret the portents of planets and stars and it taught that all states, including distant Yüeh, were homologues of the heavenly constellations, where each had its corresponding sphere presiding over its destinies. *

Divination was practised in the Ancestral temple † by the shell of the tortoise or the stalks of the mill-foil. These two intelligences, one animal and one vegetable, were manipulated until they produced the figures whose significance is explained in the *I-ching*; it was here that trained skill was required, but its mysteries are beyond our understanding.

The more general rules for the use of divination are given in The Great Plan of the *Shu-ching*; this book, mostly very jejune, is more detailed on divination and in consequence is more interesting. Two sets of men were necessary for a proper divination, one to perform the operation and one to interpret the results. ‡ Rules are given to guide the king when in doubt; he should first consult himself, then the ministers and nobles, then the people, and lastly the shell and stalks. It then sought to give each of these indications its proper weight; when the shell and stalks both agree with the opinion of prince, noble, or people the result will be fortunate; when they are opposed to the opinion of all classes of men there will be good fortune in stillness and bad fortune in action, that is, the oracle is adverse and the proposed action should not be taken. § It follows that when shell and stalks are in agreement they carry it against all human opinion, but only for action when supported by a single class of men and against action though all classes are for it:—the converse, when human opinion is united against action and divination

* T—629a. 668b. 738b. 740a., etc.

† T—396a. See above on divination for the *chiao*.

‡ H.—V, iv. 24. This seems to be the plain meaning of the passage. The operators were regular officers, but it is not said that the interpreters were so; the Grand Diviner however would surely be one of them: they were three in number and when two agreed their interpretation was accepted.

§ Although prince, nobles and people agree, there may still attach some doubt, which will justify resort to divination.

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is for it, is not given, because the question would hardly arise. Only one rule is given when shell and stalks are opposed, and it is laid down that if the shell agree with the opinion of the prince whilst the stalks agree with that of ministers and people, internal operations will be fortunate and external unfortunate; presumably the shell being the better guide* will justify the prince in his action with regard to internal affairs, but that external affairs, such as war, being of more moment require a fuller sanction. These rules can only be understood by supposing that a plain answer, yes or no, to a precise question is sought, and not a revelation of future events; it is only to guide when there is doubt as to the proper course to be taken. This fundamental principle confined divination to present circumstances and subordinated it to the general rules of behaviour based upon wisdom and virtue; when these pointed to a course of action there should be no doubt and divination should not be allowed to intrude. Following the same principle the original *I-ching* closely limited its scope; it does not profess to foretell the future but only to advise a virtuous man when other guides fail, whether in his present circumstances he should be bold or cautious; it always presupposes virtue, and only promises that, with virtue, obedience to its indications will bring some degree of success; for it is the virtuous who shall know the will of Heaven; and king Ch'êng said that his father, the tranquillizing King, left him the great and precious tortoise to bring him into connection with the intelligence of Heaven.† At bottom it is the moral teaching of the *Shu-ching* that success can only be attained by the constant apprehension which comes from virtue. The converse, insisted upon by Mencius, that calamity is of one's own seeking and is not by decree of Heaven, is also maintained.‡ This is not fatalism; the divination of the Great Plan and the *I-ching* is a genuine naturalistic piety such as many Christians allow themselves when seeking a plain yes or no by lot.

* Cf. T—141b.

† H—V, vii. 3.

‡ H—IV, ix, 3; x, 2; V, x, ii; xviii, 13; xxvii, 21; cf. II, iv, 11.

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This limitation of the use of divination may be set forth in treatises by the philosophers but it was far from being observed in practice; when king Wu was ill, it was thought that divination would reveal the outcome of the illness;* and the *Tso-chuan* is full of many precise prophecies made by means of divination. In his old age Confucius said that had he longer to live he would devote himself to the *I-ching*; † but divination did not form part of his teaching as described in the Analects, nor of the other great ethical teachers', and it may be doubted whether Mencius approved of it at all. This putting of the art in these later times so far into the background may have been due to the more superstitious use into which it had fallen.

The future was thought to be often revealed also by dreams.‡

Geomancy is a naturalistic idea; experience might teach that some sites were more salubrious than others, but this could not always be told without the help of divination, and, besides salubrity, good and bad fortune were connected with localities. Geomantic rules are not laid down in our authorities, but divination was commonly used in the classic in choosing abodes for living or dead.

Besides natural objects, many manufactured articles were supposed to be especially endowed with spiritual properties, and were regarded as fetishes. The most famous were the tripods of the royal house. They were said to have been cast by the Hsia dynasty out of metal from the nine provinces of Yü the Great, with representations of their natural products, thus preserving harmony between high and low and bringing blessing from Heaven upon all; they could only be moved by one destined of Heaven to rule the entire empire.§ The ancestral temples contained numerous heirlooms given by the king with the patent of nobility, and many other objects called "precious" whose value doubtless was not only

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* H—V, vi, 2.

† A—VII, xv.

‡ H—IV, viii 2-3; T—210a, 219b, 357a, 616b, 617b, 738b, 814b, etc.

§ T—293. They are not alluded to in H.

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material.* Some arrows had an efficiency greater than natural.†

Some western writers, especially those who hold the theory that the Chinese were originally monotheists; say that their religious ideas were corrupted by the fetishism of the surrounding tribes; but fetishism was innate to the Naturalism which is found in their earliest records, and was only resisted by the better thinkers. No doubt the Chinese were influenced by the barbarians, and the early annals of the more barbarous Ch'in contain more allusions to this type of belief than is found in the annals of the central states. In Ch'in strange altars appear to have been often erected;‡ and a certain object called the Pearl of Ch'ên, 陳寶 found there in B.C. 747, was considered to be of much importance.§

If the above facts of Nature worship have been placed before the reader in their proper relation, they suggest that the worship was at first essentially local, directed to the visible and permanent objects upon the surface of the earth,—hills, streams and the fruitful soil, each being thought of as in itself living and active, and worshipped separately on different occasions and in different places. The records also suggest, but less clearly, that worship of Heaven began at about the Chou dynasty and was combined with that of the hills and streams as one rite to Nature in her entirety; but before this unifying principle found expression in the rites, it had already been taught in the speeches and documents of the *Shu-ching*; it was the product of philosophy, but never wholly won popular acceptance because of the polytheism which grew up by its side, multiplying the rites to local and departmental spirits. The rites and popular polytheism, recognizing many spiritual agencies which affect men, distinguish and divide; whereas the philosophy unifies and simplifies; it teaches that man's happiness depends solely upon the favour of Heaven. Heaven is supreme and all-controlling; its potency is universal; besides giving nutritive power to the grain and regulating the

* See those of the royal house, H—V, xxii, 19.
† T 297a.
‡ SM—Vol. II, pp. 15, 16, 24.
§ SM—Vol. II, p. 17.

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succession of the seasons, it gives man his nature and causes the rise and fall of dynasties; it knows man and is the judge of men; the judgements are moral and are not to be averted by sacrifice, and its favour can only be secured by living in harmony with its laws. The warning resounds like an iron clang all through the speeches and documents of the *Shu-ching* that no one, whatever his position, should think himself the favourite of Heaven allowed to follow his own will safe from punishment. Though not theological, this conception of Heaven is essentially religious, and the speeches are pervaded with the simple faith of natural piety.

Many have deduced from this that the term "Heaven," especially when connected with the more personal Shang-ti, is one with the Christian "Providence": but have they sufficiently realized the possibilities of Naturalism? Allow that in all things, including the Soul of man, there is one common life potent and all-pervading, which though it may have an individual manifestation or to be present locally with augmented energy, can never be wholly severed from the Common Source, and is so far sentient as to resent any want of harmony with itself; then we have a religion which teaches that Society is a phenomenon of Nature and that morality is the living in harmony with its laws. What more do we find in the "Heaven" of these books? Classical Chinese indeed has no word for Nature except "Heaven," and were it not so closely associated with Shang-ti, probably no one, uninfluenced by theological propagandism, would take Heaven in these passages to mean anything more than Nature. It is a conception of the educated, formed while the rites were still local and concerned mostly with terrestrial objects. In the thoughts of these men supra-terrestrial influences may have been prominent from the first and would become predominant, still they were not spiritual in a theological but only in a naturalistic sense as the occult powers of living matter.

Such an expression as "the Mind of Heaven," which is very common, can be readily used with this naturalistic meaning; there are some others which could indeed be translated so as to imply personality, but they are few and may all be taken in other and better meanings:* nor do we find those

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unambiguous expressions of personal spirits in hills and streams which later became so common in the *Tso-chuan*. The term "Son of Heaven" is purely metaphorical and never refers to a heavenly personage or even to deceased emperors, but to the present living ruler.†

This naturalistic idea, confined principally to the powers of the Earth, explains a want which has often been noticed. There is no mention of the beginning of things. Only once perhaps is the formation of a natural object, a hill,‡ alluded to, and the agent is Heaven or Nature. Several passages speak of the "birth" of the people and the "gift" of their moral being; the birth is always from Heaven § and the moral being is only once said to be from Shang-ti.‖ Nowhere in the records is there a suggestion of such a mythology as that of P'an-Ku and his chisel, or a hint that the heavens and earth are other than eternal.

[To be continued.]

* H—IV, 2; V, xviii. 9; IV, iii. 4.

† H—V, iv. 16; O—III, iii. 8, 5, 6, cf. IV, i. (i.) 8. In O—V, iii. 3, 2 "the King ordered the expedition to help the Son of Heaven" is explained by the similar tautology of the preceding stanza the "King ordered the expedition to deliver the royal Kingdom."

‡ O—IV, i. (i.) 6.

§ H—IV, iv. 1; V, i. (i.) 3; iv. 2; ix. 16. O—III, 1, 6; II, v. 3 (stz. 3), 4; I, iv. 1 (stz. 1).

‖ H—IV, vii. (iii.) 6.

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L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT ET SA BIBLIOTHÈQUE

BY

PROFESSOR N. PERI

C'est en 1898 que M. Paul Doumer, Gouverneur général de l'Indochine française, décida de fonder une institution destinée à l'étude archéologique de ces régions. L'arrêté du 15 décembre de cette année qui la créait, lui donnait le nom de "Mission archéologique permanente de l'Indo-Chine," et la plaçait sous le controle scientifique de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Il determinait en même temps son but et l'objet de ses études: c'était d'abord de travailler à l'exploration archéologique et philologique de la presqu'île indo-chinoise, de faire connaitre son histoire, ses monuments, ses langues, etc.; et ensuite de contribuer à l'étude érudite des régions et des civilisations voisines, Inde, Chine, Malaisie, etc. On le voit, ce but était des plus vastes. Par suite de leur situation géographique à l'extrême pointe du grand continent asiatique, les régions englobées sous le nom général d'Indochine, d'une part renferment une très grande variété de races, et par conséquent d'idiomes et de coutumes, apport de vagues successives d'immigrations venues de différentes directions; et d'autre part, elles ont reçu très profondément l'influence des deux plus grandes civilisations

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d'Extrême-Orient, celle de l'Inde dans leurs parties occidentales et méridionales, celle de la Chine dans leurs parties orientales et septentrionales. L'étude de l'Indochine doit donc s'appuyer sur l'étude préalable de l'Inde et de la Chine, celle-ci entrainant celle du Japon qui l'éclaire souvent, surtout au point de vue religieux et artistique.

Dans ces conditions, on se rend compte de l'immensité du programme tracé à l'activité de la Mission archéologique. Elle devait donner ses premiers soins à la formation d'une bibliothèque et d'un musée, et entreprendre des publications faisant connaitre les résultats de ses travaux.

Le personnal prévu pour assurer l'exécution de ce vaste programme n'était pas très considérable. Il se composait d'un Directeur nommé pour six ans, de répétiteurs qui furent dans la suite remplacés par des "professeurs" ou membres permanents, et dépensionnaires ou membres temporaires; tous pouvaient recevoir des missions d'études, tant en Indochine qu'à l'étranger. Tous les frais de quelque nature qu'ils fussent, étaient à la charge du budget de l'Indochine française.

Le premier directeur et fondateur fut M. Louis Finot, ancien élève de l'Ecole des Chartes et indianiste distingué. Il fut remplacé par M. A. Foucher, indianiste également, dont on connait les belles études d'archéologie et d'iconographie bouddhiques, auquel succéda M. Cl. E. Maitre, japonisant, qui exerce ces fonctions depuis bientôt douze ans.

Il apparut bientôt que le programme tracé à la nouvelle institution et les multiples sujets d'études qui s'offraient à son activité débordaient singulièrement le nom de Mission archéologique qui lui avait donné tout d'abord. Il fut changé le 20 janvier 1900 en celui d'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, modelé sur celui que portent les instituts français placés sous le contrôle de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres à Rome, à Athènes et au Caire. Etablie d'abord à Saigon l'Ecole fut transférée à Hanoi lorsque cette ville devint la capitale officielle de l'Indochine française et que tous les services généraux du Gouvernement y furent transportés.

Un de ses premiers travaux fut le relevé et le classement des anciens monuments, pour la plupart inconnus jusqu'alors,

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qui parsèment le sol de l'Indochine. Entre temps elle réunissait les premiers éléments de sa bibliothèque et de son musée. Dès l'année 1901 commençait à paraitre son *Bulletin* qui compte aujourd'hui dix-huit ans d'existence, en même temps que voyait le jour le premier volume des grandes études formant la série de ses "Publications"; il y en a actuellement une vingtaine de parus et d'autres sont sous presse.

Dès cette époque l'Ecole avait fait preuve d'assez de vitalité et d'activité pour que le 26 février 1901 le Président de la République reconnût et assurât son existence par un décret reproduisant les termes de l'arrêté qui l'avait fondé. Le régime qu'il institua dure encore, quoique depuis lors l'Ecole ait pris des développements qu'il n'avait pas prévus et qu'il faudra sans doute un jour prochain sanctionner par un nouvel acte de l'autorité.

L'Ecole avait été installée à Hanoi dans un bâtiment assez vast où les premiers éléments de sa bibliothèque et de son musée tenaient fort à l'aise. Devant leur accroissement, il fallut d'abord en séparer le musée auquel fut affecté un bâtiment déjà historique en quelque sorte, celui qui avait été successivement la Résidence générale, puis le Gouvernement général de l'Indochine. Il parut grand tout d'abord; il est aujourd'hui insuffisant. D'autre part la place ainsi laissée libre dans le premier bâtiment fut rapidement occupée par l'accroissement de la bibliothèque pour laquelle il est à présent devenu trop étroit; des agrandissements sont à l'étude.

Un développement très marqué s'est produit dans le sens des travaux archéologiques, relevé, entretien et conservation des monuments historiques. Ils avaient été confiés d'abord à l'un des pensionnaires; à l'heure où le champ se révélait de plus en plus vaste et exigeait déjà d'autres travailleurs, le rétrocession des provinces de Battambang et de Siemréap au Cambodge par le Siam venait en accroître singulièrement l'étendue et l'importance. Les monuments d'Angkor à eux seuls réclamaient la présence et toute l'activité d'un homme. On dut y affecter un conservateur placé sous la direction du chef du Service archéologique de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-

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Orient. Celui-ci avait aussi s'occuper spécialement du "Musée de l'Indochine" que entrepris dès les premiers jours de l'Ecole, devait se scinder et comporter, outre sa section générale à Hanoi, une section spéciale khmère à Phnom-penh (Cambodge) et une section chame à Tourane (Annam). La nécessité était reconnue de donner un nouveau développement à ce service, lorsque la guerre est venue suspendre la réalisation des projets ébauchés en ce sens.

Les travaux philologiques, comprenant l'étude des langues, de l'histoire, de la littérature, des religions, etc., de l'Indochine et des pays voisins, font l'objet de l'activité des autres membres de l'Ecole. Leurs études sont publiées régulièrement dans le *Bulletin*. A la fin de l'année 1902, s'est tenu à Hanoi, sur la proposition de l'Ecole, un Congrès d'orientalistes spécialement adonnés à l'étude de l'Extréme-Orient, qui réunit un grand nombre d'adhésions flatteuses. Depuis lors, l'Ecole a eu l'honneur de voir ses travaux particulièrement appréciés et spécialement mentionnés par le XVe Congrès des Orientalistes à Copenhague, en 1908, par le Dr Aurel Stein dans le discours qu'il a prononce à Paris, le 18 mai 1909, au Comité de l'Asie française, et par la Conférence des Orientalistes tenue à Simla en 1911, dont plusieurs des membres, notamment MM. Ross, Vogel, Stein, Duroiselle, en proposèrent l'organisation comme modèle pour l'Institute Oriental dont ils demandaient la fondation à Calcutta.

La bibliothèque de l'Ecole peut être considérée comme la première d'Extrême-Orient au point de vue de ses études spéciales. Elle est divisée actuellement en quatre fonds, européen, chinois, annamite et japonais, avec une section de cartes, une de manuscrits, et une d'estampages. Au fonds européen sont rattachés un peu arbitrairement mais pour des raisons d'ordre intérieur, les ouvrages sanskrits, pâlis, etc., ainsi que la section des cartes. Un Inventaire alphabétique en trois volumes en a été publié en 1916-1917. Ce fonds compte près de 6,000 numéros de catalogue et environ 20,000 volumes. Le fonds japonais est probablement le plus important qui existe en dehors du Japon. Le fonds annamite constitué patiemment et à grands frais, compte un nombre relativement considérable de copies d'ouvrages inédits, de documents de temples, de

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villages et de familles, et une collection d'estampages approchant de 7,000 numéros. Il est absolument unique. Il compte 1,500 numéros de catalogue, non compris les ouvrages en transcription européenne.

Le fonds chinois est très important et ne peut être comparé qu'aux grandes bibliothèques de Chine ou du Japon. Il compte 2,500 numéros dont plusieurs couvrent plus de 100 fascicules chacun. Parmi ses trésors, il faut citer trois fasciculesdu célèbre *Yong lo ta lien* 永樂大典, comprenant les *kiuan* 2260-2261, 2266-2267, 2406-2409.

On y voit le *T'ou chou tsi tch'eng* 圖書集成, la collection complète des *tsong chou*, 叢書, des provinces et de beaucoup de ceux des préfectures et des sous préfectures.

Aussi les deux éditions japonaises du Tripitaka chinois, celle de Tókyó et celle de Kyóto avec son grand Supplément constituant une sorte de patrologie chinoise.

[*Voir ci-jointe une liste en chinois d'ouvrages importants ou rares qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque.*]

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L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT AND ITS LIBRARY.

(TRANSLATION OF PRECEDING ARTICLE.)

IT was in 1898 that M. Paul Doumer, Governor-General of French Indo-China, decided to establish an Institution for the archæological study of these regions. The decree dated December in that year creating the Institution gave it the name "Permanent Archæological Mission of Indo-China," and placed it for scientific matters under the control of the Academy of Inscriptions and Literature. It further fixed the aim of the Institution and the object of its studies, which was, primarily, to work at the archæological and philological exploration of the peninsula, to explain its history, monuments, languages, etc.; then to contribute to the learned studies of neighbouring regions and civilizations, India, China, Malaysia, etc. As one sees, the scope was not a small one. By reason of their geographical position at an extreme point of the continent, the regions included in the general name Indo-

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China contain a very great variety of races and consequently of speech and of customs, the deposit of a succession of immigrations from different directions; and on the other hand these regions have been strongly affected by the two greater civilizations of the Far East: in their western and southern parts by that of India, in the east and north by that of China. Researches in Indo-China must therefore be dependent on prior studies of India and of China, including in the latter the study of Japan, which often throws light on questions of religion and art.

Such being the conditions one recognizes how immense was the programme prepared for the Archæological Mission. Its first care was, of necessity, to form a library and a museum, and to undertake the publication of the results obtained by its labours.

The personnel provided to carry out this vast programme was not great in number. It consisted of a Director appointed for six years, assistant-professors, afterwards replaced by "professors" or permanent members, and pensioners or temporary members; all could receive research appointments, whether for Indo-China or abroad. All expenses of every kind were chargeable to the budget of French Indo-China.

The first Director and founder was M. Louis Finot, a former student of the Ecole des Chartes and a distinguished indianist. He was followed as Director by M. A. Foucher, also an indianist, whose brilliant studies in archæology and Buddhist iconography are well known. He was succeeded by a scholar of Japanese, M. Cl. E. Maitre, who has occupied the post for nearly twelve years.

It was soon seen that the programme traced for the new Institution, and the manifold subjects of research which offered themselves to its activity stretched far wider than the name of Archæological Mission first given to it. The name was changed on January 20, 1900, to one modelled on that borne by other French Institutions under the control of The Academy of Inscriptions and Literature, at Rome, at Athens and at Cairo: it was called L'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient. Established at Saigon in the beginning, the School was transferred to Hanoi when that place became the official

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capital of French Indo-China and when all the general government services were removed there.

One of the first works of the School was the reporting and classifying of the ancient monuments, till then mostly unknown, which were scattered throughout Indo-China. In the meantime it was getting together the beginnings of its library and museum. In 1901 appeared the first number of its *Bulletin*, which has now reached its eighteenth year of existence. The same year saw the first volume of its important studies forming the series of its "Publications": of these twenty have appeared and others are in the press.

Even that early time the School showed such vitality and activity that on February 26, 1901, the President of the Republic recognized and confirmed its existence by an enactment which repeated the terms of the original decree of its foundation. The régime which he thus established has continued to the present; but the School has had some unforeseen developments which will no doubt require to be sanctioned by a new act of authority before long.

The School was installed in Hanoi in a fairly large building where there was room enough for the beginnings of the library and the museum. As they developed it was necessary to separate them, and to the museum a building was devoted which was already somewhat historic; it had been first the Residency general, then the Government-general of Indo-China had occupied it. At first it seemed large enough; to-day it is inadequate. The other portion of the building, left free by the removal of the museum, was quickly filled by the increase of the library, for which it is now too small; an extension is being considered.

There has been a marked development in the direction of archæological work, the reporting, upkeep and preservation of historic monuments. At first these labours had been entrusted to the 'pensioners'; but while the field of operations became more and more extensive so that further workers became necessary, the retrocession of the provinces of Bettabang and Siemréap to Cambodja by Siam made a remarkable increase in the extent and importance of the work. The Angkor monuments alone demanded the presence and

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undivided activity of one man. It was necessary to appoint a guardian there under the direction of the Head of the Archæological Service of the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient; and this had also to specially occupy itself with the Indo-China Museum, an undertaking of the earliest days of the School, which had to be divided and to allow, besides its general section at Hanoi, a special Khmer section at Phnom-penh (Cambodja), and a Cham section at Tourane (Annam). The necessi' of further development of this service was recognized, when the beginning of the war hindered all further projects in this direction.

Other members of the School devote themselves to philological work, which includes the study of the languages, history, literature, religions, etc., of Indo-China and the neighbouring countries. The results of these studies are published regularly in the *Bulletin*.

At the end of 1902, at the proposition of the School, there was held at Hanoi a Congress of Orientalists specially occupied in the study of the Far East, and this brought the School a great deal of gratifying approbation. Since then the School has been honoured by the special appreciation and mention of its work by the XVth Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen in 1908; by Dr. (Sir) Aurel Stein in his address at Paris, to the French-Asian Committee (Comité de l'Asie française), on May 18, 1909; and by the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla in 1911, when several members of the Conference, especially Messrs. Ross, Vogel, Stein and Duroiselle proposed that the organization of the School should be the model for the Oriental Institute which they were asking to have founded in Calcutta.

The Library of the School may be considered as the first in the Far East from the point of view of its special studies. It is at present divided into four departments,—European, Chinese, Annamese and Japanese, with separate sections also for maps, for manuscripts and for prints. The Sanskrit and Pali works, etc., together with the section for maps, are all relegated to the European department: this is somewhat arbitrary, but is for reasons of internal orderliness. An alphabetical Catalogue of this department in three volumes

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was issued in 1916-17; it includes 6,000 catalogue entries and about 20,000 volumes. The Japanese department is probably the most important collection of its kind outside of Japan. The Annamese department, the result of great expenditure and much patient labour, includes a comparatively large number of unpublished works, of documents concerning temples or villages or families, with a collection of nearly 7,000 prints. It is absolutely unique. Its catalogue has 1,500 entries, not counting works in European transcriptions.

The Chinese department is very important, its only rivals being the great libraries in China and Japan. It has 2,500 catalogue entries, some of which cover more than 100 fascicules each. Among its treasures there are three fascicules of the famous Yung Lo Ta Tien (chuan 2260-1, 2266-7, 2406-2409). There is also the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* 圖書集成 the complete collection of *Ts'ung Shu* 叢書 of the provinces with many of the prefectures and sub-prefectures. It has the two Japanese editions of the Chinese Tripitakas, that of Tokyo and that of Kyoto with its great Supplement which is a kind of Chinese patrology.

Other noteworthy Chinese works in the Library are named in the Chinese list on pages 218-219.

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帝學諭　漢滿名臣傳　粵十三家詩集等類是也餘不盡錄

本堂安南書分漢文越文二類

安南書數有一千一百六十三號如越史通鑑綱目　大越史記全書　皇黎一統志　大南實錄　大南列傳　大南會典　歷朝憲章　國朝律例　明命政要　同慶地輿　芸臺類語　海上憶翁　皇越文選　國朝詩文集　紹治嗣德詩文集　諸名人詩文集　各大家族譜記等類是也餘不盡錄

漢文越文二類書數有二百九十三號如　大南國語　越音詩集　周易國語　易經解義　詩經演義　書經演義　四書約解　胡尙書家禮　壽梅公家禮　各種國音經　各種國音傳　四書釋義　越史演歌　嗣德字學解義　越史國　等類

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本堂中國書分大項中項小項三等

大項書有九十七號如　欽定同文韻統　滿漢蒙古西番合璧大藏全咒　金石索　貞觀政要　大明仁孝皇后勸善書　五音韻海　皇清開國方略　八旗通志　蒙古回部王公表傳　繪圖爾雅　清文鑑　等類是也餘不盡錄

中項書數有一千九百八十七號如　欽定四庫全書攷證　佩文韻府　皇清經解　通志堂經解　各省通志　叢書數十種　全唐文　全唐詩　唐宋元明各名人遺書　正續大藏經　道藏輯要　呂祖全書　全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文　文苑英華　東華全錄　大明律　大清律　平捻平回平苗各方畧　文獻通考通典　等類是也餘不盡錄

小項書數有三百八十九號如　欽定古今圖書集成　欽定二十四史　書史彙傳　四庫全書總目　淵鑑類函　叢書二十餘種　大清一統志　大清各

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Editor will be pleased to receive notes for these pages, or queries, or answers to queries.

With regard to the article on l'Ecole française at Hanoi (p. 209), it must obviously be given in French as written by Prof. Peri. But as it is most desirable that the School and its works should be better known to the British, and as many of our readers may not be able to read the French, the Editor has taken the unusual course of following the article with a rough translation into English: for which an apology is perhaps due both to our French readers and to our English readers who read French.

* * *

Those who remember the former *China Review* will have a pleasant renewal of excitement in seeing the following criticisms of Giles' Dictionary by Prof. Parker. The notes are given here because of their value to students of Chinese, and not in controversy. The dictionary has long ago assured its high position, and few people will trouble now as to the extent to which Giles was indebted to earlier lexicographers. But the work can be improved by criticism, which no doubt Prof. Giles himself will be grateful for; and all who own the dictionary will be glad to make some corrections and additions.

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By accident we have printed a few notes of Prof. Parker's which have already appeared in the old *China Review*. Not many of our readers would observe this, and no harm is done.

* * *

Errata. In the article by Rev. W. A. Cornaby in our last issue the following errors (for which we are to blame) should be noted.

On p. 57, line 11, for 禮 read 戲.
On p. 60, line 24, for 皂 read 皇.
On p. 61, line 1, of footnote for 鑛 read 錄.

A few of what printers term 'literals' will also be observed in the French article by Père Doré.

* * *

In our next issue we shall give some notes by Prof. Parker on chronological matters.

NOTES BY PROF. E. H. PARKER.

Williams (apparently by accident) under the character 侈 includes in the sentence the character 哆. Giles follows suit with No. 1936, but (like Williams) says nothing about it under No. 577. K'ang-hi's dictionary does not say anything about the translation given under either character. It so happens, however, that the *Shwoh-wên* has the component parts reversed, thus— 侈兮 哆兮.

* * *

Neither Giles nor Williams is correct about 班師, which simply means "withdraw the troops", whether after victory, or defeat, or from any motive whatever.

* * *

名物象數 means the lesser branch of practical knowledge, in contradistinction to the higher ethical branch 德行道藝 of "arts". Williams misprinted (and mistranslated) the first character as 各. Giles (under 4287) repeats the error, but fortunately escapes a mistranslation.

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Giles' No. 1572 "males and females" is a mistake repeated from Williams: 臣妾 is used in the sense of "your ministers," "your slaves," or "to subdue" or "treat as slaves."

* * *

An instance of Giles following Williams is that neither gives 跌 in the index or body of the work, but both give the combination 跌了一跌 under *tieh*.

* * *

Giles in his No. 7087 repeats all Williams' errors. K'ang-hi defines 荄 quite separately from 桃, and both were used to to get rid of noxious humours, as betel is used. Princes had three kinds of "carminatives" served: the 葷, the 桃, and the 荄, but persons of 大夫 rank got no 荄 whilst persons of 士 rank got no 葷 either.

* * *

One of the rare instance of a character in Giles and not in Williams is 悊; in his index Williams seems to have inadvertently omitted it, but Giles inserts it in his index between 惦 and 惔. There is also one example in 拃 'a span,' (in Peking vulgarly called *Yi la*^{3}). In Cantonese they say *nám'*, which may be connected with *la*, as it is also pronounced *lám'*. K'ang-hi reads it tsan^{3} and makes it do duty for 橏; it was used in 650 A.D. with the meaning to 'express,' as the juice of sugar, just then discovered in India.

* * *

There is also one instance in which Williams places a character in the index but Giles does not: neither places it in the text; this is 掊, which in the *Nan Shi* and other places does duty for 瓿, and means a five-pint measure.

* * *

The character 郠 is omitted both in Williams and Giles. It occurs in several histories in the sense of shops, 市 | , bazaars | 圌, etc., | 邸.

* * *

There are frequent citations of the two characters 煳 糊 from the mediaeval poets. In Pekingese and Southern Mandarin the term *mohu* or *mahu* is quite colloquial, and of

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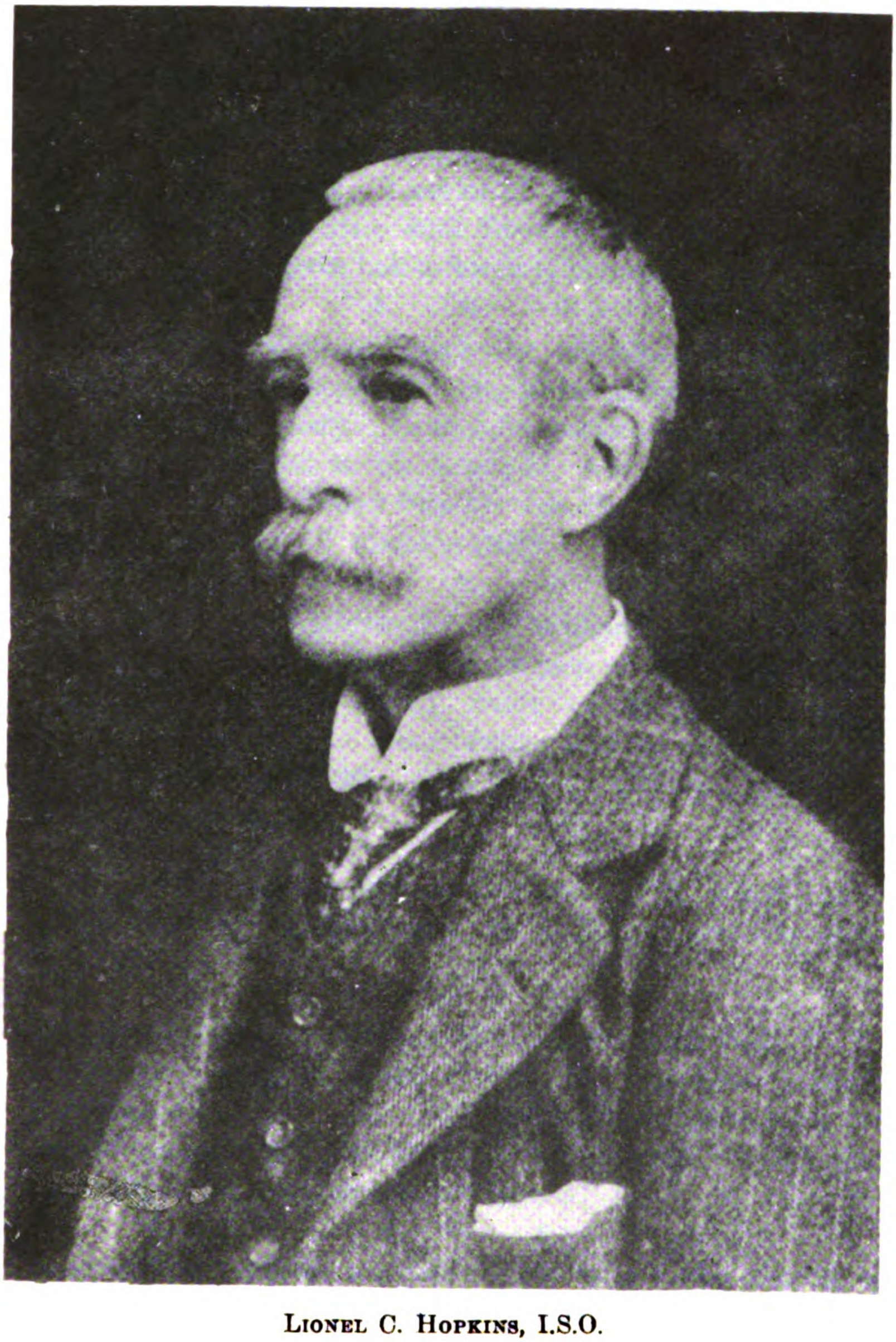

LIONEL C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

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course Wade's course gives the two characters. By some strange chance Williams omits the first character both from his index and from the body of his work, but under the second he gives the combination (of doubtful authority) 模糊. Giles in all three respects follows Williams' example.

What is still more curious is that K'ang-hi also omits 模 from the body of his dictionary and from the "Omissions" and from the Supplement. Last of all Prince Ch'un also omits the character in his little work *Errors in K'ang-hi*: and yet the *P'ei-wen Yün-fu* gives half a dozen citations!

* * *

Under 楬 Williams gives the combination 楬櫫, but omits to give the second character in his index or in any other part of his dictionary. Giles follows suit, which proves that he has not referred to his K'ang-hi, who gives the second character. The *Peking Gazette* uses the combination 𠂇 𠂇 歲月 in the sense of 'marking dates.'

* * *

Giles is an improvement on Williams under character 2680; but 伯魚 was only the cognomen of an eccentric who adopted the artificial family name of 第五, and whose personal name was 倫: other persons had the same cognomen (*vide* Mayers, 320, 孔鯉). The history of Ti-wu Lun is given in the *After Han Shu*.

* * *

Giles (11,894) has omitted Williams' 黜竄, which occurs in the *Wei Chi*: 多所𠂇𠂇如〇改定者 of correcting draft despatches.

* * *

Giles. (6248) has omitted the dialect sounds of 鵠. The Cantonese is *kuk*; so is the Hakka; the Foochow is *kouk*. Pekingese '*ku*' and '*hu*.' If the Foochow people used the second sounds it would be *huk*, for the "series" makes this necessary. In other matters see 梏.

* * *

Neither Williams nor Giles gives us any idea that 姜 is used in the sense of a 'houri' or beauty. The debauched monarch of the Ts'i dynasty had a guard of these Amazons—姬姜被干戈之服.

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Giles' 4010 can hardly be called (as Williams calls it) an unauthorized character, for K'ang-hi tells us all about it. The Ch'en history writes the man's name 唳, and the Sui history 璃.

* * *

In 535 B.C. the *Tso-chuan* mentions the woman 婧始, one of the wives of the Duke Siang of Wei. Williams gives this whole name under the second character, which is in the index as well, but unaccountably omits the first character both from dictionary and index. Giles follows suit in each case, without reference to original Chinese authority at all.

* * *

Giles' 4381 is inadequate; 乞骸 or 丐骨 is an expression used throughout history by sick or disgraced statesmen: "I beg my bones," *i.e.* "I beg permission to retire for the rest of my days."

* * *

Williams' example has led Giles into mistakes under 郟. In the first place Williams has accidentally omitted to put 鄏郟 into either his dictionary or his index, and accordingly Giles omits both, except, (like Williams) under 郟. In the next place, K'ang-hi distinctly tells us that it was in Ho Nan, whilst Williams and Giles both put it in Hu Peh. The error evidently arose from the fact that K'ang-hi makes a dubious allusion to 襄陽, but even then he adds that the place was under 潁川郡. Strange to say, Playfair also omits 鄏.

Dr. Berthold Laufer, in *Chinese Clay Figures*, p.156, note i, says "the alligator is now extinct in the Yangtse." This is not the case. When I was stationed at Kiukiang in 1905-9 a friend in Wuhu sent me two of these reptiles, and he possessed several himself. They are dug up by the natives during the hybernating period in the Wuhu district, and are said to exist in two or three other places on the same river. If Dr. Laufer means that the alligator has become extinct between 1909 and the date when he wrote (1914 or before), I think he would find some difficulty in proving his case.

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Since not a few references to and descriptions of these reptiles are to be found in the periodical literature on China, it might seem superfluous to make correction of Dr. Laufer's statement but for two reasons:—

1. My correction is not of the kind which merely places one authority against another. As I possessed these creatures I knew that they existed. Had I merely quoted another writer in opposition to Dr. Laufer, the question might be regarded as still open to doubt. Therefore I consider it a duty to make this note. Mr. Couling, during the compilation of his valuable *Encyclopædia Sinica*, found a large number of instances in which eminent sinologists flatly contradict each other, and I know I found the same thing during the compilation of my *Descriptive Sociology*. Amidst the cloud of contradictory witnesses the truth becomes camouflaged, though unintentionally. Sinology must be regarded as still in its teens, and it will be one of the tasks of the future to find, in an impartial manner, the right solutions of its many outstanding problems.

2. My second reason is a more general one. The alligator is an inhabitant of warm climates. Its presence in the Yangtzŭ may indicate that the Yangtzŭ region was once more tropical than it is now—a theory that may be supported also on other grounds. If that is so, it shows that the conclusion to which many would jump, namely, that as a region becomes less tropical the tropical fauna, etc., must necessarily die out or retreat towards the equator, is incorrect. That they do so generally is beyond question, but that they must necessarily do so is disproved by what happened in the case of the Chinese alligator. As the climate grew colder and the winters less tolerable, instinct prompted it to seek cover. It then did a very wonderful thing. When the cold season approached, it burrowed in the broad stretches of mud left on the borders of the river by the receding water, and constructed a subterranean tunnel of semicircular form, both ends of which were hidden in the water, but the higher curved part of which, still of course underground, was above the water-mark. In this secure and dry retreat it lay up all the winter, and on the return of the warm weather simply slid

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down into the water again. This system it continues to adopt at the present day, and though there may be no alternative for it, it is this system which may eventually bring about, or at least hasten, its extermination.

It is hardly necessary to note the Chinese explanation of the alligator's presence in the Yangtzŭ that it came from Tongking through a long underground canal, the waters of which also brought the seeds of the palm-tree (still to be seen at one or two spots on the banks of the Yangtzŭ). This, to use the stock phrase, "must be relegated to the domain of myth," but is interesting as an example of the danger of reasoning unguided by the light of philosophical principles.

To prove their case, the Chinese would have to adduce very cogent reasons why a tropical creature should undertake such a journey, exile itself from its native habitat, and subject itself to such great inconvenience and danger, whereas, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it would be much safer and more comfortable at home.

I may add that the Yangtzŭ alligator is a true alligator, having all the special peculiarities of the alligator as described in technical works on natural history.

E. T. C. WERNER.

Announcement.—In No. 3 of THE NEW CHINA REVIEW (to appear in June) will appear the first of a valuable series of folklore studies, dealing with Western Ssŭch'uan.

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RECENT LITERATURE.

The Far Eastern Review, Vol. XV. No. 2. February, 1919. (Shanghai; $3.00).

This monthly Review, devoted to engineering, finance, commerce, etc., has, in its February issue, swollen to a volume of some 220 pages, as a "Ports of the Orient Number." It contains an enormous amount of information useful to the trader or manufacturer, concerning business with the treaty ports of China especially, and with other Eastern lands from Japan to Borneo. Besides the fullest information about each separate port it gives a mass of particulars about China's industries, mineral resources, communications, etc., etc. Its great usefulness to business firms will be due to its being up-to-date, and its taking into account the effects of the war in every department of business. The Review is illustrated with a good number of views, maps, etc.

The American Journal of Numismatics, Vol. LI, issued by the American Numismatic Society.

Once a year does the A. N. S. put forth this work, involving an amount of work and a degree of patience, to be appreciated only by numismatists. The volume before us presents material nowhere else available. The leading article, a study of the Seleucid coins of Antioch, the first of its kind, is by Edw. T. Newell, the president of the Society.

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Some of the characters on these Seleucid coins look as if they might lead back to the time when Egyptian and Chinese hieroglyphs were "pên chia" (本家). There are those which look very like cousins to the old forms of Chu (主), and tung (東) and jih (日).

Of peculiar interest is this article to the friends of Alopen, as bringing out the civilization from which he later led the Nestorian Christians to China.

For everyday life we commend the article on "Private Silver Coins issued in the United States." "Portrait Reliefs in their Relation to Art and Life" by Spicer-Simson, the well known European sculptor of medals, shows the artist's touch, not only as to matter, which we should expect from his profession, but also as to literary style.

Students will enjoy, what smatterers would skip, *viz.* the Index. One could easily write an article that would not be turned down, even by discriminating editors, on this index alone, the work of the Society's accomplished secretary, Sydney P. Noe.

Let not the apparent lacuna as to Oriental coins lead to erroneous inferences. The Society gives strong support to numismatism in the Orient. This was well known, *e.g.* by the late H. A. Ramsden. His beautiful collection of Oriental coins, fifteen thousand specimens, classified with the most minute care, were the apple of his eye. Building a vault for them, adjoining his bed-room, Ramsden just lived therein. To provide for this collection the best possible future, he chose this Society as custodians, giving them in his will the preference over the British Museum and even his own son.

The Index of this volume shows a rich vein of numismatology in the file of the Journal, and the rooms of the beautiful new building on upper Broadway, with the Ramsden, the Roe, and other collections, furnish investigators a mine probably not surpassed elsewhere.

It is to be hoped that the Society will catalogue its Oriental coins, and in doing so salvage Ramsden's unfinished catalogue before his Chinese and Japanese collaborators are scattered.

HUGH W. WHITE.

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The I-Li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial. Translated from the Chinese with Introduction, Notes and Plan, by JOHN STEELE, M.A., D.LIT. London: Probsthain & Co. 1917. Two Vols. 24*s*.

The *I-Li* cannot be regarded as light literature and is not a popular book even in China; Dr. Steele has therefore done a bold thing in publishing it in English, especially in war-time.

Of the *san li*, the three works with *li* in the title, the *I-li*, the *Chou Li* and the *Li chi*, this work is regarded as earliest. It is not, however, all of one period, and the archaic terseness which Dr. Steele calls the 'gnomic' style of some portions is in contrast with the more developed language of parts which must be later.

The word 'meticulous' is of recent usage in English, but the signification is ancient enough: it is the word suitable to describe the whole of the regulations and etiquette of this work. The elaboration of ceremonial detail is truly astonishing. It could only suit an age when men had little to do and unlimited time to do it in. It might have originated in the weary days of Methusaleh before the flood, when it must have been so difficult to kill the time.

In the Leviticus of the Bible,—with which book the *I-Li* may in some points be most suitably compared,—there is a manifest purpose in the detail: an unformed people was being educated to definite views of the Deity, His holiness, His justice, His mercy; the lessons could be impressed on a backward race by a thousand minute regulations as to what they might do or might not do in worshipping and serving Him. But in the *I-Li* we miss any such clue. That officials visiting one another should bring pheasants as suitable gifts, fresh ones in summer, dried ones in winter, is all very well; but why must the birds' heads be kept turned to the left? It seems a mere puerility, a regulation without basis or purpose. We say 'seems,' for we doubt if any such custom was arbitrary in its origin; but the origins are too remote, and the regulations as they stand appear to have been invented to occupy a vacant mind, to pass the time and to add a factitious interest to life.

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Although reading the book through would mean intense weariness, yet the points which excite interest by baffling curiosity are numerous, and to students of comparative religion and of sociology the work is a treasure. It reveals to some extent the mind and life of a people some thirty centuries ago, a people which remains with us to-day: the race may have outgrown the *I-Li*, but the *I-Li* is *in it*, as surely though not as evidently as Leviticus is in the modern Jew.

Sacrifice, which has such a universal place in religion; the worship of ancestors; the ancient ideas as to the personality of God; these and other such important questions have much light thrown on them by the study of the *I-Li*. And to descend to more trifling but interesting matters there is the cooking of dogs for dainties at the ceremonial banquets, and the fact that while less is said about eating there is much about drinking, and it would appear ceremonially *de rigueur* that the guests should get tipsy!

The work has not been done into English before, but there is a French translation by R. P. Couvreur, the well known sinologue of the Lazarist Mission, published in 1916. Scholars will be keen to compare the two results.

The translation is careful and scholarly; the arrangement of text and notes is admirable; there is a capital index, and the publishers have done their share of the work very well indeed.

Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission; the Growth of a Work of God. With Portrait and Map. By Dr. and Mrs. HOWARD TAYLOR. (London: Morgan and Scott, 9*s*.; Shanghai: China Inland Mission, $3.50). 1918.

A newspaper which reviewed the first number of this Review wrote in justification of the mandarin's hatred of Christian teaching and stated that the Chinese officials (of the old sort too) understood Christianity better than the average missionary did! Critics who have this animus against Missions will find this book abhorrent, and we ourselves are not ready to praise its general style. But to laugh at a man saying his prayers is mere vulgarity, and many readers will be

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able to appreciate the character of Hudson Taylor while they may dislike his religious tone and condemn his work.

For there is no doubt he was remarkable man and did a great work in China. This Review has had a brief paper on Chavannes and another on Archibald Little: with regard to influence on China the missionary who founded the China Inland Mission must surely take his place with the sinologue and the merchant.

The work is not a biography; it begins with his 28th year (1860), and is the sequel to an earlier book. It is equally an account of the China Inland Mission. All religious people of the ultra-evangelical school will delight in it. To others,—perhaps to most of our readers,—the interest will be largely psychological. Here is a man who was seized and possessed with an idea; who worked out that idea with intense tenacity of purpose; who faced long years of most arduous and self-sacrificing labour, conquered difficulties and opposition that seemed insurmountable; braved physical danger and suffering, and then died in old age with the consciousness of success. If ever any man, this man knew what it was to "scorn delights and live laborious days," and in the end he had accomplished something. Apart from sympathy with his great idea and the work he did, it is honest to admire the unflinching, life-long devotion to a purpose, and when we think of the many futile lives that are lived we may even envy him and say "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

Combined with this devouring zeal and fixity of aim, which alone would have made him a remarkable man, he had many softer, homely virtues which endeared him greatly to his intimates. Unselfishness, sympathy, humility, became second nature in him. To judge him rightly it is necessary to abstract him from the particular work he did and the world he lived in, and to consider what the same force would have accomplished in some other line, if, for example, he had been as completely a political or social reformer as he was a missionary.

His theology was of the narrowest type. He was driven by such ideas as that the Chinese were "perishing" at the

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rate of a million a month; that the return of Christ might be expected at any moment; that every word in the Bible was the *ipse dixit* of God without possibility of error. The bibliolatry of the school is as emphatic as papal infallibility, and to many both are equally objectionable. But history shows us how often a narrow dogmatic creed has produced the most forceful natures, and also the most contrary measures. It was the conviction that unbelief means eternal damnation which logically produced both the Spanish Inquisition and the China Inland Mission.

To speak in the language of his religious school, Hudson Taylor would have claimed nothing as due to himself but would have put down all success directly to the power of God working through him. He lived in constant reliance on guidance and help from the unseen; and, like Luther, when most pressed with work and short of time, would spend an extra hour in prayer. If such a life has little in common with our own, and has no attraction for us, it is still wiser to admire and wonder than to scoff.

The growth of the C. I. M. is given with excess of detail. The authors do not know the value and power of a reticent style of writing. There is a sense in the reader of too great intimacy, and one sometimes feels like an intruder; there is an overloading of texts and what one may call scriptural tags. The book might have lost nothing in respect of information by being reduced to half its length, and might have gained in power. As it is the value will be hidden from many by what they will term sentimental gush. At the same time to a discriminating reader there will be revealed an interesting and powerful personality and the growth of an important and remarkable organization.

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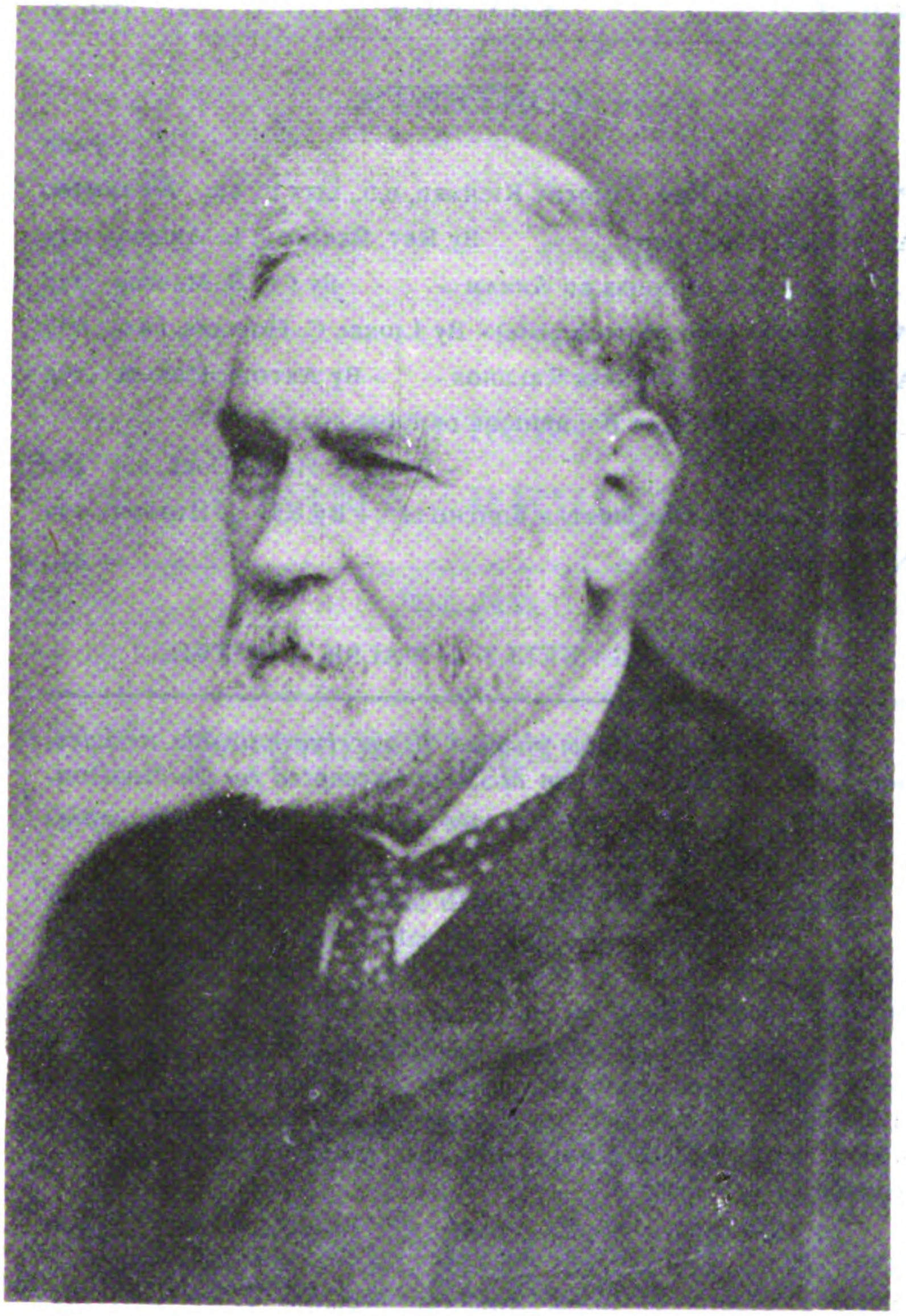

THE REV. TIMOTHY RICHARD, D.D., LITT.D., etc.

[*Elliot & Fry.*]

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THE NEW CHINA REVIEW.

VOL. I. JULY, 1919. No. 3.

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Editor: *Samuel Couling, Medhurst College, Shanghai, China.*

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. I. JULY, 1919. NO. 3.

AN ANCIENT MONUMENT

BY

REV. BENJAMIN L. ANCELL D.D.

IN Pao-ying (寶 應), a city on the Grand Canal some eighty miles north of the Yangtze river, there is to be seen a fine stone monument, which undoubtedly dates back to the Han Dynasty. My attention was called to it by a pupil of mine from that city, and it is to this pupil that I am indebted for an account of it.

This stone is a part of one of the Stone Gates (石 門) which were common in the Han Dynasty, and which were located at the graves of distinguished men. They might be called tombstones, but they differ from tombstones of the present time in that their meaning was apparently less to preserve the memory of the deceased than to be an offering of beauty at his tomb. The sculptures on the stones often took the form of pictures of renowned men. Of these sculptural

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monuments of the age indicated there are several remaining in North China in Honan and Shantung; but in South China (that is, south of the Huai River, the ancient boundary) only two are known, one at Li Shui (澧水) in North Kiangsu, and this one at Pao-ying. Of the two, the latter is the more famous, because it bears a portrait of Confucius.

Its recent history is as follows. During the reign of Ch'ien Lung a farmer of the She-yang (射陽) district, digging in his field, encountered this sculptured stone, and dug it out. It was heard of and acquired by a citizen of Yangchow, who brought it to his home. After remaining in Yangchow for some tens of years, its return to She-yang, now called Pao-ying, was effected by an official, Chu Shih-tuan (朱世端), a native of that district. It was there erected in a beautiful garden, has been preserved with great care, and has attracted many visitors. Several accounts of it have been written and published by Chinese, the most important being the one prepared by the scholar-official who secured the restoration of the tablet to Pao-ying. His book is published under the title 朱世端漢射陽石門畫像攷.

The stone gates consisted of two large flat stones, intended to represent the two leaves of a door, with upright stones at the sides and one across the top. Of this specimen only one leaf, one upright, and a piece of the cross stone have been preserved. It is said that at the time they were discovered, both leaves were dug up, but one was allowed to fall from a boat into the lake and has never been recovered. The stone has pictures or drawings on both faces, those on one side (陽面) being larger than those on the back (陰面). The pictures* on the faces are divided horizontally into three parts of equal size. On the front face, the top picture represents the meeting of Confucius and Lao-tze. The former stands near the middle, facing towards the left. Lao-tze is on the left, facing Confucius, and a disciple stand on

* These 'pictures' are described as being in low relief below the surface of the stone. It is evidently the common style of primitive sculpture, described by Paléologue (*L'art chinois*, p. 132) in the words "le procédé consiste à tenir la surface des figures dans le même plan que le champ, en les cernant simplement d'un contour creux à angles émoussés."—[*Editor*, N. C. REVIEW.]

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the right side. It is supposed that this refers to the occasion on which Confucius asked the old Philosopher to explain to him certain old rites (孔子問禮於老子); which inquiry is the basis of the Taoist boast that Confucius was a disciple of Lao-tze.

The picture in the central part of the tablet is not at all clear. It consists of some large figure whose outlines are so indistinct that it has given rise to many guesses as to what it really is. One is that it is the figure of a Buddha. But probably Chu Shih-tuan is correct—he saw it when it was fresher than did most of the writers about it: and he describes it as a picture of an ancient form of wine-cup called a *fêng* (豐), or sometimes, in reference to the intemperate habits of the last ruler of the Fêng kingdom, "the Duke of Fêng" (豐侯). The wine vessels figured prominently in feasts given in honour of pupils who had distinguished themselves in the art of archery, during which feasts the master at a certain time would order his pupils to bring in the *fêng*. In the picture may be descried the forms of two men, one on each side of the vessel, supposed to be ready to bear it in. At some distance from the *fêng* (if so it be) is a picture of a musical instrument, called a *chien ku* (建鼓). By it also are to be seen two bearers, one on either side. These objects may have reference to a skill in arts on the part of the deceased.

The bottom part of the front face has a picture of an ancient kitchen, in which are shown three men (cooks), a well, an oven, certain cooking vessels, cups, chopsticks, a fish being cooked on the range, meat on a trident, etc. Similar kitchen pictures are seen (it is said) on others of these stone gates found in the north.

The rear face of this tablet also shows three pictures, but smaller than those in front, and with less detail. On the top is the picture of a large bird; in the middle is one of an animal's head with a ring in its mouth; and at the bottom, a soldier with a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left; supposed to be a knight of yè olden time engaged in a military dance (武舞). None of these figures seem to have engaged the particular attention of the archæologists, as have those on the front face.

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It is the tradition that the part of the monument that was lost in the lake bore pictures of the ancient sages Pai-yi (伯夷) and Shu-ch'i (叔齊), two brothers famous in Chinese legend for their unselfishness and other fine moral qualities, who have been examples for later generations, even Mencius speaking of them as the purest of sages. This tradition is the more probable because on the fragment of the top piece that remai re the three characters 夷齊像; *i.e.*, the likeness of Pai-yi and Shu-ch'i. It was at first supposed that the monument marked the resting-place of these two honoured brothers, but that is not now believed to be the case.

It was possible to obtain a very fair rubbing of the tablet, showing the character of the pictures. The value of this antique stone is understood by the people, and the citizens of Pao-ying take great pride in its possession. As one of the most ancient of the monuments of the province of Kiangsu, and as bearing one of the few early pictures of the great sage Confucius, it deserves to be better known among those who unite with the Chinese in a desire to preserve from oblivion, as well as from physical destruction, their historical antiquities.

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LA DOMINATION CHINOISE EN ANNAM

(111 av. J. C.—939 ap. J. C.)

PAR

CH. B. MAYBON

APRÈS la défaite de la dynastie 趙, le pays des Viêt du Sud 南越, comme le reste des cent 百越, d'ailleurs, fut incorporé au territoire chinois. On admet généralement que la domination chinoise dura un millier d'années (de III av. J. C. à l'an 939 de notre ère.) Elle ne s'exerça pas cependant d'une manière continue et le peuple d'Annam 安南, tout en se façonnant sux mœurs du conquérant, réussit quelquefois à secouer le joug qui pesait sur lui.

Il ne peut être question, pour tracer un tableau de cette importante période, de passer en revue les Gouverneurs, les préfets, les commissaires impériaux qui régirent le Giao-chi 交趾. Il suffira de mettre en évidence les caractères d'une administration tour à tour bienfaisante ou cruelle, oppressive ou négligente, mais toujours vraiment dominatrice, parce qu'elle était fondée sur une civilisation supérieure; c'est ainsi qu'elle a laissé une empreinte profonde sur la formation morale, intellectuelle et sociale du peuple Annamite.

Pour remplir ce programme, pour donner la signification générale d'évènements que nous ne pouvons étudier dans le

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détail, il est bon de connaître les grandes divisions de l'histoire de la Chine et de l'Annam pendant dix siècles de domination plus ou moins étroite. En effet, les révolutions, les luttes pour l'hégémonie, les longs régnes pacifiques, les intervalles dynastiques (morcellement du pays et unité retrouvée), tous ces évènements d'une histoire agitée, n'ont pas été sans retentissement sur la situation de la province soumise.

Un tableau synchronique permettra d'embrasser d'un coup d'œil cette correspondance.

EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
La domination chinoise dure sans interruption pendant 152 années (111, av. J. C.-ap. J. C.)	L'Empereur Wu 武 de la dynastie de Han 前漢 antérieurs, sous le règne de qui, Việt-Nàm 越南 est conquis, régne jusqu'en 86; six empereurs lui succèdent jusqu'en l'an 6 après J. C.
Les préfets des pays situés au Sud du Yang-Tseu, et par conséquent, du Giao-chi 交趾, administrent leurs circonscriptions sans rapport avec le pouvoir central.	Période d'anarchie (6-9), à l'issue de laquelle l'usurpateur Wang-Mang 王莽 s'empare du trône; il règne 14 ans (9-23)
	Période d'anarchie (23-25), à l'issue de laquelle un membre de la famille Lieou 劉 (des Han 漢) devient Empereur; il fonde la dynastie des Han postérieurs 後漢 (25-220): c'est l'Empereur Kouang-Wou 光武 (25-58).
En 29, les préfets des pays situés au Sud du Yang-Tseu, sur l'instigation du préfet du Giao-chi, Teng-Jang 鄧讓 (An-Đặng-Nhượng), se rallie à la nouvelle dynastie.	
En 34, Sou-Ting 蘇定 (An-Tô-Đinh) est nommé préfet du Giao-chi.	

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
(40-43) Révolte des soeurs Trưng-Trắc 徵側 et Trưng-Nhị 徵貳 (ch. Tcheng-Tch'ai et Theng-Eul). En 41, préparatifs de campagne contre le Giao-chỉ; Ma-Yuan 馬援 (An-Mã-Viện) est désigné pour commander l'expédition. En 42 Trưng-Trắc est vaincue. En 43, nouvelle défaite de Trưng-Trắc et de Trưng-Nhị; Ma-Yuan rentre en Chine.	A l'Empereur Kouang-Wou succèdent, jusqu'en 220, onze Empereurs.
La domination chinoise dure 501 ans (43-544).	Période des "Trois Royaumes" 三國:—
De 187 à 226, le Gouverneur Sĩ-Nhiếp 士燮 administre le pays; il a reçu le titre de roi bien qu'il n'ait pas songé à se rendre indépendant; fidèle à la dynastie Han 漢 jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit éteinte, il envoie le tribut à la dynastie Wou 吳 (An-Ngô) qui règne au Sud.	Royaume Han de Chou 蜀漢 où règne la famille Lieou 劉 de 221 à 263; capitale Tch'eng-Tou 城都 Royaume de Wei 魏 où règne la famille Tsao 曹 de 220 à 265; capitale Lao-Yang 洛陽. Royaume de Wou 吳 où règne la famille Souen 權 de 222 à 280; capitale Kien-Ye 建鄴 (Nan-King).
En 227, révolte de Sĩ-Vĩ 士䜣, fils de Sĩ-Nhiếp, qui veut se rendre indépendant; il est vaincu. Le siège du Gouvernement Général est transporté à Ho-P'o (An-Hiệp-Phố) 合浦,	

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
dans le Sud de la province actuelle de Kouang-Tong 廣東.	
Cửu-Chơn 九眞 et Nhật-Nam 日南 se donnent aux Tsin 晉 le département de Giao reste fidèle aux Wou 吳; un général des Tsin le conquiert. Mais en 227, T'ao-Hoang 陶璜 (An. Đào-Hoãn) le reprend pour le compte des Wou. En 280, il fait sa soumission aux Tsin et reste Gouverneur. Ses descendants administrent le pays qui est en quelque sorte indépendant jusqu'en 323.	En 265, Tseu-Ma-Yuan 司馬炎 fils de Tseu-Ma Tchao 司馬昭, Général de Wei 魏 détrône le roi de Wei dont il réunit le territoire à celui de Han 漢; il se proclame Empereur; il est le fondateur de la dynastie Tsin 晉, (265-421). Sous le nom d'Empereur Wou 武 (265-290).
	En 280, le royaume de Wou 吳 est détruit; l'Empire divisé depuis la fin des Han postérieurs 後漢 (220) est unifié.
Pendant la dernière période des Tsin, Giao-Châu 交州 est de nouveau à peu près indépendant sous Lou-Siun 劉存 (An. Lưu-Tồn), qui ne reconnaît pas l'autorité de l'Empereur.—Il est défait en 411 par Tou-Houei-Tou 杜慧度 (An. Đỗ-Huệ-Độ).	Quinze Empereurs succèdent à l'Empereur Wou 武, mais pendant les dernières années de la dynastie, les Tsin ne règnent qu'au Sud; l'Empire est divisé entre plusieurs familles: à l'Est, Yen du Sud 南燕 (Royaume tongouse); Yen du Nord 北燕 (Royaume chinois); au centre, Wei 魏 (Royaume tongouse); Tsin postérieurs 後晉 (Royaume tibétain); Tsin occidentaux 北晉 (Royaume tongouse); Hia 夏 (Royaume Hun), etc.
Des fonctionnaires nommés par les dynasties régnant au Sud, administrent le pays,	Dynastie du Nord et du Sud 南北朝. La Chine est morcelée:—

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
mais les rapports avec le pouvoir central sont très relâchés.	De 386 à 581, règnent au Nord; Wei 北 魏 du Nord, de l'Ouest et de l'Est; Ts'i 北 齊 du Nord; Tcheou 北 周 du Nord; de 420 à 589, règnent au Sud: Song 宋, Ts'i 南 齊 du Sud, Leang 梁 et Tch'en 陳.
Tou-Houei-Tou 杜 慧 度 (An. Đỗ-Huệ-Độ) était gouverneur à la fin des Tsin; il reste en place; en 420, il fait une expédition heureuse contre le Champa 占 城; en 448, expédition de T'An-Ho-Tche 檀 和 之 (An. Đàn-Hoà-Chi).	
En 469, révolte de Lí-Trương-Nhơn 李 長 仁.	
En 479, son frère, Lí-Thúc-Hiên 李 叔 賢, préfet, s'oppose de vive force à l'arrivée du gouverneur nommé par l'Empereur des Song; le peuple le suit; l'Empereur des Ts'i 齊 le nomme lui-même gouverneur; il se révolte en 485.	
Lí-Khải 李 凱 gouverneur désigné par les Ts'i 齊, refuse de reconnaître l'autorité des Leang 梁; il est tué par un de ses officiers qui est nommé gouverneur (505); mais ses partisans tiennent la campagne; ils ne sont réduits qu'en 516.	
En 541, révolte de Lí-Bốn 李 賁 ou (Lí-Bí).—En 544, il	L'Empereur Wou 武 des Leang règne (502-549).

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
fonde la dynastie des Lí antérieurs 前李 (544-602).	En 577, la dynastie Tcheou 周, qui a détruit Ts'i, règne seule au Nord du Yang-Tseu.
Triêu-Quang-Phuc, usurpateur, (549-571), Lí-thiên-Bảo 李天保 (549-555).	
Lí-Phật-Tử 李佛子 (555-602); il fait sa soumission au général Lieou-Fang 劉方, (An. Lưu-Phương).	Tch'en 陳 règne au Sud. Yang-Kien 楊堅 détruit Tcheou 周 en 581 et Tch'en 陳 en 588; il réunit le Nord et le Sud sous son sceptre; il fonde la dynastie Souei 隋, (581-618); c'est l'Empereur Wen 文.
L'indépendance a duré 58 ans (544-602).	
La domination chinoise dure 336 ans (602-938)—Kieou-Ho 鄔和 (An. Khâu-Hoà) était préfet de Giao au moment de la fin des Souei; 隋 il reconnaît T'ang 唐 et reçoit le titre de Grand-Duc.	La famille de Li 李 fonde la dynastie T'ang 唐 (618-907). Kao-Tsou, 高祖 Empereur (618-626).
En 605—Expédition de Lieou-Fang au Champa.	
622—Création du gouvernement général de Kiao-Tche 交趾.	
679—Création du Protectorat général d'Annam.	
687—Révolte de Lí-Tư-Tiên 李思先.	Tchong-Tsong 中宗 troubles; règne en deux fois (684-710).
722—Révolte de Mai-Thúc-Loan, dit Empereur noir.	Hiuan-Tsong 元宗 (762-779).
767—Giao envahi par les Malais. Le gouverneur Tchang-Po-Yi 張伯儀. (An. Trương-Bá-Ngi), les chasse.	Tai-Tsong 伐宗 (780-805).
791—Révolte de Phùng-Hưng 馮興.	Tô-Tsong 德宗 (780-805).

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
808 — Tch'ang-Tcheou 張舟, (An. Trương-Tru) nommé gouverneur ; campagne au Champa.	Hien-Tsong 憲宗,(806-820).
819—Révolte de Dương-Thanh 楊清.	
828—Révolte de Vương-Thắng-Triều 王勝朝.	Wen-Tsong 文宗,(827-840).
846—Incursion des habitants de Nan-Tchao 南詔.	Wou-Tsong 武宗,(841-846).
	Siuan-Tsong 宣宗, (847-859).
857—Troubles; le gouverneur Tchou-Ye 朱涯, (An. Chu-Nhai) est obligé de se réfugier dans le département de Kouang 廣.	
858—Le Protectorat est assiégé; le gouverneur Wang-Che 王諶, (An. Vương-Thức) bat les révoltés.	
860-866—Invasion du Giao par les habitants de Nan-Tchao leur succès ; leur défaite par Kao-P'ien 高駢, (An. Cao-Biền).	Yi-Tsong 懿宗, (860-873).
880—Troubles; le gouverneur Ts'eng-Kouen (An. Tang-Cổn) les réprime.	Hi-Tsong 僖宗 (874-888); sous son règne, terrible rébellion ; un des révoltés, Tchou-Wen se rallie à l'Empereur.
	Tchao-Tsong 昭宗 (889-904); il nomme roi Tchou-Wen, qui se révolte en 896 et conquiert une partie de l'Empire ; en 901, il est appelé au secours de l'Empereur aux prises avec d'autres rebelles; il le fait assassiner en 904; s'empare du pouvoir en 907.
906—Khúc-Thừa-Dụ 曲承裕, choisi comme gouverneur	

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EN PAYS D'ANNAM	EN CHINE
par les habitants de Giao; l'Empereur approuve. Du reste, dans l'Empire même, les gouverneurs de provinces font ce qu'il leur plaît.	Mais son autorité n'est pas reconnue. La Chine reste morcelée pendant 63 ans.— C'est l'époque des cinq dynasties 伍代.
907—A sa mort, son fils Khúc-Hạo 曲顥 se déclare son successeur. Mais l'Empereur (des Leang) désigne pour administrer le Giao, le gouverneur du Kouang, Lieou-Yin 劉隱; Khuc-Hao n'en gouverne pas moins le pays et, à sa mort (917), est remplacé par son fils Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ 曲承美 qui est confirmé dans ses fonctions par l'Empereur (919).	Dynastie des Leang postérieurs 後梁, famille de Tchou-Wen (907-923). Pendant qu'elle règne à K'ai-Fong-Fou 開豐府, Licou-Yen 劉巖, frère de Lieou-Yin et son successeur, s'est proclamé, dans le Midi, Empereur des Han Méridionaux 南漢 (817-971) capitale Canton.
923—Le frère de Lieou-Yin envoie une armée dans le pays.	T'ang 後唐 postérieurs (923-936).
931—Dương-Diên-Nghệ 陽延藝 se nomme gouverneur.	
937 — Kiêu - Công - Thiện l'assassine et lui succède.	Tsin postérieurs (935-946) 後晉.
938—Il est tué par Ngô-Quyền 吳權, gendre de Dương-Diên-Nghệ, qui bat une flotte envoyée par les Han du Sud 南漢.	
La domination chinoise prend fin.	Han postérieurs 後漢 (947-950).
	Tcheou postérieurs 後周 (950-960).
	Le général Tchao-K'ouang-Yin 趙匡胤, s'empare du pouvoir et fonde la dynastie Song 宋 (960-1126).

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2.—ORGANISATION DU PAYS PENDANT LA DOMINATION CHINOISE

Les Ts'in, comme il a été dit, avaient divisé le pays en trois commanderies: Nan-Hai 南海, Kouei-Lin 桂林, et Siang 象. Après la défaite du dernier souverain de la dynastie de Tchao-T'o 趙佗 (111, av. J. C.) le pays des Việt du Sud 南越 reçut une division en neuf commanderies ou quận:* Nan-Hai subsista presque sans modifications avec sa capitale à Canton; Kouei-Lin 桂林 forma Yu-Lin 鬱林 (An. Uất-Lâm) et Ts'ang-Wou 蒼梧 (An. Thương-Ngô); une partie du Nan-Hai et du Siang 象 forma Ho-P'ou 合浦 (An. Hợp-Phố); l'île de Hai-Nan forma les commanderies de Tcheou-Ye 珠崖 (An. Châu-Nhai) et de Tan-Eul 儋耳 (An. Đạm-Nhĩ). Dans ce qui est aujourd'hui territoire indochinois, la commanderie de Siang 象 forma Giao-Chỉ (chin. Kiao-Tche) Cửu-Chơn 九眞 et Nhựt-Nam 日南 (ch. Kieou-Tchen et Je-Nan.†)

Le patrimoine de Tchao-T'o 趙佗 ainsi divisé reçut le nom général de Giao-Ch'i ou Giao-Châu 交州 (ch. Kiao-Tcheou), c'est-à-dire le Châu de Giao; car sous les Han, les commanderies (ch. Kiun-An, quân 郡), dépendaient administra-

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* cf. A ce sujet un commentaire du *Cang-Muc* (liv. I; p. 11) qui cite un ouvrage dont l'auteur, fonctionnaire de Kouei-Lin, vivait au XIIe siècle (le *Ling-Wai tai ta* de Tcheou-Kiu-Fee; v. sur cet ouvrage, *Douzième congrès international des orientalistes*, (vol. II, p. 69). Le *Cang-Muc* 綱目 donne aussi la liste des sous-préfectures comprises dans chaque commanderie: Nan-Hai en avait six, Ts'ang-Wou dix, Yu-Lin douze, Ho-P'ou cinq, Giao-Chỉ dix, Cửu-Chơn sept, Nhựt-Nam cinq; il n'en est pas donné pour Tchou-Ye et Tan-Eul; cf. Des Michels, p. 14. Sous l'Empereur Wou des Han (140-86) l'empire comprenait 108 commanderies et royaumes; en voir la liste dans Chavannes; Se-ma Ts'ein 司馬遷, II, p. 564.

† Voici la situation approximative de ces neuf commanderies par comparaison avec les divisions modernes: 1—Nan-Hai (Province de Kouang-Toung), 2—Yu-Lin (Nord de la province de Kouang-Si, sous-préfecture de Kouei-P'ing, préfecture de Siun-Tcheou), 3—Tsang-Wou, préfecture de Wou-Tcheou), 4—Ho-P'ou (Sud de la province de Tong, sous-préfecture de Hai-Kang, préfecture de Lei-Tcheou), 5—Tchou-Ye (au Nord de l'ile de Hai-Nan), 6—Tan-Eul (centre et Sud de l'île), 7—Giao-Chỉ Delta Tonkinois), 8—Cửu-Chơn (Province de Thanh-Hoá), 9— Nhựt-Nam (Province de Quang-Nam).

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tivement des départements (ch. Tcheou), (An. Châu 州). Les commanderies étaient administrées par des préfets (ch. T'ai-Cheou, an. Thái-Thú 太守) et les départements par des gouverneurs (ch. Tseu-Che, an. Thứ-Sử 刺史).

Dans son cour d'histoire, Trương-Vĩnh-Ký place par erreur les deux commanderies de l'île de Hai-Nan dans le Tonkin.

Quelques modifications de peu d'importance furent apportées à cette organisation sous les Han 漢 eux-mêmes, et pendant la période de trois royaumes. Au cours du IIIe siècle, sous les Wou 吳 (229-280), le pays fut divisé en deux départements, celui de Giao 交 (Giao-Châu), capital Long-Biên* 龍 編 et celui de Kouang 廣 (Kouang-Tcheou) capitale Fan-Yu 番 禺, Canton; du VIe siècle, le département de Giao proprement dit fut lui-même subdivisé en départements: Giao-Châu (Delta Tonkinois) et Ái-Châu 愛 州 (ancienne commanderie de Cửu-Chơn 九 眞.

Mais c'est au VIIe siècle que l'organisation du pays conquis subit les changements les plus importants. Dès le début de dynastie de T'ang 唐, une réorganisation complète de l'Empire fut entreprise et il fut créé au pays d'Annam un gouvernement général de Giao (622); it fut transformé plus tard en un protectorat général d'Annam (679 ou 681). Des gouverneurs furent nommés dans les départements et un protecteur général fut désigné pour administrer en chef le pays tout entier.*

Certaines préfectures, celles qui étaient localisées dans la province actuelle du Kouang-Toung 廣 東 et dans l'île de

* Long-Biên (Chef-lieu de la commanderie de Giao-Chỉ, sous les Han; elle s'appelait alors Long-Uyên 龍 淵, se vantait d'être la plus ancienne ville fortifiée du Tonkin, ayant recu son mur d'enceinte en 144, quand Tcheou-Tch'ang, préfect de Giao-Chi, y avait transporté sa capitale. A la fin du IIIe siècle, T'ao-Houang l'avait reconstruite à 14 *li* 里 a l'Ouest de son ancien emplacement. Les Souei (589-618) en, firent une sous-préfecture et transportèrent la capitale du Giao-Chỉ à Tong-Binh. En 621, elle devint le chef-lieu du département de Long (Long-Chau) qui dépendait du protectorat général de Giao; en 627, elle fut réduite au rang de simple arrondissement; il n'en est plus question dans l'histoire du Tonkin, après le VIIe siècle. D'ap. H. Maspéro; *Le Protectorat Général de l'Annam sous les T'ang*, p. 562.

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Hai-Nan 海南, avaient été rattachées au Protectorat Général au moment de sa formation, mais en furent séparées plus tard, à la fin du VIIIe siècle. A cette époque et jusqu'à la fin des T'ang, le territoire du pays fut divisé en huit départements: 1°—dans la plaine du Tonkin: les départements de Kiao 交 (an. Giao) partie orientale du delta; de Fong 峯 (an. Phong) province de Sơn-Tây 山西, Vĩnh-Yên 永安, Việt-Trì 越池 et les districts occupés par des populations primitives vers le Yun-Nan; de Tch'ang 湯 (an. Trương), probablement l'ancien Cửu-Chơn, donc approximativement province de Thanh-Hoá 清化; 2°—dans la partie septentrionale de l'Annam moderne jusqu'au Mont transverse, les départements de Ngai 愛 (an. Ái) de Houan, 驩 (an. Hoan) de Yen 演 (an. Dien) et de Fou-Lou 福祿 (an. Phúc-Lộc).

Ces sept départements qui se trouvaient dans les plaines, étaient administrés suivant les mêmes règles que les provinces du reste de l'Empire. Quant aux circonscriptions des régions montagneuses, il importe de distinguer:—la partie qui formait le huitième département, celui de Lou 陸 (an. Luc) côte et îles de la baie de Ha-Long, fut administrée directement par des fonctionnaires désignés par la Chine†; les autres, comme T'ang 湯 (an. Thang) Tche 芝 (an. Chi), Wou-Yi 武峨 (an. Vũ-Nga), Wou-Ngan 武安 (an. Vũ-An), représentant à peu prés les provinces actuelles de Hưng-Hoá 興化, Tuyên-Quang 宣光, Thái-Nguyên 太原, Quảng-Yên 廣安, furent

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* Sur le siège du Protectorat et ses emplacements successifs, voir l'étude déjà citée de M. Maspéro, p. 552 et suiv.

L'ancien Kiao-Tche serait identique à Song-P'ing (Tong-Binh) ou comme on l'appelait à la fin de la dynastie, à Ta-Lo-Tch'eng (Đại-La-Thành. Or l'emplacement de Đại-La-Thành est bien connu: c'était à peu près la ville actuelle de Hanoi et les énormes levées de terre qui l'entourent en ont gardé le nom et sont appelées aujourd'hui encore La-Thành. Mais si l'on veut localiser l'ancienne ville des T'ang sur le terrain, on se heurte à de graves difficultés—p. 555). "Après la reprise du Tonking sur le Nan-Tchao (806) Kao-P'ien 高駢 rebâtit la capitale, peut-être encore sur un nouvel emplacement" (p. 557).

† Les sous-préfectures de ces divers départements sont énumérées dans le *Cang-Muc* d'après l'histoire des T'ang; Giao en comprenait huit, Fong Cinq, Trương quatre, A'i six, Hoan quatre, Diễn sept, Phúc-Lộc trois et Luc trois.

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tantôt laissées au gouvernement de leurs chefs héréditaires*, tantôt soumises à l'administration chinoise.

[*To be continued*]

* Leur nombre, leur nom, leurs limites varièrent souvent; les territoires laissés au gouvernement des chefs indigènes s'appelaient Ki-Mi-Tcheou, Ki-Mi-Hien. Ki signifie "brider un cheval," et Mi "Tenir un boeuf par le licou."

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WORKING THE ORACLE

BY

LIONEL C. HOPKINS, I.S.O.

[*Concluded from p. 119*].

IN the notes to the extracts that follow, I shall have occasion to refer to various papers of mine contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (J. R. A. S.), and to quote textually the passages in point, because, as the original articles are unlikely to have been seen by the majority of readers of this Review, or to be accessible to them, a reference alone would be useless.

The letters Y. H. S. K. stand for Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i—Records of the Tumulus of Yin*, in which the original texts will be found photo-lithographed.

(1)* Various sacrificial services now known collectively as *tsi* 祭.

(*a*) 壬戌卜貞王賓示壬翌日亡丈 *jên hsü pu chêng wang p'in shih jên i jih wu* [?].—Y. H. S. K. 1. 1.

"On the day *jên-hsü*, inquiry was made through the tortoise-shell of the Royal Guest Shih-Jên [*alias* Chu Jên 主壬, according to the *Shih Chi* 史記] whether the next day would be without [? objection] for sacrificing."

Notes.—On p. 77 of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, Lo observes, on the evidence of the Bone inscriptions, that

* For the original form of each inquiry, etc., see Plate at the end of the article.

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the word 祭 *tsi* or *chi* denoted only one of the total number of sacrificial ceremonies 祭亦羣祀之一, and not, as it became later, the general term for all such forms of worship.

Wang-p'in 王賓 was, as Lo Chên-yü has shown, the customary term for a deceased Royal Ancestor. The point is fully explained in *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty* in the J. R. A. S., January 1917, p. 85.

示壬 Shih Jên is Lo's reading of the *Shih Chi's* Chu Jên, 主壬, the grandfather of T'ang, the Founder of the Shang Dynasty.

The modern form for the last character in this inscription is not yet known. On the face of it, it scarcely differs from the modern 丈 *chang*, fathom, which however it can hardly be. Whatever its sound, the word must have denoted some such sense as ill-consequence, objection. Note that no word for sacrifice is expressed.

Lo points out that the rule was when inquiring through the Tortoise if a certain day for the sacrifice would be agreeable to the deceased ancestor addressed, to put the inquiry on a day having as its first cycle character the same character as marked the day of the ancestor's birth. Thus, in this sentence, we see the question put on a day 壬戌 *jên hsü*, because *jên* was the first character of Shih (or Chu) Jên's birthday.

(*b*) 丁未卜貞王賓大丁祭亡丈 *ting wei pu chêng wang p'in ta ting chi wu* [?].—Y. H. S. K. 1. 4.

"On the day *ting-wei*, inquiry was made through the tortoise-shell, of the Royal Guest Ta Ting whether a sacrificial service to him would be free from [? objection]."

Notes. –Here the exact day for the sacrifice is not specified, but custom required that it should be on an early day, commonly on the next or next but one.

Ta Ting, or T'ai Ting 太丁, as, (following the form employed in the *Shih Chi*), the name is always written since Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's time, is reputed to have reigned from B.C. 1194 to 1191. But it is probable that the ancestor here intended is a much earlier one. "The Historical Memoirs state that Ch'êng T'ang's heir T'ai Ting 太丁 died before accession to the throne. The Bamboo Books do not mention

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him. But I agree with Lo's view that the 大丁 of the Bones refers to this prince and not to the last sovereign but two of the dynasty." *

Remark that here, in contrast with the previous extract, the word *chi* to sacrifice, is expressed.

(*c*). 丁卯卜貞王賓邦丁彡日亡丈 *ting mao pu chêng wang p'in pao ting yung jih wu* [?].—Y.H.S.K. 1.53.

"On the day *ting mao*, inquiry was made through the tortoise-shell, of the Royal Guest Pao Ting whether the day of the supplementary sacrifice would be free from [? objection]."

Notes.—The two characters transcribed here as 報丁 *pao ting*, are left by Lo Chên-yü'in his transcription, in the original form shown on the bone fragment, which he has not identified. On the grounds stated in *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty*, J.R.A.S. Jan. 1917, pp. 83-4, I read this apparently single form as two characters 冂, and 厶, which, as in very numerous instances on the Honan relics are combined in a single complex. This is done when the liaison between the two words concerned is habitual, as in certain names and dates. It is Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien in his *Shih Chi* who is responsible for the names Pao Ting, Pao I, and Pao Ping, having perhaps received this lection from his predecessors. For the sake of clearness I add an extract from the above-mentioned Paper.

"Now there are in the Bone inscriptions three singular combinations, each consisting of a symbol closely resembling the half of a square bracket 匚, enveloping, respectively, the characters Ting, I, and Ping, and no other characters. Thus we have 冃 and 冈 and 丘, in which the partly bracketed characters are in modern form 丁 *ting*, 丙 *ping* and 乙 *i*. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that these combinations are really the Pao Ting, Pao Ping and Pao I of the Historical Memoirs. What is harder to understand is why the transcribers, if we assume that they had similar forms before them, should have seen in these half-bracket shapes an early phase of the character 報 *pao*. Certainly there is no record of any such simple outline for that character. Had they transcribed these three names as 勹丁, 勹乙, and 勹丙, Pao

* *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty*. J. R. A. S., Jan., 1917, p. 73

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Ting, Pao I, and Pao Ping, more plausibility would have been secured. But they did not. We do not know what this half-bracket character really represents, nor what is the sound of the word it stands for, nor can we judge what justification the transcribers had for writing 報. For the present then, we must leave this name suspect but unchallenged."

彤 *yung*. Lo's photographic plate does not reproduce clearly the original character here. But numerous other passages in his and my own collection, show the symbols which he identifies as 彤 *yung*, in the expression 彤 日 *yung jih*, day of supplementary sacrifice, as well as in the less commonly occurring and hitherto unknown couplet 彤 月 *yung yüeh*, the exact meaning of which is not clear. I subjoin here a translation of Lo's interesting note to his variant forms, from p. 26 of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih:* "The character 彤 *yung* occurring in the phrase 彤 日 *yung jih*, the day of the supplementary sacrifice, in the *Book of History*, is not to be found in the *Shuo Wên*. Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes it is the same as 彰 *ch'ên*. The notes on Kung Yang's Commentary [to the *Ch'un Ch'iu*], on Duke Hsüan's 8th year, assert that 彤 yung is equivalent to the expression 彤 彤 不 絕 *yung yung pu chüeh*, on and on without ceasing. In the oracular sentences we have 彡 日, and sometimes 彡 or 彡, all of which forms precisely symbolize endless succession (正 象 相 續 不 絕), and are probably the original shape of the character 彤 in the phrase 彤 日 *yung jih*. The character 彭 *p'êng* is composed with this symbol which gives it its phonetic *, a plain proof of which is furnished by the occasional scription of *pêng* with 彡 in the oracular sentences.

* A pregnant dictum. For not only does the attribution of the sound *yung* to the character 彡 controvert the accepted sounds *shan* and *hsien* as given by Kanghsi, but what is much more important and far-reaching, it postulates as sound doctrine the acceptance of the phonetic element in a character, where it exists at all, not as of necessity a full homophone, but merely as a syllable having *the same rhyme*, as for instance, in this case, where *yung* is said to be the phonetic of *p'êng* earlier *p'ung*. Repugnant as this view is, I confess, to me, there seems no other reconcileable with the *Shuo Wên's* treatment of the phonetics, which appears to be tacitly accepted by modern Chinese critics.

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In these, too, we have the expression 肜月 *yung yüeh*, the meaning of which we now no longer understand. The 鼎尊 *yü tsun* bronze also contains the characters 彡日, while the *Pê Ku T'u* illustrates a sacrificial bronze, the 父丁彝 *fu ting i*, on which occurs the sentence 彡日佳王六祀 *yung jih wei wang liu ssŭ*, 'the day of the renewed sacrifice was in the King's 6th year'."

(2) A sacrificial service known as 告 *kao* or announcement.

(*a*) 貞于唐告 *chêng yü t'ang kao*.—Y. H. S. K. 1.47.
"Inquired whether a service of announcement should be held in T'ang."

(*b*) 貞勿告于唐 *chêng wu kao yü t'ang*.—*Ibid*.
"Inquired whether a service of announcement should not be held in T'ang."

Notes.—The two sentences (*a*) and (*b*), though found on the same page of Lo's work, are not on the same fragment of bone. But similar alternative inquiries so often occur in his and my own collections, in close juxtaposition, that these two may be taken as typical of the class. The rather cumbrous idiom "Will it be so-and-so? Will it not be so-and-so?," and similar bifurcated inquiries, are extremely common. What is curious is that the two branches are often separated by two horizontal lines inclosing some sentence on a separate matter; why, I do not know.

T'ang 唐 is perhaps the region of the feudal State of that name comprising parts of Chihli and Honan; see Playfair's *Cities and Towns of China*, Vol. II, p. 329.

The character transcribed 勿 *wu* by me is left undetermined by Lo, and though very common on the Bones, is not found elsewhere. I have tested it extensively and believe my equation stands good.

(3) A sacrificial service known as 𠂤 *shun*, now written 享. The nature and peculiarities of this ceremony do not appear, but from the presence of the character for sheep in the compound, it would seem to have included the slaughter of a victim of that kind.

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(*a*) 甲辰卜王貞于戊申𠂤 *chia ch'ên pu wang chêng yii wu shên shun.*—Y. H. S. K. 3.24.
"On the day *chia ch'ên* divined concerning the King's inquiry, whether he should offer sacrifice on the day *wu-shên.*"

Notes.—The character *shun* is worth attention. It consists in its archaic phase of two parts, an upper and a lower. The upper half is a character variously read *hêng*, *hsiang* and *p'êng*, which is another and less perspicuous way of expressing that probably three, and certainly two, distinct spoken words have been made to share a single character. We are concerned however here with only one of them, the word *hsiang*—to sacrifice.

The lower half of *shun* is the well-known character for sheep, *yang* 羊. As neither *hsiang* (nor, for that matter, *hêng* or *p'êng*), nor *yang* can possibly be phonetics for a character pronounced *shun*, it is clear that we have to do with a member of the Suggestive Compound class or 會意 *hui i*. The designer of this character *shun* presents us with an architectural elevation of a building having the well-known curving roofs, surmounting a tower standing (so I interpret the oblong lower part) on a raised terrace. This building is no doubt an ancestral temple, and the sheep beneath it is of course the particular victim appropriate to this class of sacrificial service.

(*b*) 癸亥卜王方其𠂤大邑 *kuei hai pu wang fang ch'i shun ta i.*—Y. H. S. K. 8.12.
(Provisional rendering). "On the day *kuei hai*, divined as to the Royal Officer designated as *fang*, offering sacrifice at the Capital city."

I have marked the above as a provisional rendering in view of the doubt attending the sense of the word *fang*. But in his *Yin Hsii Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 107, Lo Chên-yü calls attention to the occurrence of the expressions 命方 *ming-fang* and 歸方 *kuei-fang*, in the oracular sentences. They must, he says, be the designations of officials, and cites from the *Chou Li* the analogous titles 職方 *chih fang*, 土方 *t'u fang*, 合方 *ho fang*, 訓方 *hsiin fang*, and 形方 *hsing fang*, all having also the final word 氏 *shih*, showing the hereditary nature of their office, as the last part of the title. These

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functions Lo thinks were imitated from those current in the previous dynasty of Shang. I may add that the phrase 土方 *t'u fang*, seems to appear on the Honan bones in the guise of Ω方.

Ta i 大邑, lit. "the great city." I have discussed the character 邑 *i*, in its old form, quite recently, in *Pictographic Reconnaissances*, Part 2, in J.R.A.S., July-October, 1918 p. 417, from which I may perhaps quote the following sentence in explanation of the form :-

"A compound consisting of an upper part sometimes round, sometimes rectangular, square or oblong, representing an inclosed place, surmounting the figure of a kneeling or seated man. But it may be that this kneeling posture is not here intended to be significant, but is merely due to a desire for vertical compression in writing. In any case the conceptional design seems to suggest a place where men dwell."

(4) Expeditions or journeys, apparently on civil business, but the exact objects of which are not so far discoverable. They are termed *ch'u* 出, issuing, and *ju* 入, reëntering, terms which we may recall are used in the *Chou Li* or Rites of Chou, for the issue and return of Government stores. But this does not appear to be the sense of the words in these passages.

(*a*). 丙子卜賓貞方其大出七月 *ping tzŭ pu chêng fang ch'i ta ch'u ch'i yüeh*.—Y.H.S.K. 5.28.

"On the day *ping-tzū*, inquired of the [Royal] guest through the tortoise-shell whether the *fang* officer should go out in force in the 7th moon."

(*b*). 貞方不大出 *chêng fang pu ta ch'u*.—*Ibid.* 5.28.

"Inquired whether the *fang* officer should not go out in force."

Notes.—The translation of both these sentences is somewhat tentative, and must be so until the exact connotations of *fang* and *ch'u* are better known. I have rendered 大 *ta* by "in force," but if the sense of 出 *ch'u* is that used in the *Chou Li*, the rendering would have to be altered.

In (*a*) I have restored the character 賓 *p'in*, which Lo has inadvertently omitted in his transcription.

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Both (*a*) and (*b*) occur on the same fragment, and as very often happens on the Bones, the negative and rather shorter branch of the inquiry is the upper one, and is succeeded, immediately in this case, by the positive. Did the authors of those entries begin at the foot of the fragments and work upwards?

Notice the use of 其 *ch'i* in the positive branch, contrasted here and constantly with 不 *pu*, not.

Note on the Plate the form of 七 *ch'i*, seven, *not* ten.

The word *p'in*, guest, is here short for *wang p'in*, Royal Guest, the term by which, as Lo Chên-yü has brilliantly shown, an apotheosized ancestor of the Royal Line was described in the time of the Shang Dynasty. The point is discussed in *Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty*, J. R. A. S., January 1917, p. 85.

(*c*). 貞今七月王入于商 *chêng chin ch'i yüeh wang ju yü shang*.—Y. H. S. K. 2.2.

"Inquired whether this seventh month the King should re-enter Shang."

Note.—This Shang is presumably the fief in Shensi, or its capital city, from which the dynasty had taken its original style.

The reader should remark the manner in which the two characters 七 *ch'i*, seventh, and 月 *yeüh*, month, instead of being, like the rest, written in vertical sequence, are juxtaposed laterally. The group presents one of the numerous instances of the marked agglutinative tendency on the Honan relics, in the case of characters frequently occurring in couplets, such as Royal names, certain official titles, the month and its number, certain numerical combinations, certain numeratives and their substantives. This tendency, however, ultimately disappeared, though one example still remains to illustrate it in the modern character 百 *pê*, hundred, which was originally the two characters —*i*, one, and 白 *pê*, hundred (now only used for *pê*, white), agglutinated. Sometimes 百, in its old form, must have been pronounced as two words, *i pê*, but at others, in such cases, for instance, as 百姓, though still including the sign for —*i*, one, the sound of this latter must have been dropped, for the spoken language said, as now, merely *pê hsing*.

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(5) Hunting expeditions, which were known by several different names, 狩 *shou*, 逐 *chu*, and 田 *t'ien*.

(*a*) 貞王狩于乂 *chêng wang shou yü ai*.—Y.H.S.K. 1.44.

(*b*) 貞王勿狩于乂 *chêng wang wu shou yü ai*.—*Ibid.*

(*a*) "Inquired whether the King should hunt in Ai."

(*b*) "Inquired whether the King should not hunt in Ai."

Notes.—I have followed Lo in transcribing the original character (shown in the Plate) by 狩 *shou*, because the latter is that now used for the sense of hunting. But strictly, the form is better preserved in 獸 *shou*, now usually reserved for the meaning of beasts. This composite character is both interesting and difficult of analysis. It would take too long to explain fully what can be discovered about it. Lo Chên-yü and others have shown that in the older writings 獸 and 狩 were used indifferently to write the word *shou* to hunt. I will only add that the form used on the Bones consists of two elements neither of which probably is phonetic, and that the local relation of the dog sign to the other one is non-significant, but imposed by the desire for compact grouping. In other words, the dog is not climbing up a pole, as it appears to be. The real difficulty lies in interpreting this bifurcated pole.

(*c*) 戊寅卜在高貞王田衣逐亡巛 *wu yin pu tsai kao chêng wang t'ien i chu chu wu tsai*.—Y. H. S. K. 2.12.

"On the day *wu yin*, divined in Kao and inquired if the King hunted in I the chase would be without mishap."

Note.—Both Kao and I must be the names of regions or places, but nothing is now known about them.

The character 逐 *chu*, to chase, appears to be a Suggestive Compound (會意), in which neither of the two constituents serves a phonetic purpose. The archaic form has the sign for *foot* below, to symbolize movement, and an animal form, sometimes that for swine, but sometimes for hare, and according to Lo, though I am not satisfied on the point, sometimes also for *dog*. The boar and the hare of course represent the animals hunted. Possibly one or two other sorts could be found. Lo remarks, Y. H. S. K. K. S., p. 62, that the character depicts beasts running in the wilderness and men pursuing them, so that there is no

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restriction as to what kind of beast is drawn. This is not the only character where a certain depictive latitude is allowed in the archaic writing.

Wu tsai, which would now be written 無災, is a common formula on these bones, with several others of the same general sense.

(*d*) 癸未卜丁貞漁 *kuei wei pu ting hai yü.*—Y. H. S. K. 4.56

"On the day *kuei wei*, divined as to fishing on the *ting hai*."

Note.—In this particular example *yü*, to fish, is written as 魚 *yü*, the substantive. But usually on the Bones, when the word *yü* is used verbally, the combining-form of water is added. Sometimes also a more interesting augment appears, in the shape of a hand holding a fishing-line, thus, , a variant on which was imperfectly based the modern 漁 *yü*, where however the line has vanished. It it possible that the curious form *yü*, found only in the *Chou Li*, in the term *yü jên*, the Court Fishermen, preserves in the element 虎 *hu*, tiger's head, at the top, a misunderstood and misrepresented corruption of an original line and hook? Certainly tiger's head, whether as phonetic or ideogram, is irrelevant and incomprehensible in such a character.

(6) Military expeditions, 征伐 *chêng fa.*

庚申卜㱿貞王勿征[?]方下上弗若不我其受又 *kêng shên pu ? ku* or ? *ch'io chêng wang wu* [?] *fang hsiū shang fu jo pu wo ch'i shou yu.*—Y. H. S. K. 5.22.

"On the day *kêng shên*, divined as to [?], and inquired whether the King should not attack the country of the [?]. The upper and the lower not agreeing, will not grant aid to me."

Note.—I have chosen the above sentence despite the fact that two of the characters cannot yet be equated with modern forms, while the applicational meaning of the phrase 下上弗若 *hsia shang fu jo*, is uncertain. But like so many other recalcitrant passages on the Honan relics, it permits us glimpses, if no more, of knowledge that may be ours some day, though now we cannot attain to it.

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The 4th character is left untranscribed by Lo, but it appears to me strictly to be the modern character represented in Kanghsi as shown above. It is quite common in these inscriptions, and occurs constantly after ᚦ *pu*, to divine. It must therefore represent a word for some matter as to which the Shang Sovereigns often desired information. And from its common occurrence in inquiries relating to military activities, it would seem to indicate some bellicose action. Beyond that I cannot go.

Here, as before noted, the character I transcribe as 勿 *wu*, not, is left by Lo without a modern equation.

The archaic characters 下 *hsia* and 上 *shang* should be noticed. They sometimes occur so closely juxtaposed that I used to believe them to be a single form. They furnish, then, another example of what I have described above as "the marked agglutinative tendency . . . in the case of characters frequently occurring in couplets." In this particular instance, the tendency scarcely prevails.

What were these phenomena or powers which "below and above were not concordant"? Is this some technical diviners' jargon, or had it some wider connotation? We cannot tell.

Another point of interest is presented by the unknown but very frequent character 㠯, which is usually followed by 方 *fang*, region, and is therefore I suppose some ethnic name. But what name? And what is the pictural design of the form? This again we cannot determine, though the figure itself suggests one obvious explanation.

(7) Crop prospects.

庚申卜貞我受黍年三月 *keng shên pu chêng wo shou shu nien san yüeh.*—Y. H. S. K. 3.30

"On the day *kêng shên*, divined, inquiring as to our millet harvest. Third moon."

Note.—In the original text the characters for "third moon" are slightly removed from the rest of the sentence, and must, I think, be taken separately, if for no other reason than that the millet harvest could surely never have fallen in the *third* moon under any calendar.

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(8) The weather.

(*a*) 壬寅卜貞今日王其田[?]不遘大風 *jên yin pu chêng chin jih wang ch'i ti'en* [?] *pu kou ta fêng.* Y. H. S. K. 2.30.

"On the day *jen yin*, divined inquiring if the King hunted to-day in [?], whether he would not encounter high wind."

(*b*) 其遘大風 *ch'i kou ta fêng.—Ibid.*

"Or would encounter high wind."

Note.—Again the negative branch of the question coming before, at any rate above, the positive.

In the original bone a fracture leaves only the extreme right hand corner of *kou* visible.

The very remarkable form of the character now written 風 *fêng*, wind, should be noticed. I have discussed it in a short Paper in the J. R. A. S., April 1917, pp. 377-383, on "The Wind, the Phoenix and a String of Shells," from which I may quote, as for the moment sufficient, one sentence, "This [example] is, *in form*, the archaic character for 風 *fêng*, the mythical bird, but is here borrowed to write *fêng*, wind, as the context shows." But it is well to add that the Lesser Seal and modern characters for *fêng*, phoenix, are not very strictly derived from this archaic pictogram, for the elaborately drawn phoenix has been reduced by simplifications to the ordinary bird outline of 鳥 *niao*.

(*c*) 貞今丙午延雨 *chêng chin ping wu yen yü.*—
今丙午不其延雨 *chin ping wu pu ch'i yen yü.*—
Y. H. S. K. 3.20.

"Inquired whether to-day, being *ping-wu*, there would be prolonged rain"; or, "whether . . . no prolonged rain."

Note.—The character 延 deserves attention. The modern form thus written is, according to Kanghsi and other dictionaries, including the received phonetic system of *Sun Shu-yen* 孫叔言, usually adopted by editors of the *Shuo Wên*, pronounced *ch'an*, and is said to mean to walk quietly. On the other hand, the character 延, prolonged, is said to be pronounced *yen*. But the evidence of the Honan relics shows without doubt that the character composed of 廴 and 止,

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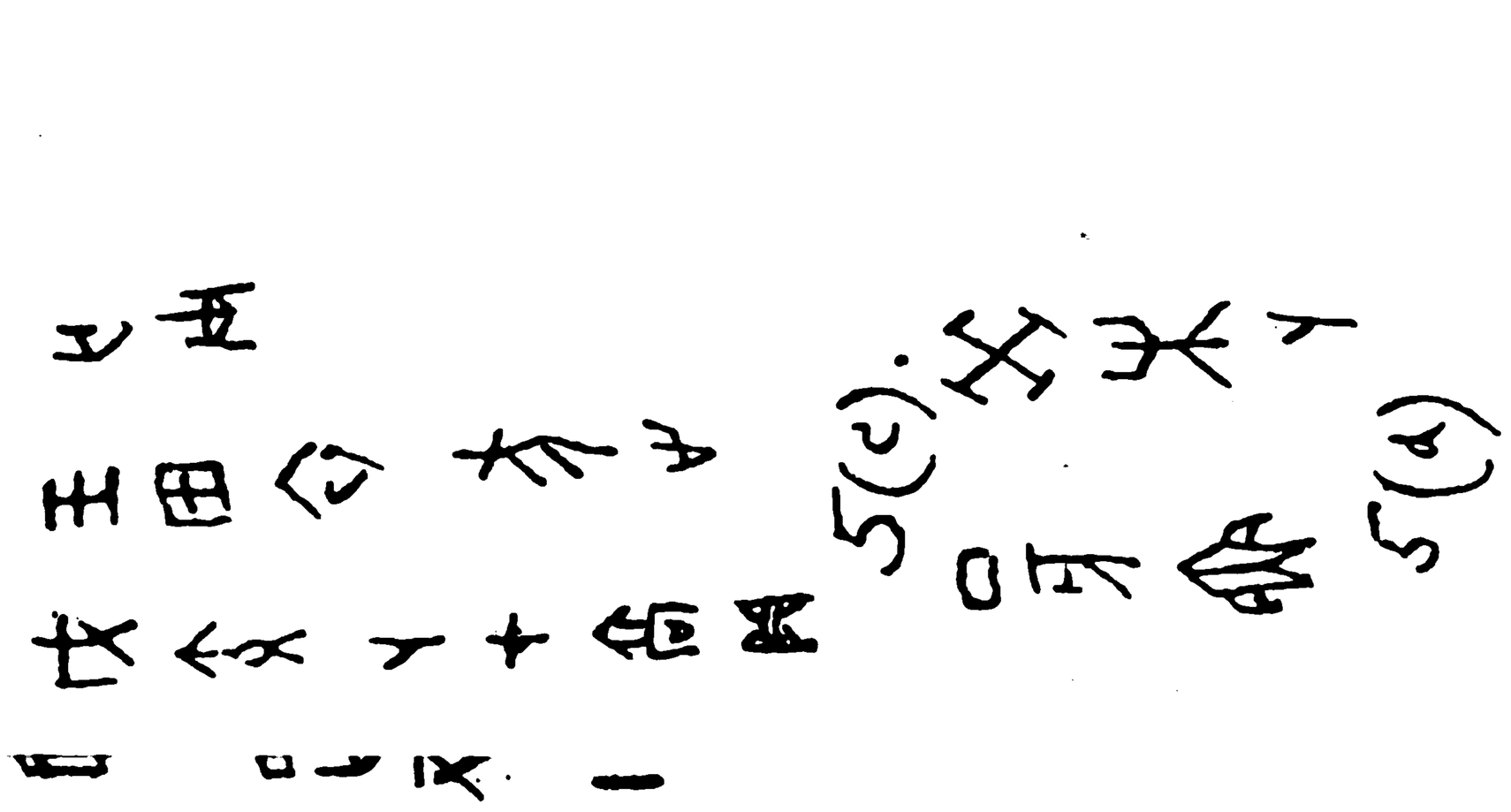

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which is common on the Bones and there means prolonged, is, contrary to these modern authorities, the true representative of the word *yen*. I have therefore been constrained so to transliterate it here.

And now having completed the circuit of these prognostications, from the august solemnities of ancestral worship to the fretting incertitudes of meteorology, we may bid adieu to the Working of the Oracle.

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A STUDY IN EARLY CHINESE RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

SECTION II. ANCESTRAL WORSHIP

NATURE worship, largely for the state, was the public religion; ancestral worship, wholly for the family, was the private religion. The two were based upon one idea, that life pervades all things and is indestructible but, as we say of energy, passes into other forms.

The funeral and mourning customs undoubtedly more nearly touched the lives of the people, yet because of their greater privacy we read less of them. What we are told about them in the earliest times is by the late compiler and two of the less authenticated documents.* The people mourned three years for the emperor Yao and all music was hushed.† On the death of his father, Kao-tsung of the Shang dynasty is said to have lived in a mourning shed for three years without speaking.‡ Confucius affirmed that silence was the regular practice of the ancient kings and that the government was carried on solely by ministers: § the

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* H—II, i. 4, 8, 14, 23; IV, ix. 1.
† H—II, i. 13.
‡ H—IV, viii. (i.), 1, 2.
§ A—XIV, xliii.

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Shu-ching as we now have it, speaks only of verbal silence and says that the king continued it even after mourning, when he communicated with his ministers by writing. The compiler of the classic does not tell us that Shun, when mourning for Yao, abstained from government, but goes on immediately to say that he deliberated with the ministers. In a somewhat ambiguous passage the *T'ai-chia* has it that when he came to the throne the young king behaved lightly and the minister, I-Yin 伊尹, finding that remonstrances were of no avail, compelled him at last to dwell by his father's grave throughout the rest of mourning and himself administered the government. The king's youth and character may have been sufficient reason for not allowing him any control in affairs. Confucius' dictum, then, may find some support in the cases of T'ai-chia and Kao-tsung but it is not proved by the records.

The narratives in the *Tso-chuan* make frequent allusions to other funeral and mourning customs but do not describe them in detail. Burial, the use of a double coffin and vaulted grave lined with lime * were probably connected with the idea that the animal soul remains with the body, and were designed to prolong its existence. So cremation was looked upon with horror; and once when military necessity required the burning of a city where the corpses of those slain in a previous battle still lay unburied, the act was only justified by the plea that their sacrifices could not be maintained without the defeat of the enemy. † The piece of jade inserted between the teeth to keep the mouth open ‡ was probably in order to give passage to the vital air and prolong the existence of the soul. Ice was used in the washing of the corpse § and friends attended the ceremony of the lesser dressing or shrouding; ‖ the greater dressing for actual burial was in full state robes. ¶

° T—347a; cf. 423b; M.
† T—760b.
‡ T—482b; cf. 598a.
§ T—596a.
‖ T—7b.
¶ T—548a; cf. 773b.

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The mourning clothes were carefully graded: an ordinary scholar in mourning for his father wore unhemmed coarse sackcloth, his head-band and girdle being of still coarser material, and his shoes were of grass; he walked with a bamboo staff, lived on congee and slept on rushes in a mourning shed with a pillow of grass.* Friends also wailed for friends and wore a lesser mourning; the wailing was concluded by three leaps with arm and chest bared;† that for one of the same surname was performed in the Ancestral temple and for others outside ‡ women appear to have wailed at home, within or outside the house according to the nearness of the relationship.§ Tumuli were raised over graves and planted with trees:‖ an underground passage to the grave, probably through an artificial mound, was a royal prerogative.¶

The *Ch'un-ch'iu* records the death and burial of most of the kings and feudal lords, and the interval between the two proves that burial was delayed for several months, varying from seven months in the case of a king to one month for an ordinary officer,** but the records show how irregularly the rule was kept. The coffin was presented in the Ancestral temple before burial†† but the tablet, as we shall see, was not erected until after mourning.

De Groot thinks that some of the customs described in the *Li-chi*, such as the removal of the tablets and of all furniture from the hall in which the coffin stood, and uncovering the upper part of one's person when wailing, were relics of prehistoric times when the Chinese lived in caves and abandoned the abode and all its contents to the dead. We do not know how old the former of these customs was; it does not seem to have been observed by king K'ang early in

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* T—475b.

† T—335b; A.

‡ T—455, 821b.

§ T—270a, 347a.

‖ T—221b.

¶ T—196a.

** T—7a. The day of burial was chosen by divination at least ten days beforehand (T—303b).

†† T—423b.

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the Chou dynasty. Fear of the dead and of all that they had used during life is found among many backward tribes, but it is probably an error to regard it as universal and quite primitive to mankind.* Though some Chinese customs may have had their origin in these fears, they had already put on a different meaning; many of them in the Chou dynasty, such as the soothing touch on the cheek,† closing the eyelids,‡ pillowing the head of the slain upon the knee and weeping over it§ and the observance of the anniversary of death even when travelling, show how the dead were regarded with lingering tenderness. Chinese writers explain the funeral customs, whatever their genesis, as expressions of love and regret. The *Shu-ching* describes the inauguration of king K'ang two days after his father's death. The great hall was decked with coloured mats and screens, the bench adorned with gems, the heirlooms of the family set forth and armed guards in fur caps posted at various points. The young king, who had been inhabiting a wing of the building and had not yet slept, if he ever did, in a mourning shed, ascended to the hall by the guests' steps, not venturing to consider himself master whilst his father's coffin was still there; he and the ministers wore hempen caps and coloured sacrificial robes. The Grand Recorder read the last testament of the late king; the young heir poured out three libations upon the ground before the coffin and the Grand Protector poured the responsive libation.|| The ceremony was special only as far as the death of a king was special: it doubtless followed the custom of the funeral rites of the Chou kings, and something of the same nature would be observed on the death of a feudal prince or the head of a great clan.

We have no description of such an actual burial except that of a duke of Sung in B.C. 589, which was noted for its

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* Palæolithic man, as far back as the glacial period, buried his dead with care in the floor of his cave and continued to inhabit it.

† T—482b.

‡ Ibid.

§ T—211b, 514b, 535a, 557b.

|| H—V, xxii.

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extravagance. Tso-shih says that the number of articles buried with the corpse was augmented;* they were therefore usually fixed by rule, like the victims in nature worship, and excess brought only reprobation. One new custom, the burial of men in the grave, was introduced for the first time. The word is technical, *hsün* 殉, and means the burial—not necessarily alive—of human beings with the dead; in this case they are not said to have been males. It will assist clearness in discussing this custom if for the present we distinguish between suttee proper and the use of male victims. Wherever the sex is not specified it will be only fair to take the word in (from a Chinese point of view), its milder sense, that is, the burial of female members of the harem.

De Groot's deeply interesting account of suttee in later times shows how it increased, then waned only to be revived, like a fashion of the court, until it was finally abolished by the emperor Ying-tsung.† Whilst admitting that the recorded cases in the times with which this history deals are few and that the earliest is still of comparatively late date, De Groot thinks that the custom prevailed generally from ancient times and that being common it was not thought necessary to mention it in the histories. It possibly was ancient custom, but the grounds are insufficient for thinking that it prevailed generally in the central states of *Ch'un-ch'iu* times. The allusions to it in our present authorities are only three; 1st, B. C. 594 where Wei Wu-tzŭ 魏武子 of Chin wanted a favourite concubine who had borne no son, to be buried with him; his heir refused to carry out the charge under the plea that his father was ill and not master of himself when he gave it;‡ 2nd, at the funeral of the above-mentioned duke of Sung;

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* T—347a. Though there may have been a rule for the articles to be buried, there was some latitude as the finding of the Bamboo Books testifies, but palpable excess was condemned. The great rule is always propriety. An emperor of Shang was warned to regulate his sacrifices and not be excessive in those to his father (H—IV, ix. 5). Mencius had to answer criticisms by his own disciples and others on account of his mother's funeral (M—I b, xvi; IIb, vii).

† De Groot, *The Religious System of the Chinese*, Bk. III.

‡ T—328b.

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3rd, in B. C. 529, where a man of Ch'u who had received benefits from king Ling took him as a fugitive into his house and when the king strangled himself made his own two daughters follow him into the grave.* To these De Groot adds another case taken from a less reliable authority.† The three instances of its being actually done were all on behalf of rulers and Wei Wu-tzŭ was the head of a powerful clan, but in his circle it was not a custom which must be obeyed. Of course these were not the only instances in which it was practised, but suttee could never be a mere formal ritual; when resorted to it is always something of a tragedy, stirring the passions and intrigues of families, such as Tso-shih made it his business to relate. But the evidence against its widespread use is not only negative: Tso-shih says categorically that the case in Sung in B.C. 589 was the first; perhaps he meant only the first case of a revival of the practice; but his words show that, as far as he knew, suttee was not the universal custom in the China of his time. On the other hand, Mo-tzŭ, 墨子, a native of ang, writing later against extravagance at funerals, and perhaps exaggerating, may have had justification for saying that sometimes several hundreds perished. In Ch'in civilization was proverbially backward; but Ssŭ-ma's chronicles of that state say that even there it was introduced only in the latter part of the seventh century and abolished in the first year of earl Hsien, B.C. 384.‡

Suttee was a practice which would survive longest in courts and there, at least after the middle of the Chou dynasty, it was sporadic and not constant, so that it is not likely to have prevailed in other circles. Whether in the courts it was a survival, or a new custom induced by the arrogance and increasing luxury of the times, cannot be clearly known; but to us the probability seems to be that it was a survival of a more general ancient custom; and we

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* T—649a.

† "The Miscellanies of the Western Metropolis," he says, recounts the opening of the grave of Marquis Yu and finding the remains of more than one hundred bodies, of which one was a lad and the others all women.

‡ SM—II, pp. 22 and 58.

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cannot but look with suspicion upon the date given by Ssŭ-ma for its introduction into Ch'in.

Our authorities give three instances of male victims, of which two occurred in the central states.

(1) With the large suttee at the funeral of earl Mu of Ch'in, of one hundred and seventy-seven persons, there were also three male victims who are especially lamented in the Odes. *

(2) In B. C. 581 marquis Ching of Chin was ill, fell into a privy and died; the night before this happened one of his servants dreamt that he carried his master on his back up to heaven; so he was made to take him out of the privy and was buried with him. †

(3) In Chü five chariots and five men were buried with the viscount in B.C. 507. ‡ De Groot adduces one more instance as occurring in this period: the history of Wu describes how a number of men and women were entrapped in the vault of a princess; the account admits that the people disapproved of the deed, and despite the inclusion of women reminds us of the somewhat similar case of entrapping the workmen at the burial of Shih Huangti as a precaution against plunder.

Tso-shih's opinion of the sacrifice of men at the funeral of earl Mu was more than disapproval; to him the deed was so outrageous that it would for ever be a stumblingblock to Ch'in. Just as we do not accuse the Chinese of habitually using human sacrifices at their altars because such princes as Hsiang of Sung and Ling of Ch'u made victims of their enemies; so these few instances do not persuade us that under the mid-Chou kings it was customary even in Ch'in to sacrifice men at funerals.

Our authorities are concerned more with the rites in the temple. The dead who were worshipped had each his tablet in a separate shrine. That of the Remote Ancestor was in

* O—I, xi. 6; cf. S. M. Vol. II, p. 45.

† T—374b. Tso-shih's account of the death of marquis Ching hardly agrees with the text of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and is open to suspicion.

‡ T—748a. This passage shows that the technical word refers only to human beings.

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the middle, facing south towards the entrance, and the others in order on the right and left facing east and west.* The Odes give the names of the four seasonal sacrifices, the *yo* 禴, *tŏu* 嗣, *chêng* 烝, and *ch'ang*† 嘗, of which the last was in the autumn,‡ the others in spring, summer, and winter respectively; the autumn and winter ones, *ch'ang* and *chêng*, appear to have been the great sacrifices,§ but in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* they are mentioned only for some irregularity. Thus in B. C. 704 a *chêng*‖ was offered in both the first and fifth months: they would be repetitions for some reason. Under the Shang dynasty it appears to have been usual to repeat the sacrifice on the second day, probably in some lessened form;¶ the custom fell into desuetude, but these Chou repetitions though there unusual, may not have been wholly irregular.

* D—xix, 4.

† O—II, i. 6; cf. H—IV, xiii, 29. In H—IV. iv, 1, *tzu* is used more generally.

‡ O—IV, ii. 4.

§ O—II, vi. 5; IV, iii. 1,2; D—xix. 3.

‖ S—II, viii. 1-3; xiv. 5. At this period the year began in January. Dr. Legge thought that the *chêng* in the first month was regular, the first month being in the middle of the real winter, and that it is mentioned in order to emphasize its repetition in the fifth month. This can hardly be allowed; the fixed rule of the classic elsewhere is only to mention sacrifices in cases which were peculiar; the mention of it in the first month rather shows that the ancestral sacrifices should follow the seasons of the calendar and not those of the natural year. The *chêng* was offered in the 11th month in B. C. 541 in Chin (T 581b. Tu Yü 杜預 on this passage points out that after the marquis had offered his sacrifice a minister offered his private one on the first day of the 12th month, and therefore the state sacrifice was in the 11th month. He says elsewhere that it was the rule for ministers to offer theirs after the ruler; thus the day and even the month were not fixed). In the same state it was once offered between the 1st and 3rd months just after the marquis' funeral and so was probably a repetition as sometimes happened in Lu (T472a). The *ch'ang* in the 8th month as recorded in S. was in the calendaric autumn, three days after the destruction of the temple granary by fire, which would be a reason for its repetition, and therefore, though in its proper season, it is rightly mentioned in the classic. In Ch'i a *ch'ang* was offered in the 11th month (T 542a); this also would probably be a repetition.

¶ H—IV, ix. 1.

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There were also minor monthly sacrifices.* All were offered to both father and mother,† and the father's wife had her place by his side.‡

At these services the dead were represented by a young member of the family who was seated and was called the *shih*, or corpse.§ Several odes describe the services : how sweet spirit was distilled from black millet|| and the victims slain ritually with a knife hung with bells.¶ The flesh of the bull and ram was cooked beforehand, the furnaces attended to reverently. All being prepared and the offerings set forth by the women, the family, including wives and the guests, all came;** the officer of the temple pours out a libation inside the outer gate of the court; the Representative of the dead is seated and urged to eat; the part taken by the Chief Sacrificer is not described, but he would present the offerings, pour out the

* S—VI, vi. 8.

† O—IV, ii. 4, 7; iii. 5.

‡ S—I, v. 4; V, viii. 4. Sons by inferior wives but inheriting the title were supposed to belong to the proper wife, whose tablet alone could be in the temple. In the first of these cases there were two irregularities. Marquis Yin succeeded his brother, who had left a son by an inferior wife; and Yin, to show that he considered the youth to be his own heir, had his mother's tablet erected as though she had been marchioness; but the late marchioness' tablet was already in her husband's shrine and so Yin, besides introducing a tablet which should not have been there, had a special shrine made for it. In the second case the lady was dowager marchioness but had been put to death in another state for her crimes, and Tso-shih says that this invalidated her claim to a place in the temple. That something was wrong may be gathered from the text of the classic; her tablet was erected eight years after her death and then only, as it were, surreptitiously, "advantage being taken" of the great *ti* sacrifice, no special ceremony being observed. These two cases therefore had each its peculiar irregularity and the mention of them in in the classic is not because they were women. The several passages in the Odes, referred to above, show that mothers were worshipped as well as fathers, and their tablets would be in the temple.

§ O—II, vi. 5; cf. III, ii. 3-4; T—542a and c; perhaps there were more than one. This curious custom was abolished soon after the Chou dynasty (L—Vol. IV, p. 319).

|| O—III, 8; cf. I vi. 1; II, vi. 5 ¶ O—II, vi. 6.

** Arranging themselves on right and left according to the tablet of him from whom they were descended (D—xlix. 4.)

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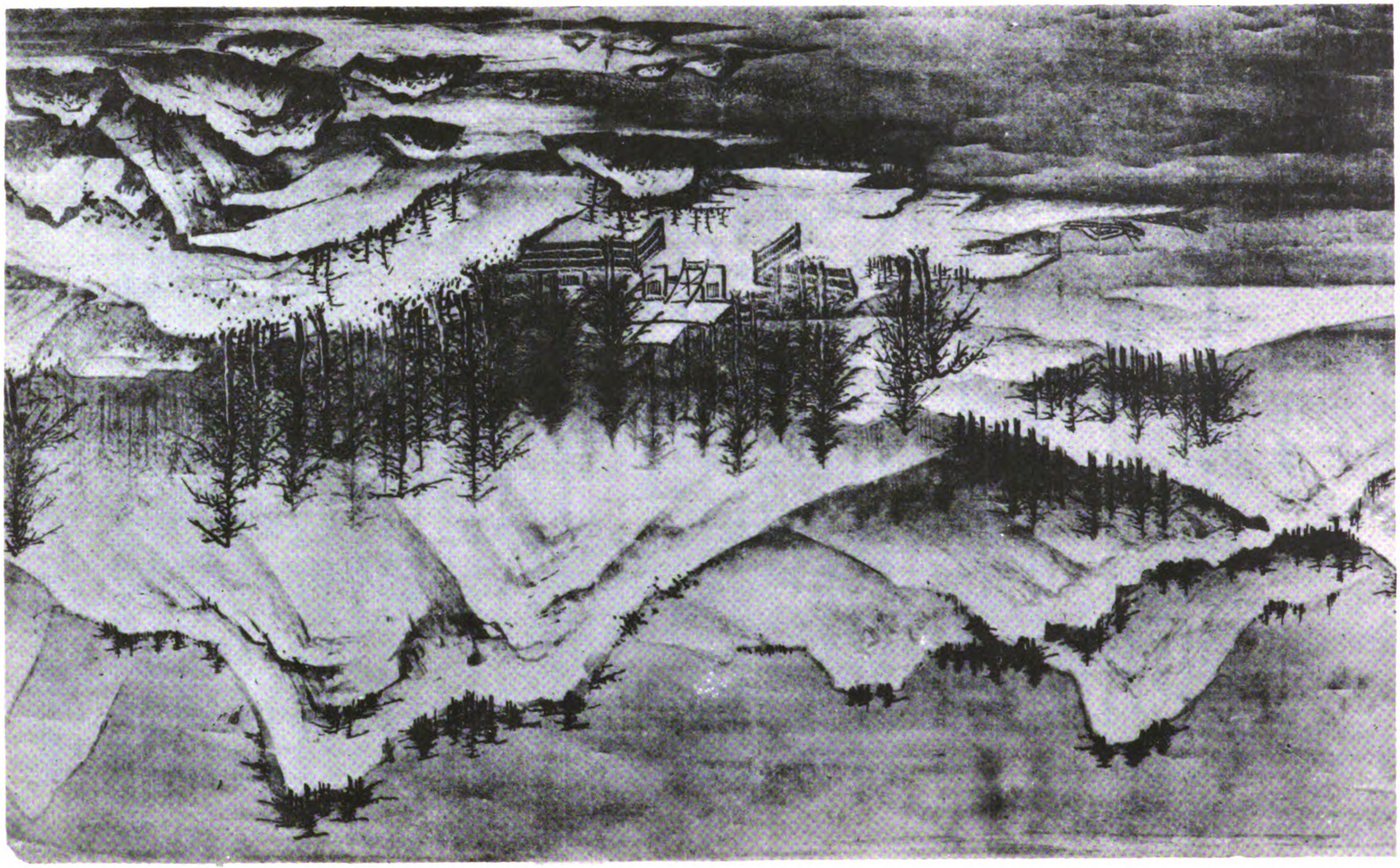

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libation* and make his obeisance; the cup is passed round and all drink; spirits come and feast silently; the officer announces the acceptance of the sacrifice and pronounces the blessing; bells and drums give warning; the sacrificer goes to his place: the Representative of the dead rises and is escorted by the musicians,† and the spirits return to their abode. The service being ended, the trays and dishes are removed to another room where all assemble, and having only drunk before, they now begin feasting to the sound of music, and and the officer pronounces the second blessing. Such in brief was the service at the autumn and winter sacrifice.‡ Not only beef and mutton but fish and fruits were prepared;§ indeed everything for a great banquet; offerings of silk also were presented and afterwards buried.‖ The sacrifices were great clan festivals where the people ate and drank food prepared ritually and presented in the temple. One of the odes satirizes and laments the drunkenness often indulged in at the temple festivals.¶

There were special sacrifices called *ti* 禘; the one introducing a new tablet into the temple after the completion of mourning was called the Fortunate *ti*,** but that *par excellence* of the name, simply called *ti*, was offered after an interval of several years†† at the great shrine *i.e.* of the Remote Ancestor. The *Li-chi* says that it could properly be used only by the king‡‡ whilst another but less reputable book of the same classic says that it was offered in Lu to the duke of Chou in the sixth month and, according to the Bamboo Annals, a

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* H—V, xiii. 29.

† The musicians were blind. Posturers or pantomimes with flutes also took part in the services (S—I, v. 4; cf. X, xv. 2.)

‡ O—II, vi, 5.

§ O—IV, i, (ii) b; II vi. 6; I, i. 2 and c.

‖ T—597b.

¶ O—II, vii. 6.

** S—IV, ii. 2; mentioned because it was only 22 months after the death; (cf. S—VI, ii. 2: T—473a. The *Li-chi* calls this sacrifice *fu* 祔 R—II, ii. (i.) 39; XIII, i. 12, 23.)

†† Some say three years and some five.

‡‡ R—XIII, i, 17; this book is thought by some to be by Confucius' disciple Tzŭ-hsia; cf. R—XIV; i; XX i.

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marquis of Lu in the time of king Ch'êng offered a *ti* to the duke of Chou in the eighth month:* if such be the fact it could not have been usurped so early in the dynasty. We have seen that marquis Hui is said by the same authority to have asked permission to use "the rites of the *chiao* and of the Ancestral temple" but was refused it. The *ti* being the greatest of the Ancestral rites was probably in the mind of the marquis, and the *Li-chi* may have read it into the "rites of the Ancestral temple" and concluded that the king refused permission to use it at all; but, as it was remarked in the case of the *chiao*, the point of the request was probably in the word "rites," so that the *ti* in some form may have been legitimately used in Lu. The *Ch'un-ch'iu* alludes to the *ti* only once, when it was offered by marquis Hsi in the seventh month of B. C. 652.† The change from the old sixth month would be a sufficient reason for its mention in the classic.‡ In that year the seventh month probably included the summer solstice and the change was made to complete the analogy with the *chiao* at the winter solstice.§ There is only the unsatisfactory evidence of the *Li-chi* for believing that in the early part of the dynasty the solstitial sacrifices were royal prerogatives, but if it were so it would account for the great *chiao* in Lu being retained at the winter solstice and for its association with Shang-ti; it would also account for marquis Hsi changing the *ti* sacrifice to the summer solstice; but to make the analogy complete he should also have associated this latter with the royal Remote Ancestor; and this is what he did: an ode of his time traces his ancestor back to Hou Chi and says "In spring and autumn he (the marquis) is not neglectful and his offerings are all without fault; to the great

* The present text of the Annals puts in the king's 13th year, *i.e.* before the duke's death; the paragraph has evidently been misplaced and refers to a later period in the reign.

† S—V, viii. 4.

‡ Another reason may, however, be found in that on this occasion an improper tablet was introduced into the temple, and this is what Tso-shih dwells upon; but they were two separate matters.

§ See R—XVIII, ii (ii) 24. In R. the summer *tzu* is called *ti* (R—III, iii. 5, 8; XXII, 24; cf. V, i, 23; XXV, 6, 7). The *ti* had then absorbed the *tzu*.

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and sovereign Ti and to his great ancestor Hou Chi, he offers the victims red and pure; they enjoy; they approve and bestow blessings in large numbers; the duke of Chou and (his other) ancestors also bless him."* It does not follow that Hou Chi's shrine was erected in the temple but even his name should not have been introduced into the liturgy. At last marquis Hui's ambition was being achieved but as yet only in a tentative way; the innovation however would increase. With Hou Chi, kings T'ai and Wên were necessarily included, and in Confucius' time, two centuries, later we find a minister saying "In the 10th month Lu has a worship of Shang-ti and the former kings, beginning on the first *hsin* day and ending on the last;"† by that time association of Shang-ti with the sacrifice had become more definite and was extended to the other services in the temple. This would amply justify Confucius' unwillingness to look on at the great *ti* after the first libation.‡

The problem of these innovations when the royal authority was no more than a shadow, cannot be wholly solved. But on the whole it seems to be likely that the great *ti* was legitimately used in Lu in the sixth month and that marquis Hsi changed it to the summer solstice and associated it with Hou Chi. Confucius' objection does not seem to have been against the entire rite; and to the jealousy of some of the States, Lu had the right of using the *ti* music.§

Besides the great and the fortunate *ti* there were others of the name, probably for special occasions.‖

Such briefly are the principal gleanings about the ancestral rites which we gather from the authorities, but for full details of them we must turn to the *Li-chi;* it, however,

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* O—IV, ii, 4. The ode was not written actually for the temple but it leaves little doubt that Shang-ti and Hou Chi were associated with the Lu sacrifices in marquis Hsi's time. The other ode to Hou Chi (III, ii. 1.) was probably used at the royal *chiao* as Father of Husbandry.

† T—832b. The sacrifice is not named but it was one of the regular ones in the A, T, and was probably the *ch'ang*.

‡ A—III, x.

§ T—446b.

‖ T—658b, 710a, 770a.

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appears to suppose that no essential change took place during the eight hundred years of the dynasty.

The temple being the spiritual abode of their ancestors was the centre of the clan life. The ceremony of capping on attaining manhood was performed in the temple with libations, offerings and music. * Betrothals were announced there, † and probably the marriage ceremony was at the ancestral shrine. Prayers after fasting were offered in the temple for special objects but not always in person; ‡ and announcements made of important public affairs. § Military expeditions were always first announced in the temple, and on the return of the troops the chief drank a votive cup of wine and had the transaction entered in the tablets. ‖ Prisoners and spoils of war were set forth in the temple. ¶ Covenants were made there, and announced publicly at the gate. **

How far back was the worship of ancestors carried? The consensus of opinion is with the *Li-chi* in saying that the temple of the Chou kings contained seven shrines, four of immediate ancestors, two of the High Ancestors, kings Wên and Wang, founders of the dynasty, and one of the Remote Ancestor, Hou Chi; whilst feudal lords had five shrines and great ministers three. †† The *Shu-ching* gives no clear intimation that either the Remote Ancestor or High Ancestor was worshipped under the first two dynasties. It is in one of the doubtful books that the Shang temple is called "seven-shrined." ‡‡ King Pan Kêng says that his High Sovereign

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* T—441a.

† T—26a.

‡ T—711b; cf. 533b.

§ T—616b.

‖ T—40b; 457a; cf. 19a, 419a.

¶ T—212a; 429b, 668a.

** T—557b; 452a. The imprecation against breaking the covenant was made in the street.

†† R—XX, 1-5; cf. III, iii. 4. It is not made clear whether the shrines were under one roof or were separate buildings: they were, however, large enough to admit considerable ornaments (S—II, ii. 4).

‡‡ H—IV, vi. 16. That Kao-tsung's sacrifice was to T'ang depends only upon the statement in the Preface (P—29).

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was still active in guiding the affairs of the house; perhaps here 'High Sovereign,' like the other terms 'former sovereigns' and 'spiritual sovereigns' in the same book should be taken in the plural, referring to his more immediate ancestors now on high; further down he speaks of his High Ancestor clearly meaning T'ang, but not as being still active.* In the Shang Odes, however, T'ang, founder of the dynasty, was undoubtedly worshipped as High Ancestor; only one of them can be approximately dated, it was written several generations after Pan Kêng and nearly at the close of the dynasty.† Another of the Shang Odes traces the ancestry of the family to the mother of Shun's minister Hsieh 契; ‡ but it is not clear that the reference to Hsieh is anything more than historical, for the first stanza of the ode is in praise of the emperor Yü from whom the Shang dynasty did not descend, and the doctrine of the Remote Ancestor, though suggested, is not proved by this ode; it would be of later introduction than that of the High Ancestor. An ode of the Chou dynasty says that the family began with T'an-fu,§ and it was written after the foundation of the dynasty; but later, the Chou kings traced their line back to Hou Chi who was worshipped as their Remote Ancestor; unless they changed their Remote Ancestor from T'an-fu to Hou Chi, it seems to follow that the doctrine of the Remote Ancestor was not introduced until some generations after king Wu. In most of the odes in praise of him, Hou Chi appears to have been Father of Husbandry; only one is put amongst the ancestral odes of the temple and it cannot be dated.‖ In Lu, however, the shrine of the Remote Ancestor, the *t'ai-miao*, existed in B. C. 710¶ and the royal house would certainly have theirs before the feudal lords. All then that can be

* H—IV, vii. (ii.) 14; (iii.) 6

† O—IV, iii. 3, written for the descendants of Wu Ting.

‡ O—IV, iii. 4.

§ O—III, i. 3, 1.

‖ O—IV, i. (i.) 10.

¶ S—II, ii. 4. It was to the duke of Chou, who would really correspond with the High and not with the Remote Ancestor of the royal house; but the term *t'ai miao* was used of the shrine of the Remote Ancestor in the royal temple. In Chin the first marquis was worshipped as High Ancestor in B. C. 607 (T—290a).

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affirmed positively is that the High Ancestor, founder of the line of kings, was worshipped in the latter years of the Shang, and the Remote Ancestor, the first of the family, in the first half of the Chou dynasty.

With regard to the number of immediate ancestors who had shrines in the temple, it is noticeable that the greatest number whom the Chou odes show to have been worshipped at one time is three, *—the same number as those to whom the duke of Chou prayed. The introduction of the High Ancestor however would prepare the way for the worship of the intervening generations, and the duke of Chou had the generosity to say that many of the Shang kings were in heaven. † The innovation showed itself afterwards in the temple rites. Tso-shih says that when king Ching 敬 returned to his capital in B. C. 503 he announced his arrival at the shrine of king Chuang, his tenth predecessor and the ninth generation. ‡ In Lu we have already seen that the shrines of two marquises were re-erected in the temple; in B. C. 492 a fire broke out there and destroyed the shrines of marquises Huan and Hsi, the tenth and seventh generations back. § We do not hear of their having been re-erected and the presumption is that they had been kept in the temple. Compared either with the three shrines of the early odes or with the four of the late rule, there was apparently a tendency in the sixth and fifth centuries to increase the number of ancestors worshipped, and the rule given in the *Li-chi* may have been a compromise into which opinion had gradually settled.

We have so far been dealing only with the accepted rites. The distinction between them and private thought should be kept in mind. Changes in thought precede changes

* Kings T'ai (not named) Chi and Wên, O—III, i. 7. Chi, Wên and Wu in O—III, i. 2. Wên and Wu (not named) and Ch'êng in O—IV, i. (i.) 6. Wu, Ch'êng and K'ang in O—IV, i. (i.) 9; cf. also III, i. 9, 1.

† H—V, xii. 10.

‡ T—765b.

§ S—XII, iii. 3. It has been suggested that as the fire destroyed only shrines which should not have been in the proper temple, they stood apart. A saying of Confucius preserved by Tso-shih *in loc.*, shows that he did not approve of their existence.

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in the rites, but would prepare the way for them, just as the duke of Chou expressed an opinion in advance of what appears to have been the ritual of his time. Before we consider individual opinions concerning the dead it may be pointed out that there is evidence of a development of thought which has left traces in the language. The full term for the manes is *kuei-shên;* when used strictly the two characters should probably be taken separately and *shên* being used later of natural objects, the combination might also mean the manes and other spirits. There are passages in which this extended use of the term would doubtless apply * but probably none in which it must do so, and all can be taken as simply meaning the manes, soul and spirit. De Groot has pointed out that the term is nearly always *kuei-shên; kuei* has the first place and is a pictorial character whilst *shên* is phonetic; he thinks therefore that the primitive Chinese had only the idea of the animal soul which is supposed to remain with the body, and that *shên*, the more intelligent and enduring spirit was conceived later.† This is probably true. *Shên* may have been in use before the records begin, though the earliest document of the undoubted books of the *Shu-ching* which uses the word is the *Pan Kêng* of the mid-Shang dynasty, where it refers to the dead. Like *kuei-shên*, where there is no doubt of its significance, *shên* alone is always connected with the spirits of the dead; in the odes of the temple it quite displaced the full term and it is only the *shên* which are spoken of as accepting the sacrifices. The more intelligent part of the spirits of the dead is therefore probably its primary meaning; but when polytheism began and deceased men became associated with the spiritual life of natural objects, the word *shén* was applied to them, though it is not applied, even adjectivally, to Heaven. ‡

* Dr. Legge takes it so in H—II, ii. 18; IV, iv. 2; V, vi. 6: A—VI, 20 (See L. vol. I, p. 261).

† *The Religious System of the Chinese:* Bk. II, p. 8. De Groot gives a very full account of the Chinese ideas of the soul in the first part of Vol. III of his work: but it needs to be read with discrimination concerning the dates of the authors quoted.

‡ According to Dr. Legge one Chinese critic has taken *Shén* in H—V, xxiii. 19, as an adjective.

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The Temple services show that originally the Chinese believed in some form of active existence after death. Pan Kêng of the mid-Shang dynasty spoke clearly of the influence which the dead have upon the living; when he met with difficulty in persuading his people to move from the flooded district, he threatened them with the anger of their forefathers. "Your grandfathers and fathers," he said, "will cut you off . . . . . they will earnestly represent to my High Sovereign saying, 'Execute heavy punishments upon our descendants' ".* But in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period examples have been given which show that calamities and punishments were more generally referred to Heaven and the spirits of natural objects than to ancestors, and the Odes give ample proof that blessings were expected from the dead who were worshipped; it was rather being forsaken by them than being visited which was dreaded. When the traitor Ming Hui-tzŭ of Wei was dying, he said to his son, "If you redeem my guilt, you you shall be my son; but if you cannot and if I continue to exist as a spirit, (*kuei-shên*), I will starve and will not partake in your sacrifices;" † this almost peevish threat, impotent for direct punishment, is in a very different tone from that of Pan Kêng. Also it was thought, at least by some, that after death an account would have to be given of acts done in life. Duke Mu of Sung succeeded to his elder brother and made his nephew his heir, saying that unless he did so, he would not be able to answer his brother who, in the other world, would ask him about his son. ‡ Still, in the *Ch'un ch'iu* period, belief in the activities of the dead had lost something of its reality. Confucius declined to discuss death or spiritual beings, and others of his time had doubts about the future life but bolder thinkers attempted to justify the old belief. According to Tso-shih, Tzŭ-ch'an, 子產, an older contemporary of Confucius, taught that the human soul, immature at birth, grows in spirituality as its activities and experiences widen, and that it is more likely to do this when it inherits the temperament and social position of famous forbears, but

* H—IV, vii. (ii) 13-14
† T—48b.
‡ T—13b.

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that it is hindered by violence and wrongdoing, which are always held by the Chinese to be unintelligent. He applies his theory only to the case before him and concludes that the soul of an ordinary man who has died a natural death lingers about as a ghost, and much more will the soul of one who has enjoyed wide activities in life.* The idea seems to be that of a limited future life, proportionate to the intelligent activities of this life, and that these depend in a large measure upon social status. In accordance with this theory the *Li-chi* says that when a tablet lost its place in the temple, pushed out by new arrivals, it was relegated to a darker chamber called the *t'iao* 祧 behind the shrine of the High Ancestor, where it partook only in the great seasonal sacrifices; then, losing its place in the *t'iao*, the soul still had the altars outside the temple and then again the enclosed area for its resort; at the altars and the area it was sacrificed to only when, for special reasons, prayer was made to it; after finally losing its place in the area it was considered to be a mere ghost, *kuei*.†

It would perhaps be difficult to frame a better theory than Tzŭ-ch'an's to account for the ancestral rites of his time. It allows for the greater number of shrines in the temples of the higher circles, and gives a reason for the Remote Ancestor whose worship had already been introduced. The real reason for the doctrine of the Remote Ancestor, however, was not philosophical but social. Social needs were dominant; the desire and need for increased power in kings and nobles would grow with the size and complexity of the empire. Though other members of the family should assist in the rites and might even sacrifice for themselves, only the head could offer the regular sacrifices for the clan. Sacrifice to a person was the symbol of authority over all his descendants, hence it became necessary, the wider the authority which was claimed, the further back to extend the worship. The chief alone had the right to sanction the division of the clan and make a new branch of it, and it was done sparingly.

* T—618a.

† R—XX, 5. The number of altars outside corresponded with the shrines inside the temple.

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It was an urgent necessity which compelled the creation of the three great clans in Lu, and it eventually robbed the marquises of their power.

It was upon moral grounds that Confucius refused to discuss the future life, and the inefficiency of the common belief to affect morals will be obvious. There is indeed a faint hope of blessedness for the few eminently virtuous who have enjoyed high position in this world, but there is no real fear of future punishment for evil doing. The duke of Chou thought that the virtue of the virtuous kings of Shang gave them a place amongst the beatified,* but Tzŭ-ch'an allowed them only a more prolonged existence still dependent upon the sacrifices of the living; when the rowdy Po-yu 伯有 was killed and the people became frightened of his ghost, he explained that his restlessness was not due to his crimes but to his violent death, and appointed him an heir to continue his sacrifices.† A bad man was still a father and shared in the offerings of his decendants,‡ and the utmost which a brave who committed the enormity of slaying his ruler had to fear was being without hope of a place in the "hall of light."§ A strange passage, which Tso-shih also puts into the mouth of Tzŭ-ch'an, says that the spirit of Kun 鯀, who was put to death by the emperor Shun for using wrong methods to control the flood, was changed into a yellow bear and entered into the "abyss"; so far it reads as though his fate was meant to be a punishment, but it goes on to say that in the Hsia dynasty he was made assessor at the *chiao* sacrifice and was still worshipped in Chin.‖ Perhaps only one other passage alludes to the journey of the soul after death; earl Chuang of Chêng, famous in the early part of the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, had a younger brother, the favourite of his mother, who incited him to rebel; the earl banished his mother to a frontier city and swore that he would not see her again until

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* H—V, xiii. 10.

† T—618 (See the ghost story in T—157).

‡ T—234a; 787-8.

§ T—233a.

‖ T—617b. The punishment of the typically vicious Chaos, Monster, Block and Glutton (T—283a; 625b) was probably in this world.

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he came to the Yellow Springs. * Thus there is no teaching of future punishment in these records; not having the force of intelligence which alone can preserve individuality beyond the grave the wicked are not rewarded but are not punished; Pan Kêng and Min Hui-tzŭ's threats apply to the present life and not to the future. If this be a defect in the early religion of the Chinese it was due, not to Ancestor worship, but to their conception of man's relation to nature. Immorality was a want of harmony with the common life, and outraged Nature, like the snake with its old irritating skin, simply sloughed off the wicked to decompose into their primal elements.

[*To be concluded*]

* T—6a.

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LE GRAND PELERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

PAR

HENRI DORÉ S. J.

[*Continued from p. 144*].

Ch. II. Article II.—*Le Pléiade des artistes, poètes et littérateurs en villégiature à Lang-chan.*

Sous ce titre nous plaçons les lettrés, artistes, qui vinrent se fixer sur la montagne de Lang-chan pour y vivre plus à leur goût, loin du tumulte des affaires, et s'y livrer à leurs études favorites. La plupart sont des dilettantes, des rêveurs, coulant doucement leurs derniers jours dans la mélancolie et le laisser aller. Tous ces hommes sont désignés dans les Annales sous le nom générique de Solitaires.*

A. Sous les Song 宋.

Tsoei Toen-che 崔敦詩, prénom Ta-ya 大雅, académicien et précepteur du prince impérial. Après avoir quitté la cour il revint habiter avec son frère Toen-li 敦禮, lettré de marque. Le séjour de Lang-chan lui était particulièrement agréable. Ces deux hommes écrivirent plusieurs ouvrages très appréciés de leur temps. On les avait surnommés les deux Tsoei 二崔, et c'est sous ce nom qu'ils sont connus dans les lettres.

* Cf. *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, Liv. IX en entier.

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B. Sous les Ming 明 (1368-1628).

1° Kou Yao 顧瑤, prénom Kong-yu 公玉. Reçu bachelier avant sa 16e année, il fut refusé à tous ses autres examens. Il s'en consolait en pinçant son luth et cherchait la joie au fond de ses coupes de vin. Né poète, il composa des vers admirés de tous. Ce recueil a pour titre Tchou-sou-yuen-tcheng-sou-kao 竹素園正續稿.

2° Kouo Tseng 葛增, prénoms Che-sieou 士修 et Yeou-hiuen 幼玄. Vint séjourner sur la montagne, pour se consoler de ses insuccès aux examens, il y mourut à 27 ans: déjà il avait composé plusieurs poésies de valeur, éditées sous le titre de Hai-kiu-hing-lo 海居行樂 et Fou-t'cha-i-kien 浮槎倚劍.

3° Wang Ki 王勣, prénom Jou-kia 汝嘉, poète et paysagiste. Avec ses amis lettrés il composa l'ouvrage Yeou-i-tsi 游藝集 en sept livres, et Tsoan-yen-keou-hiuen 纂言句玄 en seize livres. Ses peintures de paysages forment un recueil de vingt livres, intitulé Hoa Che 畫史.

4° Kiang I-chan 江一山, prénom Tse-yun 子雲; célèbre lettré, qui refusa toute charge officielle, et prenait plaisir à s'occuper de travaux champêtres. Il fut un des rédacteurs des anciennes *Annales de Tong-tcheou*, retoucha le Hai-fang-tou-kao 海防圖考, et composa l'ouvrage Choang-lien-ko-tsi 雙蓮閣集.

5° Wang Sing-tche 王醒之, prénom Mong-siu 夢旭 poète et littérateur, grand amateur des beaux paysages, visita le Koang-si et revint habiter sa villa bâtie sur les flancs de la montagne de Lang-chan. Il écrivit plusieurs ouvrages de poésie: I-yun-tsao 怡雲草, Sien-i-tsao 仙夷草 et Tchan-tchan-yen 贉贉言.

6° Tchou Tang-che 朱當世, prénom Yeou-wen 右文. Sa mémoire tenait du prodige: il pouvait réciter un ouvrage après une seule lecture. Sa conduite fut toujours irréprochable. Un jour se présenta une sirène du ruisseau: il la chassa. Ayant trouvé une somme d'argent qu'un voyageur avait perdue sur la route, il attendit qu'il revint la chercher, et la lui rendit. Il aimait passionnément le vin: souvent il oubliait sa raison au fond de son verre; alors il se prenait à maudire les

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mœurs dépravées de ses contemporains, et pleurait amèrement sur les misères de l'humanité. Il travailla à la composition des *Annales de Tong-tcheou*. Ses ouvrages sont, Pi-cheou-tsi 敝帚集 et Kou-kin-ho-tche 古今合轍.

7° Lou Choen-hio 盧純學, prénom Tse-ming 子明, littérateur et poète; dans sa maison, construite sur le versant de Lang-chan, il avait réuni plusieurs milliers de volumes: sa bibliothèque faisait tout son bonheur. Il coopéra à la rédaction des vieilles *Annales de Tong-tcheou* et écrivit plusieurs ouvrages. Ses contemporains lui donnèrent le nom de Tcheng-tsing-sien-cheng 眞靜先生. On cite de lui le Pei-hia-ling 白下吟, et le Chan-tchong-tsi 山中集.

8° Tang Yeou-koang 湯有光, prénom Tse-ming 慈明; littérateur et poète très, gouté. Ses deux amis intimes étaient Fan Se-hiun 范司勳 et Fan Fong-i; ils aimaient à festoyer ensemble, et faire des vers et jouer aux échecs. Le titre de son recueil de poésies est Che-wen-tsiuen-tsi 詩文全集.

9° Lieou Yng-fang 柳應芳, prénom Tcheng-fou 陳父; poète, mais surtout calligraphe: on se disputer comme des p'erles les caractères tracés par son magique pinceau. Ses vers sont contenus dans le recueil qui porte son nom, Lieou Tcheng-fou-tsi 柳陳父集.

10° Suen Yeou-teng 孫幼登, homme très excentrique, d'une originalité qui le fit passer pour un génie renvoyé en penitence sur terre.* Avant sa naissance sa mere vit en songe un bonze qui lui remettait une robe rouge. Des son réveil elle accoucha d'un enfant qui se mit à sourire. Un génie lui enseigna à émettre un sifflement pour appeler les grues, (symbole d'immortalité). On le surnomma Siao-fou 嘯父, "le siffleur." Il passait ses journées à chanter des poésies, et communiquait avec les génies. Ses deux ouvrages sont Sou-men-tsi 蘇門集, et Ou-tche-tsao 五芝草: poésies.

*Les génies sont renvoyés sur terre, croit-on, pour expier quelques fautes dont ils se seraient rendus coupables. *V. g.* la legende de Tchou-pa-kiai, puni par Yu-hoang pour avoir attenté à l'honneur de sa fille.

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11° Chao Tsien 邵潛, prénom Tsien-fou 潛夫. Après son admission au baccalauréat il négligea de se présenter aux examens pour les grades supérieurs. Il parcourut en artiste les provinces du Ho-nan, du Chan-tong, du Kiang-nan et du Tché-kiang. Ces voyages le mirent en relation avec tous les lettrés de ces divers pays, mais ne remontèrent point ses finances, si bien qu'il se vit obligé de vendre ses poésies pour vivre. Sa femme, née Tcheng 成, se désaffectionna du pauvre poète et résolut de divorcer. Chao Tsien fit une pièce de vers pour lui souhaiter bon voyage! Quant à lui, il quitta Lang-chan et alla habiter Jou-kao 如皋.

Un jour on trouva dans sa cour trois tiges du Ling-tche-tsao 靈芝草, (herbe des immortels). Mandarins et lettrés vinrent le féliciter. Il écrivit plusieurs ouvrages, entre autres Tcheou-tcheng-tse 州乘資 en quatre livres.

12° Hou Tcheng-i 胡澄一, prénom Tche-choei 止水; très habile lettré, hôte assidu de Lang-chan, où il aimait séjourner. Son caractère participait à la nature du gingembre: on l'avait plaisamment surnommé La tsiuen sien-cheng 辣泉先生, Mr. "La source piquante." Il écrivit l'ouvrage Che-nien-kou-kin-kien 詩年古今彙.

13° Kou Kouo-wan 顧國琬, prénoms Yong-joei 用柔 et Kiu-fei 去非, nom honorifique Koei-fang 圭峰. Il vécut retiré à Lang-chan; son habitation était au pied de la montagne à l'Est. Lettré distingué, poète choyé de tous les littérateurs de l'époque, il composa l'ouvrage King-tang-fou-tse-tsi 慶堂父子集.

14° Tsien Yo 錢岳, prénom Ki-yuen 起元 et Ou-tchang 五長; poète fécond, retiré dans sa solitude de Lang-chan. Peintre distingué, on se disputait ses tableaux représentant des oiseaux, des animaux et des poissons. Il écrivit plus de 80 pièces de poésies.

15° Li King-tchou 李敬初, prénom Hong-tchan 鴻漸. En 1373 il fut nommé Ministre de la Justice, puis se retira à Lang-chan où il passa 14 ans. Mandé de nouveau à la cour, il y exerça de hautes fonctions et de nouveau revint terminer ses jours dans la paix.

16° Teou Tcheng-fang 竇承芳. Censeur en 1406, il fut emprisonné pour avoir osé parler trop énergiquement.

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Relâché, il occupa diverses charges mandarinales au Tché-kiang et ailleurs. A 70 ans les poésies et les œuvres littéraires charmaient encore ses vieux jours sur la montagne du Loup.

17° Chao Ming 邵曼, prénom Tien-ming 天民. Docteur de la promotion 1424, puis Grand Juge criminel, il se montra trop sévère, fut accusé calomnieusement et dégradé. Les dernières années de sa vie se passèrent à Lang-chan, où il prenait plaisir à faire des poésies sur les vieux souvenirs et sur les vieux monuments du passé.

18° Chao Tang 邵棠, prénom Ming-ngai 民愛. Reçu au doctorat en 1487, puis mandarin à Tchong-king 崇慶, il fut nommé assistant du Ministère des Finances. Une maladie l'obligea à donner sa démission. Alors il se retira sur la montagne de Lang-chan, où tout son meilleur passe-temps était la composition de ses poésies. Il fut l'auteur du Mong-kiu-tsai-tsi 夢菊齋集.

19° Ling Siang 凌相, prénoms King-ki 芹溪 et Tchong-fou 忠甫. Pendant sa jeunesse il se forma aux études littéraires à l'école de Koei-tien 龜田, Ecole du "Champ de la Tortue," à Lang-chan, où il étudiait avec son frère. Promu Docteur en 1499, puis mandarin à I-choei 沂水 il exerça la charge de censeur à Nanking et au Koang-si. Deux ans il fut gouverneur du Hou-koang, ensuite il présenta sa démission. Ses ouvrages sont Koei-tien-tsi 龜田集, King-ki-tseou-i 芹溪奏議.

20° Ling Kiai 凌楷, prénom Toan-fou 端甫, frère cadet du précédent, passa son doctorat en 1508; il exerça les charges d'assistant au Ministère des Finances et de gouverneur au Kiang-si. Ses poésies étaient très en vogue. Il composa le Koei-tien-i-kao 龜田遺稿.

21° T'soei Tong 崔桐, prénoms Lai-fong 來鳳 et Tong-tcheou 東洲. Né à Hai-men, Docteur en 1516, il fut admis à l'Académie en 1517. Après avoir exercé l'office de premier assistant au Tribunal des Rites il vint établir sa résidence à Lang-chan, où il passa le reste de ses jours. Son bonheur était de contempler la belle nature, et de composer des poésies sur toutes les curiosités naturelles et artistiques des cinq montagnes. Ses œuvres poétiques sont contenues dans la compilation Tcheou-tcheng 州乘.

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22° **Ma Koen 馬坤**, prénom Choen-tsing **順卿**. En 1523 admis au grade de Docteur, il devint Ministre des Finances, puis donna sa démission et vint passer à Lang-chan les. onze dernières années de sa vie. L'empereur l'honora plusieurs fois de son souvenir. Il écrivit l'ouvrage intitulé Che-tchou-i-kao **石渚遺稿**, Esquisses de l'îlot rocheux.

23° Tsien Ye **錢業**, prénom Kiun-wang **君望**. Tout jeune il fut étudiant à Ma-ngan-chan **馬鞍山**, habita depuis Lang-chan et fut reçu licencié. Ami intime des lettrés Tong Han-jou **董漢儒** et Kao Tsie **高節**, tous trois fondèrent une académie sentimentale, appelée San-tcheng-hien **三辰軒**, tout au sommet de la montagne. Tous trois étaient licenciés de la promotion 1532.

Tsien Ye exerça une charge de mandarin au Tché-kiang, devint censeur, et termina ses jours à Lang-chan. Trente ans après sa mort on obtint de l'empereur qu'il reçût des sacrifices. Il écrivit les ouvrages Ki-che-tsa-yong **紀事雜咏**, Wen-tcheng-tsi **問政集**, Fou-i-siang-tchao **賦役詳照**.

24° T'chen Yao **陳堯**, prénoms King-fou **敬甫**, Ou-kang **梧岡** et Sing-wong **醒翁**. Docteur en 1535, il fut mandarin au Tché-kiang, au Koang-tong, au Yun-nan, et pendant dix années au Se-tchoan. Etant tombé malade il revint à Lang-chan pour réparer ses forces. Il était si plongé dans ses rêveries poetiques qu'il restait des journées sur la montagne oubliant de rentrer dans sa demeure. Toute ses œuvres sont comprises dans la compilation Tcheou-tcheng **州乘**.

25° Suen Yng **孫應**, prénom Kouo-tcheng **國正**, chef des lettrés à Ting-tcheou **定州**; quand il revint au pays il n'apporta que son luth pour toute richesse. Il s'installait dans le kiosque Si-sin-ting **洗心亭**, kiosque de la "Purification du cœur," épanchait les sentiments de son âme dans les langoureuses mélodies qu'il tirait de son luth, en face du panorama grandiose déployé sous ses regards. Ses poésies ont pour titre Si-sin-lou **洗心錄** et Yen-tsi-tsi **燕賚集**.

26° Lou Fong **盧楓**, nommé encore Lou Pe **盧白**, prénom Kong-tcheng **拱宸**. Lang-chan était son pays natal. Il fut longtemps chef des lettrés à Tai-ngan **泰安**, remania les *Annales de Tai-chan*, puis revint se fixer sur sa chère

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montagne, où il écrivit son Pé-lang-chan-jen-tsi 白狼山人集, Recueil de l'homme de la montagne du Loup blanc.

27° Yang Kien 楊乾, prénom Tse-tsing 子清. Il fit une étude approfondie de son livre favori le *Tçhoen-tsieou* de Confucius. Licencié en 1549, puis reçu au Doctorat, il était l'ami de tous les grands lettrés de l'époque. Après avoir géré avec habileté diverses charges mandarinales, il coula en paix ses dernières années sur la montagne de Lang-chan.

28° Tsao Ta-tong 曹大同, prénom Tse-tcheng 子貞. Docteur très versé dans toutes les branches de la littérature, il fut choisi comme grand échanson de l'empereur. Il passa à Lang-chan les derniers temps de sa vie et composa des œuvres volumineuses: voici leurs titres; Ou-ling-yen-hia-ki 五嶺烟霞記, "Mémoires des nuages irisés des cinq pics;" I-ling-hoa tchou 藝林華燭; et Yu-tche-leou-kao 玉芝樓稿. L'ouvrage I-ling-hoa-tchou comprend 60 livres.

29° Yuen Soei 袁隨, prénom Ming-yue 民悅. En 1556 il subit avec succès les épreuves du doctorat, exerça ensuite plusieurs charges importantes au Se-tchoan, enfin choisit la montagne de Lang-chan pour son lieu de retraite, où il mourut âgé de 73 ans.

30° Kou Yang-kien 顧養謙, prénom I-tsing 益卿. Il fut admis au grade de Docteur en 1565, devint assistant au Ministère des Finances, remplit plusieurs charges importantes au Fou-kien et au Koang-tong, fut Intendant à Hang-tcheou, et finalement Gouverneur au Liao-tong. Il renonça aux affaires et se retira avec les lettrés ses amis à Lang-chan, pour y terminer ses jours en paix. Ses ouvrages sont: Fou-Liao-tseou-i 撫遼奏議, "Mémoires d'un Gouverneur du Liao-tong;" Tŏu-fou-tseou-i 督府奏議, et plusieurs recueils de poésies et de littérature.

31° Pong Ta-i 彭大翼, prénom I-ho 一鶴. Docteur, grand amateur des belles lettres, il exerça la carrière mandarinale à Ou-tcheou 梧州. Les quarante dernières années de sa vie s'écoulèrent dans les travaux de littérature et de poésie sur la montagne du Loup. Le titre général de ses œuvres est Chan-tang-se-kao 山堂肆考, formant une collection de 240 livres.

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32° Tchang Tse 張梓, prénom Jo-tsai 若材. Docteur, il ne s'occupa que de travaux littéraires pendant toute sa vie. Il revisa les *Annales de Tong-tcheou* avec son ami Kiang I-chan 江一山. Il mourut à 80 ans; même les dernières années de sa longue vie furent consacrées à la littérature. Ses œuvres sont Tcheng-siun-tsing-che-cheou tchao 鄭鄆精舍手抄, Suen-lo-tsa-yen 孫蘿雜言, Tchan yeou-lou 闡幽錄, Tong-kiang-wen-tsi 東江文集.

33° Kiang I-koei 江一夔, prénom Ki-tchang 季章. D'abord mandarin à Ho-kien-fou 河間府, il échangea le souci des affaires contre les douceurs de la solitude à Lang-chan, où se réunissaient en sa compagnie tous les lettrés des alentours, pour festoyer, boire le vin et versifier. Sa joyeuse vie ne l'empêchait pas de se montrer ami des bonnes œuvres. Il construisit un pont au Sud de la ville, creusa un canal long de dix *li*, et bâtit trois tours à l'Est de la ville. Avec son ami Lou Choen-hio 盧純學 il écrivit le Lei-ling-t'an-cheng 類林探頤, en 110 livres.

34° Ling Fei-ko 凌飛閣, prénom Chang-tsing 尚卿. D'abord mandarin à Mien-yang 沔陽, il fut préfet de la capitale, puis échangea les fonctions administratives contre la liberté de la vie privée. Avec son ami Kao Yong-tche 高永哲 il institua la société des "Huit solitaires," Pa-i-che 八逸社 sur la montagne du Loup. Ces huit lettrés associés composèrent l'ouvrage Yeou-i-tsi 游藝集.

35° Song Yao-hoa 宋堯化, prénom Jou-yong 汝雍. Sa peau était si blanche qu'on l'avait surnommé Yu-jen 玉人, l'Homme de jade. Après un stage mandarinal à Sing-tchang 新昌 il termina sa vie à Lang-chan. Sa seule occupation consistait à chanter des poésies tout le jour.

36° Tchang Yuen-fang 張元芳, prénoms Yang-pé 楊伯 et Wan-pé 完璞. Il composait en prose et en vers avec une telle facilité qu'on l'avait surnommé Tsai-tse 才子, Le Sage habile, comme qui dirait L'Homme phénoménal.

Docteur en 1616, il fut grand examinateur des lettrés, puis termina sa vie dans la solitude de Lang-chan. Il restaura les temples et les pavillons de la montagne et bâtit une pagode sur celle de Hoang-gni-chan 黃泥山. Il passait ses journées avec Wang Yang-té 王揚德 et Fan Fong-i

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范鳳翼, buvant le vin et composant des poésies sur toutes les particularités célèbres des cinq montagnes. C'est ainsi qu'ils composèrent l'ouvrage Ou-yeou-tsao 五游草.

37° Pé Tcheng-mong 白正蒙, prénom Eul-heng 爾亨. Docteur en 1613, il tomba malade au Se-tchoan où il était mandarin, et vint rétablir sa santé sur la montagne de Lang-chan. Il rêva que dans une existence future il deviendrait *chen* 神 (être, transcendant esprit); les lettrés ses amis lui firent cadeau d'une inscription pour son salon d'étude et ainsi conçue: Ta mong 大夢 "Le Grand Songe." Il connut le jour de sa mort, alors il changea l'inscription et écrivit: Mong sing 夢醒 "Revil du Songe"* Il avait 36 ans quand il mourut. Il écrivit l'ouvrage intitulé Ta-mong-tchai-tsi 大夢齋集, Recueil de l'école du Grand Songeur.

38° Kiang Yu-kouo 姜玉菓, prénom King-k'ieou 荆璆. Docteur en 1622, puis Ministre des Finances, accusé calomnieusement, envoyé en disgrâce à Kiu-tcheou 衢州, puis réhabilité et nommé mandarin à Ping-yang 平陽 et à Ling-kiang 臨江, les troubles causés par les Mandchoux l'obligèrent à se sauver à Lang-chan. C'est là qu'il composa avec son ami Yang Ting-fang 楊廷芳 les ouvrages intitulés Wo-yeou-tsao 臥游草 et Se-chou-chouo-yo 四書說約.

39° Pao Tchoang-hing 包壯行, prénom Hi-sieou 稀修, calligraphe et peintre distingué. Reçu Docteur en 1643, Ministre des Travaux publics à Nan-king, il se brouilla avec ses supérieurs et se retira à Lang-chan. Son ouvrage principal est Che-pou-lao-jen-tsi 石圃老人集.

40° Siu Ki-ling 徐起霖, prénom Fou-yen 傅嚴. Gradué de 1639, il était issu d'une famille pauvre; il devint mandarin de Tcheng-ting-fou 眞定府 et se retira à Lang-chan sur ses vieux jours. Il restaura les kiosques et les pavillons, fonda une orphelinat, et mourut à 72 ans. Deux ouvrages sont sortis de son pinceau: Hiao-king 孝經, et Tong-chan-lou 同善錄.

41° T'chen Che-siang 陳世祥, prénom Chan-pé 善伯. Licencié en 1339, mandarin de Sing-ngan, il ne s'entendit pas avec ses supérieurs et se retira à Lang-chan. Son surnom

* La vie est comme un songe, la mort c'est comme le reveil après e songe; c.-à.-d. le temps est venu où je vais devenir esprit.

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était San-mou 散木. Il compila les poésies de 16 poètes remarquables et donna à son recueil le nom de Han-yn-tsi 含影集.

C. Sous les Ta-Tsing 大清 (De 1644 à 1752).

1° Suen Hong-ta 孫閎達 prénom Tien-che 天仕. Admis au Doctorat en 1664 il fut mandarin à Tai-yuen 太原; il sut par ses bonnes œuvres s'attirer l'affection du peuple, qui le surnommait Suen Fou 孫佛, le Bouddha Suen. Les gens durent se cotiser pour lui payer son voyage de retour, tant était grande sa pauvreté. Il mourut dans la résidence des bonzes à Lang-chan. Il occupa ses dernières années à composer des vers, en buvant du thé et à brûler l'encens. Une pétition adressée à l'empereur demanda et obtint la permission de lui offrir des sacrifices après sa mort. Il fut honoré comme un saint.

2° Li Yu-hong 李玉鋐, prénoms Kong-nan 貢南 et Tan-chan 但山. Gradué en 1705, Docteur en 1706. Il sauva un grand nombre de pauvres gens pendant une inondation alors qu'il était mandarin à Si-ning 西寧. Assistant de deux Ministères, puis grand juge au Fou-kien, il passa les dix dernières années de sa vie à Lang-chan; toute son occupation était de chanter des poésies. Il fit maintes bonnes œuvres et mourut à 80 ans.

3° Chao Kan 邵幹 prénom Kong-mou 公木, nom honorifique Ou-liu 吾廬. Il avait lu tous les ouvrages connus de son temps, et passait pour le premier littérateur du Nord du Kiang, C'était le poète du jour. Il composa des centaines de poésies.

4° Li Tang 李堂, prénom Sin-keou 心構. Littérateur et poète de renom, gradué aux examens académiques, il travailla à la révision des *Annales de Tong-tcheou*. Mais c'était surtout l'admirateur de la belle nature, le rêveur mélancolique et dilettante. Ses poésies sont intitulées I-tsao-ting 一草亭 et Che-wen-tsi 詩文集.

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Article III.—*Le Bouddha honoré à Lang-chan*

Depuis des siècles on honore sur la montagne du Loup le bonze indien Seng-kia-ta-cheng 僧伽大聖. Il est aussi appelé Se-tcheou Seng-kia-ta-cheng, Seng-kia le grand saint de Se-tcheou 泗州; mais plus souvent il est nommé tout court Le grand saint, Ta cheng 大聖.

On ignore son nom indien, et la contrée d'où il tirait son origine; on sait seulement qu'il venait de l'Ouest de l'Inde. Il ne se prêtait pas du reste aux demandes qu'on lui adressait pour de plus amples renseignements. Lui demandait-on son nom? Il répondait, "Je m'appelle Ho 何." A ceux qui s'avisaient de l'interroger sur son pays natal il donnait la même réponse: "Je suis du royaume de Ho." On avait fini par l'appeler Le bonze Ho. Tous les auteurs sont d'accord pour fixer sa mort en l'année 710: il y a divergence seulement pour l'époque de son arrivée en Chine.

Le Chen-sien-tong-kien et d'autres auteurs prétendent qu'il n'y entra qu'après le règne de l'usurpatrice Ou-heou 武后, vers 705. Les *Annales des cinq Montagnes* donnent leur préférence au récit du Cheou-chen-ki 搜神記, et affirment que son arrivée en Chine remonte à la période Long-cho 龍朔, 661-664, pendant le règne de Tang Kao-tsong 唐高宗. Il est facile du reste de déterminer l'année précise, car il avait alors 30 ans, disent les Annalistes, et il resta en Chine 53 ans; ce serait donc la seconde année de Hien-king 顯慶, 657, qu'il arriva en Chine, puis qu'il mourut en 710. Il y a évidemment erreur dans l'un ou l'autre des affirmations des Annalistes. S'il est vrai qu'il vînt pendant l'époque Long-cho il ne peut pas avoir vécu encore 53 ans.

Après s'être rendu à Tchang-ngan 長安 et à Lo yang 洛陽, il reprit la route du Sud, parcourant le pays, en tenant une branche de saule à la main et une fiole d'eau lustrale.

En 696 l'impératrice Ou-heou le manda à la cour; il n'y fit sans doute qu'un court séjour, car pendant la même période Tong-tien 通天, 696-697,* nous le retrouvons à la pagode de Long-hing-se 龍興寺 à Tchou-tcheou 楚州. Sous le

* Le *Chen-sien-tong-kien*, livre XIX art. 4, p. 2, dit que Seng-kia vint habiter cette pagode pendant l'époque Chen-long, 705-707 ap. J. C.

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règne de Tchong-tsong 中宗, pendant la période de règne King-long 景龍, 707-710, il se dirigea vers Ling-hoai 臨淮, sous-préfecture dépendante alors de Se-tcheou, et il résolut d'y bâtir une pagode. Arrivé au Sud de la montagne Sou-chan 宿山 il appelle un des habitants du pays, nommé Ho Pa 賀跋, prénom Hiuen-tsi 玄濟, et lui manifeste son intention de bâtir une pagode sur l'emplacement de sa maison. Pour donner plus de crédit à sa demande il se transforma en Koan-yng à onze visages. Ho Pa, effrayé, lui fit don de sa propriété. Le bonze lui dit, "Sur cet emplacement il y avait autrefois une pagode bouddhique."* Seng-kia fit creuser la terre et on déterra une stèle de pierre appartenant à une ancienne pagode du temps des Tsi 齊, 479-501. Ce vieux temple portait le nom de Hiang-tsi-se 香積寺, et avait été bâti par un nommé Li Long-kien 李龍建. Les caractères gravés sur la stèle ne laissait aucun doute à cet endroit. Pendant les fouilles on retrouva aussi une statue d'or;† tous les gens prêsents prétendaient que c'était la statue de Jan-teng 燃燈 (Dipamkara, le premier des 21 bouddhas du précédent Kalpa).‡ Le bonze mieux renseigné, soutint que c'était la statue de Pou-tchao wang.§ De fait on trouva, écrits sur la statue, les caractères Pou-tchao wang fou 普照王佛, Bouddha-roi Pou-tchao. Cette découverte ne tarda pas à être connue dans tous les alentours.

Sur ces entrefaites le prince impérial fut tué dans une bataille; l'empereur Tchong-tsong fit mander le bonze Ho à la cour, pour diriger les cérémonies funèbres, la seconde année de King-long 景龍, 708. Un char impérial fut mis à sa disposition pour le voyage à la capitale Tchang-ngan 長安, où il fut reçu avec de grands honneurs par l'émpereur et toute sa cour.

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* Vraisemblablement le malin bonze avait appris que cet homme s'était approprié un ancien terrain de pagode, comme cela arrive souvent en Chine après les époques de troubles. Il voulut bénéficier d'un revirement momentané pour rentrer en possession de cette propriété.

† Ou peut-être simplement dorée: l'expression kin siang 金像 a souvent ce dernière sens.

‡ Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, p. 67.

§ *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VII, pp. 209 et 264.

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Ce fut en cette circonstance que Tchong-tsong lui décerna le titre de Kouo-che 國師, Maître du royaume. Nous trouvons ici l'explication de l'exergue écrit sur les images populaires, et sur les Tche-ma 紙馬 * imprimés en l'honneur de ce bouddha: Ta-cheng-kouo-che-wang 大聖國師王 Grand saint roi maître du royaume.

On lui assigna pour résidence la pagode Tsien-fou-se 薦福寺, où habitait le bonze Wan-hoei 萬廻, appelé les années précédentes par l'impératrice Ou-heou 武后. Wan-hoei traita le nouveau venu avec déférence, mais Seng-kia lui dit, "Pourquoi habites-tu cette pagode? tu peux t'en aller." Wan-hoei répondait seulement par une inclination de tête; il n'objecta rien mais resta quand même. Seng-kia habitait une chambre privée. La légende rapporte que sa tête était percée d'un trou qu'il bouchait pendant la journée avec de la bourre de coton; la nuit venue, il enlevait le tampon, alors un odeur des plus suaves s'échappait de sa tête et parfumait ses appartements. Dès l'aube ces émanations odoriférantes rentraient dans le trou de sa tête. On se disputait l'eau qui avait servi à ses bains de pieds: les malades qui en buvaient étaient guéris.

Une grand sécheresse étant survenue, l'empereur pria le bonze de faire cesser le fléau. Seng-kia plongea sa branche de saule dans sa fiole d'eau lustrale et en aspergea la terre: bientôt une pluie abondante tomba sur les campagnes et sauva les moissons.

L'empereur, en reconnaissance de ce bienfait, consentit à écrire de sa main une inscription pour sa pagode de Ling-hoai. L'inscription proposée était, Pou-tchao-wang-se, Pagode du roi Pou-tchao. Une difficulté s'y opposait, car le caractère Tchao 照 de cette inscription faisait partie du titre d'honneur de l'impératrice. Par respect pour la souveraine il fut changé contre le caractère koang 光, qui a le même sens, et l'empereur écrivit les quatres caractères Pou-koang-wang-se 普光王寺; cette inscription fut gravée et appendue au frontispice de la pagode de Ling-hoai.

* Sur ces tche-ma à son effigie on représente aussi une tour, parce que l'empereur bâtit un stupa sur son tombeau à Ling-hoai-hien.

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La quatrième année de King-long, 710, Seng-kia tomba malade; il se retira dans la pagode de Tsien-fou-se 薦福寺, à la capitale, et y mourut le 2me jour de la 3me lune.* Il avait 83 ans, et habitait la Chine depuis 53 ans. A la nouvelle de sa mort l'empereur donna ordre d'embaumer son corps et d'élever un stupa sur son tombeau. A peine ces ordres étaient-ils donnés, qu'une puanteur insupportable s'échappa du corps de Seng-kia et menaçait d'empester la capitale. On en conclut que le bonze désirait être inhumé près de sa pagode de Ling-hoai. L'empereur, instruit de ce prodige, agréa la proposition des officiers de la cour. Dès qu'il eut contremandé les préparatifs pour les funérailles à la capitale, immédiatement un parfum exquis s'échappa du cadavre, la ville en fut embaumée.† Cette même année, le 5me de la 5me lune, le corps du bonze Ta-cheng fut porté à Ling-hoai et déposé sous un stupa érigé pour le recevoir. De par ordonnance impériale tous les mandarins durent assister à la levée du corps, et le conduire avec honneur jusqu'aux portes de la capitale; les notables et le peuple l'accompagnèrent jusqu'à la rivière Pa 滻.

Après la mort de Seng-kia l'empereur demanda à Wan-hoei, son compagnon dans la pagode de Tsien-fou-se, quelle était au juste l'origine de ce bonze indien? Wan-hoei répondit qu'il était un avatar du Pou-sah Koan-yng.

Degagée de toute légende sa notice peut se résumer en ces quelques lignes.

Seng-kia-ta-cheng fut un bonze de l'Ouest de l'Inde, qui vint en Chine vers 661 selon les uns, ou vers 705 d'après le Chen-sien-tong-kien. Après avoir passé quelques années dans la pagode Long-hing-se, à Tchou-tcheou 楚州 (Hoai-ngan-fou 淮安府. Kiang-sou), il vint bâtir une pagode à Ling-hoai

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* Le Chen-sien-tong-kien donne comme date de sa mort le 12me de la première troisième lune, (avant la seconde troisième lune intercalaire).

† Ne serait-ce point une invention ingénieuse ourdie par quelques lettrés ennemis des bonzes, pour décider l'empereur à renvoyer le mort dans son ancienne pagode? C'est un moyen bien chinois, et souvent employé avec succès: c'est le perpétuel tournoi de la ruse contre la force.

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hien 臨淮縣. alors sous-préfecture de Se-tcheou 泗州. En 708 l'empereur Tchong-tsong le manda à la capitale, pour présider aux funérailles du prince impérial, et lui conféra le titre honorifique de "Maitre du royaume." L'an 710 il mourut à Tchang-ngan; ses restes fut transférés auprès de sa pagode de Ling-hoai, où l'empereur bâtit un stupa en sa mémoire.

Pendant tout son séjour en Chine ce bonze se posa en avatar du bouddha Koan-yng, et fut ensuite honoré comme tel sur la montagne du Loup, qui devint un des plus célèbres lieux de pélerinage du Kiang-sou. *

La caractéristique de Seng-kia.—Un œil peu accoutumé à découvrir l'intime pensée des bonzes pourrait lire le précédente notice, et les légendes qui y sont consignées, sans se rendre un compte assez exact des moyens employés par Seng-kia pour jouer son personnage, et pourtant sa principale préoccupation parait bien tendre à ce but capital:—persuader les gens qu'il est une réincarnation de Koan-yng-pou-sah.

1° Dès son arrivée en Chine, après avoir visité Lo-yang et Tchang-ngan il parcourt les provinces du Sud, portant à la main une branche de saule et une fiole d'eau lustrale. Or, ce sont là précisément les deux principales caractéristiques de Koan-yng; sur les images on trouve ordinairement ces deux attributs.

2° Quel est son principal argument pour rentrer en possession de l'ancien terrain de pagode occupé par Ho Pa? Il se vante d'être le bouddha Koan-yng; il le somme de lui céder sa maison et, dit la légende, pour l'effrayer il se présente à lui avec l'apparence de "Koan-yng à onze visages."

3° Quand l'empereur l'invite à faire cesser la sécheresse, quel moyen prend-il? Le même toujours, il trempe sa branche de saule dans l'eau de sa fiole et asperge la terre.

Le jour de la fête de Koan-yng les payens, dans plusieurs pays, disposent un récipient plein d'eau et une branche de

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom VII, pp. 263-270: *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. V, pp. 5-7.

† *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, partie III, Vie de Cakyamouni: la branche de saule et l'eau lustrale

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saule, qu'ils exposent devant leurs maisons, pour que Koan-yng en les aspergeant les bénisse et les comble de ses bienfaits. †

4° Quand l'empereur demanda au bonze Wan-hoei l'origine de Seng-kia, le bonze ne trouva pas de mot plus typique comme réponse : "Ç'est un avatar de Koan-yng."

5° Précisément parce que cette idée s'était enracinée dans l'esprit de ses contemporains, on pensa à lui élever un temple à Lang-chan, très spécialement dédié au culte de Koan-yng, dès l'origine, comme nous allons le constater bientôt en étudiant les premiers débuts de ce monastère bouddhique.

6° Après la victoire remportée à Lang-chan en 1512, le 18e de la 7e lune, contre Lieou-tsi 劉七 et sa flotte, une pierre commémorative fut érigée sur la montagne, et sur cette stêle on grava le récit des événements. Les autorités civiles et militaires y expriment leur gratitude pour la protection toute spéciale qu'ils ont reçue de Ta-cheng, avatar véritable de Koan-yng.* Ce n'est donc pas seulement une croyance du bas peuple, mais les lettrés, qui ont composé la pièce, et tout le corps officiel, font comme profession d'y adhérer.

Nous voici donc en présence d'un important pélerinage bouddhique, qui attire chaque année plus de trente mille personnes, et qui doit sa popularité à cette ineptie étrange: Ta-cheng est une réincarnation de Koan-yng,

Une quarantaine d'années après la mort de Seng-kia un autre bonze arrivait de l'Inde et allait se fixer sur la montagne de Kieou-hoa-chan 九華山 au Ngan-hoei 安徽; son nom était Mou-lien 目連. Pour fixer sa popularité il se donne lui aussi comme un réincarnation de Mandgalyayana, le célèbre disciple de Çakyamouni, et qui comme lui se nommait Mou-lien. Dès lors il commence à jouer son rôle avec aplomb; comme le grand disciple du maître, il descend aux enfers pour en tirer sa mère, il organise une association pour retirer les femmes du "Lac sanglant" des enfers, bref, il soutient si bien son personnage qu'après sa mort il devient un bouddha vénéré par les foules et l'objet d'un culte quasi universel. Telle est l'origine du fameux pélerinage de Kieou-hoa-chan.

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. XI, p. 8.

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Ces deux hommes furent ce qu'on appelle de nos jours d'habiles chevaliers d'industrie. Comédiens de talent, ils se sont affublés d'une noblesse surhumaine, provenant de titres imaginaires et prenant sa source dans la poussière des tombeaux; par leurs audacieux mensonges ils ont exercé une grande influence sur les masses populaires, où ne pénètre que peu de lumière, et où circule surtout la légende des hommes et des choses.

Le titre posthume, gravé sur les inscriptions à l'honneur de Ta-cheng et sur ses images, est ainsi conçu: Se-tcheou Ta-cheng, ming-kio pou-tchao kouo-che 泗州大聖明覺普照國師; Grand Saint de Se-tcheou, maître du royaume, dont la sagesse éclatante illumine le monde.

[*La Suite dans le numéro prochain.*]

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

BOOK I—DOMESTIC

CHAPTER I.

BIRTHS, 生產 *shêng ch'an, etc.*

WHEN the birth is delayed it is put down to Lo Hou 羅睺, and the master of the house fires a gun over his shoulder towards the heavens to drive away the evil influences. These influences are believed to come from the *t'ien-kou hsing* 天狗星 or heavenly Dog-star. In some houses a picture of Chang kung 張公 is hung up; he is depicted as carrying a sling and stones; he is supposed to throw at this heavenly dog which comes to devour the expected child. It is said that Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠 was an incarnation of this heavenly Dog-star, which is also the devourer of the moon in lunar eclipses.

To take away or escort the blood demon 送血鬼 *sung hsüeh kuei*, or demon of birth-pangs *ch'an-nan kuei* 產難鬼, is the work of a sorcerer, and many incantations are practised and charms used to assist the birth; the ceremony may take place a few days before the birth is expected.

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The washing of the baby is deferred till the third day; this is called *shao san* 燒三 or *hsi san* 洗三. When the child is born it is simply wound in calico till the third day, when it is washed. This is said to be for fear the navel cord will not dry off, and will thus cause the death of the child.

If a man's heavy foot comes near the bedroom, it is feared the mother's milk may be driven away. A locked padlock is always kept on the outside of the bedroom door to prevent the milk leaving—*fang jên tai nai* 防人帶奶. At such times no member of the household will visit a house of mourning; and no person in mourning or pregnant is allowed to carry the child, for fear its spirit may be called away.

The father of the child goes to the home of his father-in-law with a present of meat, incense and paper money, pays his respects to all the elder generation, and finally worships at their ancestral shrine. This ceremony, called *pao hsi* 報喜, is only performed for the first-born.

Soon after the birth the father worships at his ancestral shrine, *pai tsu tsung* 拜祖宗, giving thanks that another generation has been born to carry on the ancestral rites.

On the birth of the first grandson the grandfather takes round to particular friends some eggs which have been stained red, 紅蛋 *hung tan*, by being boiled in ochre water. This is not done at the birth of a grand-daughter.

Eggs are brought as a present to the mother, and at such times a woman guages her happiness by the number of eggs she eats. In ordinary families a present of 20 or 30 eggs is quite common, but among the rich the number rises to 500 or even 1,000. A proverb says, "The male looks forward to going to the market, but the female to sitting in her room" 男子望赶場, 女人望坐房, that is, for a good time of feeding up. The mother is really expected to stay for a month in the house. *tso yueh* 坐月, or *tso ts'ao* 坐草, (because she likes to sit on something soft); and she is exempted from all out-door labour.

Besides the gifts of eggs and chickens for her eating, there are presents for the child,—shoes, hats, bangles and pinafores, varying in value according to the status of the family. In well-to-do circles presents of silver, ten to one hundred taels, are sent from the wife's home, to buy clothing and luxuries for the new grandson.

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The goddess of Mercy, Kuan-Yin 觀音, who gives sons to her worshippers *sung tsŭ niang-niang* 送子娘娘, also called *san p'o niang-niang* 三婆娘娘 *or sun hsiao* 三霄, is believed to be in the house for the first three days after the confinement; at the end of this time the father makes her an offering of wine, incense and paper, behind the bedroom door, where the goddess is supposed to lodge.

At the end of ten days the the father's mother and other relatives are invited to a feast, and presents of rice, eggs and chickens are brought to the family.

At the end of a month a feast is given, called *t'ang ping* (or *mi* or *yüeh*) *chiu* 湯餅 (or 米 or 月) 酒; all those who have given presents are invited. After this the mother may go to the kitchen or the well; before this many will not speak to her, and Buddhist devotees are especially fearful about doing so.

After fulfilling forty days, *man sŭ-shih t'ien* 滿四十天, the mother may visit her friends and show off the baby. In complimenting the parents it is safe to say that the baby is ugly 醜, or to use any other derogatory terms, so that the demons will not want it.

Having fulfilled 120 days the mother may go to the temple and give thanks to the idols.

At the end of the first year 滿週歲 *man chou sui*, the mother-in-law sends presents to the child. The old custom of this season was to lay before the child objects representing different occupations in life, and his training would afterwards be directed according to the object he grasped. This was called *chua nien* 抓年, grasping the year.

The above are some of the customs connected with ordinary cases. Women who are barren or son-less employ various methods to obtain such issue.

They beg a prayer-tally, 求簽 *ch'iu ch'ien* from a particular idol, take it home and keep it on the family altar. These tallies are notched pieces of bamboo, kept at the idol shrine for divination purposes.

They become vegetarians; this often means that they also distribute much rice to the poor. There are many kinds of vegetarian vows, such as *Kuan-yin chai* 觀音齋, (kept on the 9th, or by some on the 2nd, 6th and 9th, of each month);

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chên-wu chai 眞武齋, (a monthly fast, on the 1st days of the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th moons); *Tsao-wang chai* 竈王齋 (1st, 15th, 24th of each moon); *chiu huang chai* 九皇齋 and *pei-tou chai* 北斗齋, (9th moon, first 9 days, or whole moon); *ch'êng huang chai* 城皇齋, (1st and 15th of each moon); *yüeh-lo chai* 月落齋, (last day of each moon); *jih-lo chai* 日落齋, (daily till sunset); *ch'ang chai* 長齋, (for 3 years, or sometimes for life).

Some, in the hope of progeny, do various good deeds, such as making roads or building bridges.

Anti-abortion charms *an-t'ai fu* 安胎符, are sought by women who believe they have the *pao-t'ai sha* 包胎煞 or the *mai êrh sha* 埋兒煞; that is, that they are under the curse of abortion or still-birth. The sorcerer is called in, and the woman has to give him a pair of her trousers, a pint of rice, five kinds of coloured thread and an egg; this last is taken home by the sorcerer and worshipped. All must be carried out without the husband's knowledge.

Others *p'ei hsiung ching* 佩雄精 carry a charm made up of the purest *hsiung huang* 雄黃 (realgar).

Some make a pilgrimage to a sacred mountain 朝山 *ch'ao shan*; there they steal a baby-idol 童子 *t'ung-tzŭ*, or a *lo-han* 羅漢, and take it home. They also spend money on building temples or in printing books which extol the idols, such as the *pei-tou ching* 北斗經, the *Tsao-wang ching* 竈王經 or the *Kuan-yin ching* 觀音經.

Another way is to steal the shoes or underclothing of the wife of the city god, or of Kuan-Yin. These are taken home, put under the pillow and slept on. The virtue is supposed to lie in the fact that they are stolen.

An axe is hung on the underside of the bed in the hope of thus obtaining a son, *ch'uang hsia hsüan fu* 床下懸斧. Or the ox sinew from a crossbow is worn as a girdle; 牛筋弦帶 *niu-chin-hsien tai.*

Childless people also call in a fortune-teller to examine the horoscopes of the couple to see if they match; *k'ai nien kêng* 開年庚 or *p'ai ssŭ chu* 排四柱. If any of the fine elements are lacking, some person is invited to stand surety. For example, if the element gold should be missing, some one with

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the gold radical in his name or someone with plenty of the gold element in his horoscope will be asked to be surety. Or butchers, priests, scholars and military men are invited if the elements show a weakness in those directions.

In cases where the marriage date has proved unlucky 年月不吉 *nien-yüeh pu chi*, the whole process of finding a lucky day and holding the marriage ceremony is gone through again, that sons may be born.

When the unfitness is in the girl's horoscope, making the union unlucky, friends set to work to prove that her nativity characters 八字 *pa tzŭ* have been incorrect from birth, 婚頭錯了 *hun t'ou ts'o-liao;* a change is made and the marriage ceremony is gone through a second time.

A barren woman goes to the temple of the goddess of Mercy, *sung tzŭ Kuan-Yin* 送子觀音, who always has plenty of children around her. She pulls out some of her own hair, and ties it round the arm or neck of a child-idol 拴童子 shuan t'ung-tsu. When she leaves she calls the spirit of this idol to follow her home. Sometimes she goes to the priest and gives him her special reasons for desiring a son, and she receives from him a *tan* 單, which document is then burnt as an offering to the idol.

Sometimes arrangements are made with a family that has plenty of children to buy from it a new-born babe, a few hundreds of taels being perhaps paid for a healthy male child. As soon as born it is carried in the night to its new mother, who goes through a feigned confinement 假裝坐月 *chia chuang tso yüeh.* The child is reared on sugar and water and other concoctions.

Families sometimes obtain a son in exchange for a girl and a liberal sum in hard cash. In such cases it is always an insult to speak of the boy as adopted.

Besides the above efforts made by the family itself to procure sons, the friends of the family may do a great deal by special presents. Thus, a melon may be placed in a chair and escorted with music, red umbrella and much ceremony to the house of the childless people. There it is put on the family altar. If a child is born later a feast must be provided for those who gave the melon, or there will be bad feeling.

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Again, a calf from the Spring ox (see chapter on the Four Seasons) may be presented. This dummy calf is obtained as the result of much wrangling, put in a sedan-chair and taken with music and fire-crackers to some childless family.

At the service held for the release of a soul three basins of rice are used. At the close of the ceremony these bowls of rice are wrangled for, the strongest or smartest getting them. A basin of this rice is then taken to the house of a childless friend, who puts it on the family altar and worships it in the hope that a son may be born to him.

At the end of the Feast of Lanterns the eyes of the dragon lantern, or the *pao* 寶, precious thing from the dragon's mouth, or the eyes of the lion lantern may be presented, and are considered very efficacious. (See under New Year).

When a family pig gets measles the owner makes a vow at the shrine of Hung-chu hsien 紅猪仙, (an image of a man riding a pig). If the pig gets well a paper pig is offered as thanks. This paper pig is often taken afterwards to the home of a son-less family.

These beliefs are very real. I know several people who bear the name of *chu êrh-tzŭ* 猪兒子 or *niu êrh-tzŭ* 牛兒子, pig-son or calf-son, because they were born after the calf or pig had been taken to their homes.

At the *Tien shih tung* 天師洞 temple there is a famous *pai-kuo shu* 白菓樹 (ginko tree), twigs of which are much used for the same purpose; but any trees which have shown healing virtues 顯神 *hsien shên* are used. The twigs are kept on the family altar for months at a time in hope that a son may be the result. Some trees gain a sudden notoriety through the priests paying someone to hang up red cloth and paper boots with a false statement that they have been healed of disease through worshipping the tree.

Sometimes one of the Eighteen Lo-han is taken from a temple and given to a childless pair. If a son is born this idol is returned to the temple with a fresh coat of paint on it and with an offering. The priests like this, as it gives the temple a reputation and increases the number of their devotees.

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In some places a meeting called *t'ung-tzŭ hui* 童子會 is held on the 3rd of the 3rd moon, when women who have obtained sons by taking away a child-idol from Kuan-Yin's shrine return the images to the goddess. When worship is finished these idols are carried off to be given to other childless families, and that night the streets are lively with processions of this kind going to their destinations.

Another present with the same object is a turnip with the leaves on; this is put on the family altar and incense and paper offered to it.

The piece of wood used by a sorcerer to hang his chart on when exorcising a spirit is also regarded as a useful present to a childless family.

At Ch'eng-tu 成都 it used to be the custom on 5th of the 5th moon for youths to pelt with plums women of 'doubtful reputation.' These plums were then got hold of by other people and sent to friends anxious for sons. The origin of the idea is said to be in the story that the mother of Lao Tzŭ dreamed before the birth of her illustrious son that she had eaten a plum.

At the New Year lighted lamps are hung on trees or high-poles; they are believed to attract homeless, wandering spirits, and they are afterwards given to childless families.

At the fast for protection against fire and epidemics small lighted lanterns soaked in oil are set adrift on the river. These are sometimes stolen and presented to some home lacking children, where they are kept on the family altar.

In some temples there is an apartment called the 玉皇樓 *Yü-huang lou*, the Gemmeous Emperor's dwelling. Before his image hangs a lantern. This is sometimes stolen and presented to a childless family. A new lantern is presented to the temple if a child is born. Such lanterns, 玉皇燈 *Yü-huang têng*, are also hung in numbers in an orchard or elsewhere with the object of securing a good crop.

During the first moon lamps are lighted before the shrines of the *t'u ti shên* 土地神 or gods of the soil. After being used they are often presented to childless people in the firm belief that children will then be born.

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Such customs as are noted above have a great hold on otherwise quite enlightened people.

The following customs are connected with the protection of children.

If during the first month or two of the child's life it cries a great deal, this request is put out: 小兒夜哭請君念讀若還不哭請君萬福; "My little one cries in the night, will good men take note and read; if after this it does not cry may ten thousand blessings rest on you."

People who are afraid of their child becoming a priest make a priest's hat and other garments for it. They think the spirits will be thus deceived and suppose the child is a priest already.

For fear a child may not live long a ring is put round its neck and locked, *so kuan* 鎖關. This is even done to sick adults, with the idea of locking in the life that it may not leave the body.

With the same idea an old horse-shoe is made into a bangle and locked on the child's wrist—*ta ma-chang ch'üan* 打馬掌圈.

Money also is collected from many other families 化千家錢 *hua ch'ien-chia ch'ien*, and made into a silver, iron or bronze collar, which is locked on the child's neck.

A tablet called *ch'ang-ming p'ai* 長命牌 is made up of the characters for long life, riches and honour. It may be worn suspended round the child's neck or on his cap. It is sometimes the gift of friends. A tablet with the figures of the Eighteen Lo-han is similarly worn.

A coin-shaped tablet on the cap with the Eight Diagrams 八卦 *pa kua* engraven on it is supposed to repel evil influences.

In the same way are worn the images or names of the 12 Buddhist *pratyêka* who were disciples of the goddess of Mercy 十二圓覺 *shih-êrh yüan-chüeh*; or of the twenty-eight constellations; or of the 36 or 72 famous generals who are supposed to be able to ward off demons.

An embroidered cat on the cap, with eyes and mouth facing outward, is worn to drive away demons. A monkey embroidered on the shoulder has similar virtue.

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The wearing of ear-rings is supposed to help a child to live, as giving it something extra to hold on to.

Other objects thus carried on the cap or elsewhere on the person as preservatives are the image of Lao Tzŭ, or of the Eight Immortals 八仙 *pa hsien*; or of the the character 壽 *shou* longevity, with five bats *fu*, 蝠 (symbol for happiness, punningly for 福 *fu*); or 100 silver badges with *shou* 壽, wishing the child may living 100 years; or the image of sun and moon; or that of a bald, long-bearded old man.

Another way is to tie the hand, foot or neck with red, black or green cord. The knots used may be 72 in number, 36, 28 or 12, signifying the same as in a paragraph above. Thesè cords are also worn by adults.

Boys who are expected to be good at business, or girls who, it is hoped, will be clever at needle-work, wear respectively an abacus 算盤 *suan p'an* and scissors 剪刀 *chien tao* as badges.

The image of the god of smallpox and measles 痘母神 *tou-mu shén*, is taken from door to door in a box by a very disreputable looking person. Women offer to it shoes, rice or money, and then expect their children will not succumb to these diseases.

Bridges and stone tablets 碑 *pei* are worshipped to gain their protection for children (see chapter on Passing crises); or a willow tree; this is a cheap wood, not much wanted, and the hope is that no spirits will want the child.

The length of time during which a child is suckled is three years. Some of course do not have so long, and a few have a longer time. One man I know, over 70 and very robust, regards his present good health as due to his mother nursing him till he was over six years old. The custom of three years of mourning for a parent is based on this three years' nursing.

As to infanticide, 丟兒溺女 *tiu ôrh ni nü*: if male children are thrown out it is generally because they are illegitimate. Girls are drowned or starved by both rich and poor; by the rich, it is said, even more than by the poor. The rich suppose that a disproportionate number of girls shows the family stock is degenerating; the poor destroy

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their girls because they are unable to support them. It is impossible to get enough information to make a reliable estimate of illegitimate births and infanticides, but it is certain that both are very numerous among both rich and poor.

When a person falls sick a quack doctor may make him believe that his spirit has already departed and entered into a certain pregnant woman, and that the only hope for his life is to curse this woman and make her miscarry. This is done by the 胎術 *t'ai shu*, womb black art. Generally a witch is called in; she takes an egg and recites over it an incantation somewhat as follows: "If the spirit has gone south the south precinct god 土地神 *t'u ti shên* will bring it back; if to the north, the north precinct god will do the same," etc. The egg is then put in hot ashes, and if it spurts in any direction the spirit is called back from that quarter with the usual ceremonies. Persons known as *shuan t'ai-ti* 拴胎的 are called in for the purpose of counteracting this black art.

It is believed that deformed and maimed births 劂精瞎怪 *ch'üeh ching hsin kuai*, are the outcome of sin, whether of adultery or of irregular intercourse as to time or place.

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CHAPTER II

PASSING THROUGH CRISES

(OR, CROSSING THE BARRIERS 度關 *tu kuan*)

To take children through the important crises in their lives is the work of a sorcerer. On consultation the fortune-teller announces the critical times in the child's life, when that life may be in danger. The sorcerer's help is then asked for, and he invokes the aid of the *k'ai-kuan t'u-ti* 開關土地 the precinct god who opens barriers.

The following are a few of the crises or barriers which may occur in a child's life, and with respect to which he must be carefully guarded.

There is the 短命關 *tuan ming kuan* or short-life barrier, which means that the child may die at any age before 12 years. At 12 the barrier or crisis is over. There is also the 100-days barrier; the child is not safe till past that age.

The Buddhist-priest barrier 和尙關 *ho-shang kuan*, means there is danger that the boy will run away from home and become a priest, which is equivalent to losing him altogether.

The "knock-door crisis" 撞門關 *ch'uang mên kuan* means there is danger that the child some time visiting a neighbour's house will get bitten by a dog or catch

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some infectious disease. This barrier is avoided in the following fashion. The parents take the child out for a walk, and accost the first person they meet, pedlar, beggar, or what not. They salute him and tell him the matter, asking him to become surety for the child. If he consents he will give the child a new name and become his *kan tieh* 乾爹 informal adoptive father (or *kan ma* 乾媽 adoptive mother). The person is then invited to the house and food put before him, and the same evening the necessary ceremony, much the same as in sorcery, is performed in the house.

The danger may be that the child must pass the *lei-kung kuan* Thunder-god barrier, or be killed, as the Chinese say, by thunder. Such death is regarded as evidence of the special displeasure of Heaven.

Another crisis is the *ch'ü-ming kuan* 取命關 or taking-life barrier. There is danger of the child's life being taken by a demon. In this case a butcher is asked to become surety or adoptive father, because he carries a knife and can thus frighten away the slaying demon. Much the same ceremony is performed as in the "knock-door crisis."

It may be threatened that some heavy or sharp article shall fall on the child and kill it; this is a *tao-chên kuan* 刀砧關 or knife and anvil crisis. A butcher with his knife or a blacksmith with his sledgehammer is sought as *kan tieh*.

The danger may be that of drowning, *lo-shui kuan* 落水關. Any willing person may be made *kan tieh* in this case.

The *p'ei-ma kuan* 披麻關 or donning-sackcloth barrier, means that there is danger the child may be left an orphan, or that he will fall sick if he sees anyone in mourning.

The crisis to be dreaded may be that the child will one day fall through a hole in some bridge and be drowned. This is the *tuan-ch'iao kuan* 斷橋關 or broken-bridge crisis.

The child may be liable to the *chiang-chün kuan* 將軍關; that is, he may be accidentally shot. To avert this calamity, or to get past this barrier he must worship at the tomb of some military general 將軍, or at some memorial stone. Such a lad will most likely carry through life the nickname *pei* 碑 or tablet, because he worshipped at the stone slab.

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There is a crisis recurring at 3, 6 and 9 years old, ***san liu chiu sui kuan*** 三六九歲關. The child with this threat on him is not allowed to travel far or visit any house where a corpse or coffin may be till he is ten years old.

The white tiger barrier 白虎關 *pai-hu kuan*, means that a dog will bite the child, or a demon attack him, or that he will be left an orphan.

There is fear that the child will be made ill by the sight of blood: this is called the blood-dish barrier 血盤關 *hsüeh-p'ên kuan*. A butcher is the proper *kan tieh* to be sought for in this case.

There is danger lest the child should be scalded by the upsetting of a kettle of water or burned by the fire-brazier in the winter. The people are in the habit of putting the fire-basket under their clothes or even taking it to bed with them with the result that many lives are lost and much property destroyed.

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CHAPTER III

MARRIAGES 婚姻 *Hun Yin.*

Betrothal may take place very early; friends will sometimes betroth their unborn children.

Marriage with one of the same family name is forbidden by law; but such marriages do take place when there is a different ancestry, 同姓不同宗 *t'ung hsing pu t'ung tsung.*

A male go-between is called 媒 *mei*, and a female is 妁 *cho.* Marriages are said to be arranged by 父母之命媒妁之言 *fu mu chih ming mei cho chih yen,* "Parents' will and middleman's words." The children are supposed to have nothing to do with the arrangements, but in fact their likes and dislikes count for a good deal.

Another name for the go-between is *hung-yeh* 紅葉 red leaf. The term originated in the T'ang dynasty. A female palace-slave whose life was made bitter by her imperial mistress wrote her troubles on a red leaf and threw this into the moat. A young scholar got it and forwarded a reply in the same romantic way. Later some of the slaves were married off by imperial orders, and the girl fell to the lot of the scholar without their knowing till afterwards that they had been the corresponding parties.

Preparing the horoscope before marriage is called *k'ai pa tzŭ* 開八字, preparing the eight characters. These characters give the year, month, day and hour of birth. The

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saying is, "The man's horoscope is never false; the woman's never true." A fortune-teller is called in to examine the girl's horoscope, and if he finds it is an unlucky one it will be falsified before being reported to the family with whom a marriage is sought.

It is said that in the time of Han Wên Ti 漢文帝 a barbarian chief wished for marriage relationships with the Chinese. The Chinese professed willingness, but warned the barbarian Man-tzŭ that it would be unlucky for them if marriages were made with unsuitable horoscopes. They were then able to decline marriage on the ground that 八字不合 *pa tzŭ pu ho*, the horoscopes do not agree. To this day, in refusing a proposal of marriage the people almost always say *jên k'ên hun pu k'ên* 人肯婚不肯, "We are willing but the horoscope is not."

The parents who seek a bride for their son first find a middleman, or more likely he finds them. They ask him to take presents to the home of a certain girl and to beg that her horoscope may be sent them for examination. The middleman has probably already paved the way, and he soon brings back the horoscop which is put on the family altar for from 3 to 8 days to see if anything happens, good or bad. If a bowl is broken during this time, or something lost, or a cat or dog dies, the horoscope is promptly returned as being unlucky. This is called *t'ui hung kêng* 退紅庚. If on the contrary some piece of luck befalls during this period, an astrologer is called in to examine the two horoscopes and see if they agree. The comparison may show upper, middle or lower degree of suitability. If the boy's parents are satisfied with the horoscope they send the middleman to the girl's parents to say they feel quite unworthy to be related to such an exalted family, but since there was such condescension they were willing to fix the agreement *hsia p'in shu* 下聘書, *hui hua* 回話, or *ch'a hua* 插花. Much depends on the go-between, and as it is difficult to prevent bribery there is great need for caution and private enquiry.

The girl's parents reply 寫允書 *hsieh yün shu*, generally saying their daughter is weak and useless, but they are willing

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to give her to the others' exalted son to wife. Samples of the girl's needlework and embroidery are also sent for the boy's parents to inspect.

The lad's parents then draw up the *hun shu* 婚書 or form of agreement, leaving a blank space for the girl's name and other particulars about her. A lucky day is selected and presents of silk,. chickens, ducks, etc., prepared. The go-between takes these to the girl's home, and asks that the particulars about the girl may be filled in on the *hun shu*. This done, he worships at the family shrine in the girl's home, using incense and candles specially bought for the occasion. Then presents are returned in the same box which brought the others, and the middleman or a representative of the girl's family worships at the shrine in the boy's home.

On the agreement are written the characters 天長 *t'ien ch'ang* above the boy's horoscope, and 地久 *ti chiu* above the girl's. The meaning is that the agreement is as lasting as heaven and earth. It is really as binding as any known in China, and the saying is that a lawsuit about a marriage agreement or about land will go through eighteen courts before being settled. Other proverbs are 說給猪跟猪走說給狗坐地守 "If engaged to a pig you must go its way; if to a dog you must sit down and bear it." And 說給叫化子提沙鍋也要跟到披蓆片. "If engaged to a beggar, pick up the earthenware bowl and follow the sleeping-rags."

In some cases when a family has become poor after betrothal and before the wedding, a girl will cut off her hair in the bridal chair, which results in her being sent home again. After this her only resource is to become a nun; yet even in the temple she may still be claimed by her betrothed at any time. In cases where parents wish to break off an engagement because the other family has become poor a lawsuit is certain. One man in such a case was bound down not to take a wife for his son till he had sent his daughter to her betrothed: thus cutting off the line of succession and putting both families on the same footing.

The home which is to receive the bride gets a fortune-teller to fix a lucky day; he also arranges the hour for every movement of hers. This is called *k'an nien yüeh* 看年月,

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and the announcement of the date to friends is *siing* 送 *nien-yüeh*. This may be sent some months beforehand, after which presents are sent in, accompanied with music and flags.

When the date of the marriage is fixed the times for the following are also arranged: the day for cutting the bride's clothing; the day for placing the bed in position; the hour for 開臉 *k'ai lien*, or pulling out the hair on brow and neck to make the bride look older; and the time for putting up her hair. Till marriage all girls wear the hair in a queue; just before marriage it is put up in a coil at the back of the head. In asking if a girl is engaged it is common to ask if she has put her hair up or not, 上梳 *shang liu*. Times are also fixed for treading on the bushel; when she shall take leave of the family idols; when she must leave the parental roof; when she shall worship at the family shrine in her new home; and when the bridal cup shall be shared by the young couple. This partaking of the cup is called *chiao pei chiu* 交杯酒; it may be a cup of wine, tea or not a cup at all but a piece of squash, which they pull apart and both eat; it is their mutual pledge. All these times are fixed by the astrologer, are written on red paper and are announced to the bride's parents when the presents are sent, so that they may prepare accordingly.

Furniture, (chairs, bed, cupboard, etc.), are prepared by the bride's parents, quality and quantity depending on the family's means. The things are often given over to the bridegroom's representatives some days before the wedding, so that the bed may be placed in position on a lucky day.

The wedding things include tea-cups and tea-pot, flower vases, clothing for bride and bridegroom, etc., etc. A well-to-do bride will perhaps have hundred or more garments, besides bedding, curtains, mirrors, etc., more than she can use in a lifetime. The silversmith has to make bangles, chains, earrings etc., and so great is the expense of marrying a girl off that the saying goes, *ch'ien nü ju fên chia* 遣女如分家, "Marrying a daughter is like dividing the inheritance."

In some places some young, fat pigs are driven along together with the bridal outfit; in other parts animals of various kinds are sent afterwards as part of the dowry.

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The bridegroom's parents invite his friends for the night before the marriage 花夜 *hua yeh*; they dress him, put on his ceremonial hat, deck his hair with flowers, put red cloth round his shoulders, and afterwards, in good families, he feasts them. Then he makes obeisance to his parents and worships at the family altar.

When the wedding day has come the groom's friends invoke the family gods and send off the middleman, accompanied by a relative, to bring home the bride, 娶親 *ch'ü ch'in*. They take with them a flowered sedan-chair, a band of flute-players with gongs, flags, and ceremonial umbrellas. They take besides the following articles: two eggs, to comfort the bride's forehead after the pulling out of the hair; two plaits of hair to be used in putting up the bride's hair, to make it look more; a large sheet of red paper to cover the bushel on which she must tread; a large piece of red cloth or silk for a veil; one big and one small comb, said to be used only this once; a bundle of five-coloured silk threads for dressing the bride's hair; a pot of oil for her toilet, a red cord for her hair, cosmetics, colouring for the lips, bandages for the feet, etc. These all go before or with the deputation which fetches the bride. The materials for her dresses or money to buy them are delivered earlier unless other arrangements have been made, but generally the bride's home provides most of her clothing and ornaments.

She takes leave of her ancestors 拜家神 *pai chia-shên*, by worshipping at the family shrine, and 辭祖宗 *tz'ŭ tsu-tsung*, and makes obeisance to her parents. The mistress of ceremonies throws down a bundle of chopsticks 丟筷子 *tiu k'uai-tzŭ* before the altar as evidence that the bride renounces her maiden home and will henceforth eat the rice of another.

Then the bride is dressed, on a carpet, and under a canopy of red cloth; the materials just brought from the bride-groom's home being used.

Her toilet finished, and the veil being put over her, a bushel full of unhulled rice is placed in the doorway and covered with red paper, and she is made to tread on it, 出閣踏斗 *ch'u ho t'a tou*. After this she has to be carried

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out and put into the flowered chair at the door. The unwillingness of brides at this point has become proverbial,—*na-ko hsin-jên k'ên shang chiao* 那個新人肯上轎. "What bride was ever willing to enter the chair?"

She carries in the chair with her a foot-rule, scissors, a brass mirror and some five-coloured threads: these are to protect her from demons on the road. She is tied in, and often locked in, the key being carried by the middleman or by the bridegroom's relative who has come with him.

To sit in the flowery chair makes the day of a lifetime for many a bride; and if there is only a short distance to go, they will often wish to be carried round the neighbourhood in this way, with the music, flags and umbrellas, that it may not be said of them in after years that they came in a common chair.

Before this chair is sent to bring the bride the bridegroom sacrifices to it, a stick of incense is placed at each of the four chair-poles, wine is poured on the ground at each corner, while someone kneels and worships the chair lest the *hsin-jên sha* 親人煞 the evil influences of brides who have used the chair before should still adhere to it.

On reaching the door of her new home the bride finds a table on which is a measure of rice with candles and incense stuck in it. The master of ceremonies calls out 女家車馬請回轉男家車馬出來迎. "Bridal chariots please return; bridegroom's chariots come forth and receive." It is supposed that the spirits of her home escort her so far, but on entering the house she comes under the guardianship of the spirits of her husband's home.

She is received by a specially appointed person, who receives the key, gets her out of the chair and leads her to the chief room in her new home. The bridegroom, escorted by his friends, soon appears and the marriage ceremony is performed. Two candles are lighted on the altar, and the pair kneel and worship Heaven and Earth and their ancestors. They then salute one another with a bow, and at this point the husband may lift the veil and look on his bride's face for the first time.

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A youth then carries the two candles from the altar into the *tung fang* 洞房 nuptial chamber very carefully, not changing the right and left hand position of the two, and letting nothing befall them. Then the groom leads the bride into this chamber, and they drink together the nuptial cup 交杯酒 *chiao pei chiu.* The candles are allowed to burn out. If that on the left goes out first the husband will die first; if that on the right, the wife will be first to die. A light is kept in the room all night with the idea that there will be continuous light in the home and always someone to attend to the family altar and the ancestral sacrifices.

When the pair have had a little time together they return to the chief room, where people come in turn to offer congratulations. A good deal of importance is attached to priority in doing this. Rich persons with large families are preferred. No widow or widower would be allowed to escort or receive, or to be first in congratulating. The guests bow, while the newly wedded couple kneel and knock their heads on the ground 磕頭 *k'o t'ou.*

At the feast which follows, men and women sit separate. The bride eats nothing the first day in her new home. All who have given presents are invited and regard it as a right.

In the evening the intimate friends of the bridegroom enter the private apartments, examine the bride's hands and feet, make rude remarks about her clothing, ability, general appearance, etc. Her clothing will be examined and tried on, but she must sit still through it all and say nothing. About midnight the visitors depart.

On or about the third day the bride returns to her parents' home, accompanied by her husband. Day and hour are fixed by the wife's parents, who send someone to meet them. A feast is prepared and guests invited to meet the bridegroom. If it rains on that day it is said the bridegroom rides a dog. The same is said of the bride if it rains on the wedding day.

There is a table with wine at the door of the bride's old home, "to stop the horses of the bridegroom," and he has almost always to drink before he can enter the house.

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The bride returns then to her new home for some ten days, and much of her future happiness depends on the way this time is passed. Then she goes to her old home for a stay of ten days, *shua shih* 耍十 or ten days' play; after which her new duties begin in earnest.

At the New Year the couple make presents to the husband's father, and again at the season for planting rice they send him wine; and this is the last of the marriage formalities.

The following proverbs refer to young wives 男教嬰孩 女教初來. "The best time to teach a boy is when he is a child; the best time to teach a girl is when she is newly married." And 三天孩子娘慣的三天媳婦婆慣的 "In three days a mother can spoil a child, and in three days a mother-in-law can spoil a daughter-in-law."

Sometimes a girl is sent to the house of her mother-in-law while still a child, and grows up beside her future husband till they are marriageable. This class of marriage is much looked down upon by most people.

When a widow re-marries the terms used are *ch'u hsing* 出姓, depart from the name; *ch'u mên* 出門, to go out of the door; *tsai chia* 再嫁 to marry again; *tsai chiao* 再醮 to drink again (the nuptial cup).

Her step-children call her *hou mu* 後母 or *chi mu* 繼母.

Marrying concubines is very common in West Ssŭch'uan, 接小 *chieh hsiao* or 娶妾 *ch'ü ch'ieh*. The limit in each case depends on the man and his purse. The saying runs 有志男兒接三妻. "The resolute man marries three wives." Of these concubines three are called wives, the fourth a concubine, the fifth and sixth are slaves, the seventh and eighth are big and little maids.

Sometimes a woman takes a husband to her home 倒住當 *tao chu miao*. This is a remnant of the polyandry of the tribes.

[To be continued]

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NOTES AND QUERIES

The Reverend Timothy Richard, whose portrait is the frontispiece of this number, played a remarkable part in the awakening of China. He was not noted for scholarship; he had no official post of authority; he was not a wealthy philanthropist; but by the power of a unique personality he so won the esteem of the Chinese that few foreigners have had a greater influence upon the more intelligent and open-minded among them; he was the best exponent to this nation of the spirit of western civilization and religion.

A sketch of his life and work may be given in a later number.

* * *

Professor Paul Pelliot has been appointed to succeed his friend and collaborator the late Professor E. Chavannes at the Collège de France, a notable appointment. He passed through Shanghai on May 10, on his way from Siberia to Paris. We hope the present volume of the Review will be enriched by some articles by him.

* * *

In the note on foot-binding (p. 92) several mistakes have been pointed out. Yang Shêng-an, of the T'ang dynasty, is better known as Yang Shên 楊愼 (his *hao* was Shêng-an);

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and he lived in the Ming dynasty; the work referred to is the 丹鉛錄. At the end of the paragraph 漢武梁祠 has, of course, nothing to do with the Emperor Wu-ti and his ancestral hall, but is the Wu family's tomb in Shantung, made so well known to us by Prof. Chavannes' elaborate study. It is strange how such a mistake could have passed unobserved by the Editor.

* * *

Referring to Prof. Parker's note about a shih-tzŭ kuan 什字自 in Si-an fu, Mr. H. I. Harding writes that there is a shih-tzŭ ssŭ 什字祠 near Peking in the Fang-shan district, in an out of the way corner at the foot of the mountains. Mr. Harding thinks the situation precludes the idea of a Christian church, apart from the question whether Nestorianism ever existed in that part of China.

The most obvious solution of the term is that the temple was at some cross-roads, but Mr. Harding's temple is at the entrance to a narrow defile, and he thinks the lie of the land makes it inconceivable that there was ever another road at that place.

NOTES BY PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER.

With regard to Mayers' account of Sun K'uan (*Manual*, p. 194), the *Wu chï* says that Liu Pei defeated Ts'ao Ts'ao and then Sun K'uan attacked Ho-fei. The *Wei chï* says that Sun K'uan (on behalf of Liu Pei) first attacked Ho-fei, and then Liu Pei defeated Ts'ao Ts'ao at Ch'ih-pih. The commentator says that the *Wu chï* is right, and that Liu Pei first defeated Ts'ao Ts'ao at Ch'ih-pih. In any case Mayers is totally wrong, for Sun K'uan was then Liu Pei's general. Ts'ao Ts'ao (p. 232) was Duke of Wei; ■ is a superfluous and erroneous addition; moreover the title was conferred on him by the emperor, who married three of his daughters, the middle one becoming Empress in 215. In this year Sun K'uan laid siege again to Ho-fei, but was defeated by Ts'ao Ts'ao.

* * *

Mayers' *Manual*, p. 49; the words "By order of the Empress Lu" are misleading.

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After ravaging parts of Kiang Si the rebel Hwang Ch'ao crossed the Yangtsze at Ning-kwo Fu (自宣州渡江), and from 浙東 tried to get into Fuh Kien. This seems to mean that at that date one of the main Yangtsze mouths still ran past the lakes, almost from Wuhu to Yangchow. Mayers (p. 69) is wrong: the rebellion did not break out in Kwang Si but in Shan Tung. Being unable to get boats, the rebel worked his way south. Cannibalism on a wholesale and systematic scale was practised by Hwang Ch'ao's army in 883; 舂磨俘 was the name of the place where the prisoners were roasted and eaten 俘人爲食其炮炙之處謂之 | | | and mountains of human bones were stacked there 白骨山積. Never in the whole previous or subsequent history of China was there such misery and ruin. Even after the peace cannibalism 膾人而食 was universal.

* * *

Mayers' T'ang dynasty dates require overhauling. As to accessions, 618, 627 are correct; 650 should be 649, and the first 684 should be 683; the next two 684 are right; 710 is correct, but 713 should be 712; 755 is correct, but 763 and 780 should be 762 and 779. The date 805 is correct, but 806 should also be 805, and all the rest to the end are one year wrong; they should be 820, 824, 826, 840, 846, 859, 873, 888, 904.

* * *

The whole of Mayers' (T'ang) *nien-hao* are right as printed, without a single exception; but there are a few omissions: thus, in 684 there was a short reign 文明, and in 696 a short reign 萬歲登封. In 710 there was a short period 唐隆, and in 712 先天. These, (and many other of Mayers' printed dates) sometimes only lasted a few months, but it is necessary to record them, in order to identify dates of Tibetan and Tartar battles cited in history. The latter part of 761 and the first part of 762 were called 元年 written without any *nien-hao*, and there was a good deal of revolutionary messing about, at various periods of the T'angs, with months, and with changes of new year's day, in the French style of 130 years ago.

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One of Mayers' dates, 大中 (847) is incorrectly printed 太中. It must be remembered, too, that from 683 to 806 most of the *nien-hao* begin in the summer or autumn, and are thus spread over two years. Mayers' Tiao-shêng (695) is an error for Chêng-shêng.

* * *

It is important to note that the year B. C. 1 庚申 preceded the year A. D. 1 辛酉 and there is no year "zero". The year B. C. 5 was the first occasion of a four-character year 太初元將, which was created in the 6th moon and afterwards cancelled. Owing to these four characters having been followed by 元年, historians have got "mixed" with the two 元, and have made a mess of the record.

* * *

All Mayers' accession dates for the Early Han dynasty are one year wrong (except the first). Thus, 194 should be 195 B. C.: and thus also all the way down to A. D. 1. which should be B. C. 1, and A. D. 6, which should be A. D. 5. Here the history of the Early Han closes. All Mayers *nien-hao* are correct, except the three first, which the Han Shu gives as 後元年, 中元年, etc., each being followed by 二年, 三年, etc. The *nien-hao* did not really begin till B. C. 116: the rest were "created" after.

* * *

Mayers (p. 241, No. 804) is wrong in saying Ai Ti died in B. C. 2; he died B. C. 1. Moreover Wang Mang was not appointed 大司馬 until the accession of P'ing Ti in B. C. 1, and the suicide of his rival 董賢.

* * *

All Mayers' *nien-hao* dates of the Ch'en dynasty are correct, though the first month of each was by no means always the beginning of the year. The year 557 is a correct accession date; all the other accession dates are one year wrong, and should be 559, 566, 568, and 582.

* * *

The first Sui year was 581, both for accession and *nien-hao*; 589 was the year when the southern empire was

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conquered too; and 604, not 605, was the accession date of Yang Ti. In both cases 617 is right, for I-ning only began in the 11th moon. The Emperor 侗 is not mentioned as such in Sui history at all, and should be expunged, as he is a mere pretender of the T'ang dynasty, who was extinguished by 王世充.

* * *

All Mayers' *nien-hao* dates for the First Sung dynasty are correct, and half of his accession dates are correct. The ones which are wrong are 423, 454, 465 and 473, which should be 422, 453, 464, 472. Moreover the reign 永光 belongs to 前廢帝, and not to 孝武. As to 後廢帝 whose name was 昱, I can find no authority for 蒼梧王 in the *Sung Shu*. He was a bastard, whose father was 李道兒, kept by the childless Emperor on the premises, somewhat after the fashion of the "eunuch" Pi-siao Li 屄消李 to-day.

* * *

All the corrected dates already published * for the half-dozen or so of dynasties are primarily intended for Mayers, but of course they also apply to the lists in Giles' Dictionary, which appears in this respect to follow Mayers' *Manual*.

* * *

The last Toba emperor (532) on mounting the throne enveloped seven men in black felt 以黑氈蒙七人 in accordance with old local custom 用代都舊制 as practised by the Tartars at Ta-t'ung fu; and of these men Kao Hwan, who had raised him to the throne, was one 歡居其一. The Emperor stood on the felt and bowed westwards to heaven. All this sounds like the doings, 700 years later, of Genghis Khan.

* * *

In 604 Yang Ti also employed several hundred thousand men to make a canal crossing the Yellow River and joining parts of Honan on each side of it. In 605 over a million men and women were made to join the Yellow River to the Hwai and the 穀洛水. The great road through the mountains

* In *China Review*, vols. xxiv, xxv.—*Ed. N. C. R.*

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雞太行山 from modern Chih Li to T'ai-yuan Fu was constructed by the forced labour of the prefectures in **河北** in the year 607. That year Yang Ti was visiting the Khan at **榆林**, from which place to **紫河** he built a Great Wall in ten days, one million persons being put to the work, and half of them died. In 608 a million of both sexes were employed to dig a canal joining the **沁** and Yellow River, so as to get to **涿郡**; therefore at that time the Yellow River must have come out near Tientsin. In the same year 200,000 men were employed in building a wall eastwards from **榆林谷**; perhaps this last refers to the Yu-lin north of Peking and not to the other of Shen Si. In 611 the Emperor travelled by boat from near Chinkiang to **涿郡**.

* * *

In 573 the Tartar Chou Emperor fixed the rank of the three religions or teachings in the following order: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism. A year later the last two were abolished (until 580), and all sutras, images, etc. were destroyed: bonzes and priests had to revert to lay states. He also reduced his women to two **妃**, three **世婦**, and three **御妻**.

* * *

In various histories mention is made of a Tartar-splashing game, **潑胡**, which, as it is also patronised by Tungusic Emperors, must refer to Turks or Persians. Perhaps it is allied with the Burmese female custom of splashing people with water in the public streets at the New Year, a startling ordeal I have myself undergone. The Tartar custom also was used at the end of the year **縱胡人乞塞甬水澆沃爲戲樂**.

* * *

In 581 the new Sui dynasty abolished the game laws **山澤之禁** (which presumably the Tartar dynasty had had). The Emperor set a tribe of Tartars known as the **稽胡** to repair or build portions of the Great Wall **修築長城**. In 586 in 20 days 111,000 men repaired a second instalment of the Wall, and again 100,000 men in 587. Part of the Grand Canal **開山陽瀆** was formed at this time in the Yangchow region for the conveyance of grain **以通運漕**.

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There is a valuable historical meaning of 丁, for which the "ordinary man" may look in vain in dictionaries; it means "to nail," *rem acu tangere*, to "coincide with." Hence | 未運, "to *fall upon* decadent times," | 斯時 "*hit* the period." Every noun in the Chinese language is in the same way a verb.

* * *

The modern 仰 "we order you" appears in history as early as A.D. 577: 仰東史守合 . . . 所在給其衣食, We therefore order all governors, prefects and magistrates . . . in places concerned, to give such people clothes and victuals."

* * *

The *Peh Shi* records that in the year 401 the learned men were assembled by the first Toba emperor to examine and compare all the characters found in the classics 衆經, when it was found there were over 40,000. In 425 the emperor introduced over 1,000 new characters 新字千餘. He said "Since the first characters were modelled on the basis of birds' foot-prints, they have undergone various changes into 篆 and 隸 and 草 and 楷 [note the sequence] all of which are now in simultaneous use. But irregularities have crept in with time 傳習多失其眞, the shapes of the characters have got wrong, and the forms lack the suggestion of idea originally intended 會義不愜, in such wise that they are unsuited as a model for future students, or, as Confucius said, 名不正則事不成 [referring to the tenets of the 名家]. For this reason we now issue standard forms of those [hitherto unauthorized forms] in current use 世所用者, to serve as perpetual models 永爲楷式."

A note explains that these thousand were over and above the 40,000 characters in the 衆經, or, as another authority puts it, over and above the characters in the *Shwoh-wen*, added by later men. These thousand or more had, according to the *San-kwoh-chi*, already been classified as 異字 by a certain 朱育 of Han times. They were by no means, bastard characters of the Annamo-Tanguto-Tungusic type, and M. Chavannes' suggestion (*Mem. Hist.* LXIV) that the Hiung-nu

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had a script cannot be supported. They evidently wrote in Chinese, and the Turkish language was later written in Sogd character.

* * *

The 阿 in private names must be of very ancient usage. A man named 谷利, having shown scant bravery in A. D. 226, the Wu Emperor said 阿利畏水, "A-li is afraid of the water."

* * *

比至 in the early histories always means "by the time they got there:" in the *Shï-ki* the sentence 數日行; 比至 means "several days' journey; and when *they* got there—." Dr. Hirth (*Roman Orient*) misdivides and misreads the sentence as 行北至 "going north *you* reach—."

* * *

The character 輒 always has the meaning of "ever," as in whenever, wherever, etc., only that it is transposed. Difficult Chinese "empty words" may always be rendered into idiomatic English by transposing our thoughts.

* * *

With reference to my earlier remarks on *the final* 焉, I now find that word which comes nearest fitting it under *all* circumstances is the French *en*, which invariably means (in the same vague way), "at it," "of it," "to it," "by him," "through them," etc.

* * *

The official phrase 躍武騰捷 shows that the first and third characters are not always interchangeable. The first is evidently here equal to 趯.

The next issue of THE NEW CHINA REVIEW will contain an etching by Major W. Perceval Yetts, exhibited in this year's Academy (London). The subject is The Mei-shan in Peking.

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Editor: *Samuel Couling, Medhurst College, Shanghai, China.*

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THE NEW
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THE SECRET OF THE "RED CHAMBER"

BY

W. ARTHUR CORNABY

IT is a common remark in China that "Everyone has read the *Dream of the Red Chamber*." Of novels pure and simple it is by far the most famous in the language. True, among the populace at large, the leading personages of the *Three Realms* have been more widely quoted, and the doings of several of them dramatised; but the popular work known under that name is an exceedingly clever expansion, by a 14th century author, of genuine historical happenings chronicled in brief by an historian towards the end of the 3rd century, and thus can hardly be called a novel pure and simple. The *Dream of the Red Chamber* evidently is such;—at least everybody regarded it as such until the last few years, when some startling theories have been made current concerning its historical importance, as it is the purpose of this article to explain.

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To most educated Chinese, this novel, despite great length (about 4,000 pages) is as familiar as is the play of Hamlet to English readers. Many of its numerous personages live and move in the Chinese imagination like familiar friends. And as the story ends so tragically, no less than seven sequels have been published earlier or later. The first of these would seem to be the *After Dream of the Red Upper-chamber* 後紅樓夢, undated, but professing to be from a signed and sealed Ms. of the editor, and reputed author, of the original *Dream*, 曹雪芹. The second, dated 1798, is called *Supplementary Dream of the Red Upper-chamber* 續紅樓夢; in the author's preface to which the original work is said to have been relished by the reading public for now "some tens of years," thus dating it about the beginning of the latter half of the 18th century.

The largest of the sequels is a rare work of thirty octavo volumes, called 紅樓復夢 "The Dream of the Red Upper-chamber Re-dreamt" and dated 1799. And in a fourth work 紅樓夢補 "Dream of the Red Upper-chamber Addenda," published in 1819 (and reprinted in 1913) the author has caught the style and spirit of the orginal and has produced a satisfactory and convincing sequel. The rest, in tiniest lithographed type, are too trivial or vulgar to be worthy of note. But good, bad, or indifferent as these various sequels may be, their composition and publication bear eloquent testimony to the intense human interest and outstanding genius of the original work.

What was the status of the original author? And what was his impelling motive (if any) for the heavy output of literary energy required to produce this *magnum opus?* These are questions which have been asked by many a student.

° In order to do this it has been necessary for these later novelists to bring several deceased personages back to life again, incidentally depicting the unseen world as imagined by the Chinese: a fact which induced the present writer to make these sequels a special study some years ago. For Chinese popular theology and eschatology is after all the theology and eschatology of Chinese novels.

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From the graphic portrayal of his numerous characters (about 400 in all), in which no one of them is ever confused with another, the general conclusion has been that the author must have been a private secretary in one of the princely households of the capital, who drew from the life. And as to his motive in doing so, the theory has gained currency that this private secretary fell into disgrace from his misconduct with one of the slave-girls, and wrote his book in revenge for that disgrace, showing up the weaknesses of all save her, and finally landing the whole family in tragic distresses and ruin,—with the devout hope that this would indeed be their portion by and by.

In the introductory portion of the first chapter of the work, as we now have it, the name of Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in (曹雪芹) is quoted as an early editor who "altered and toned-down the original five times." This was in consequence of the original *Dream of the Red Chamber* having been prohibited by government. And that prohibition has been so often renewed in regard to the "altered and toned-down" work that for many years the only copies on sale have been called by the innocent title of *The Stone Records* (石頭記). Hence arises the most interesting question of all: What family has there been in Peking of such an exalted nature that its descendants could get the government, once or twice each century, statedly to suppress and re-suppress a work of fiction dealing with the lives of the forbears of that family? And as long as the Manchu dynasty lasted, none dare answer that question publicly in print.

At this stage let us remind ourselves (or state for the benefit of those who may not be familiar with the work) what is the scope of this famous novel.*

It opens with the statement that the author is "concealing true matters" and dealing with dreamy unsubstantialities instead (a hint that his work has an inner meaning). Then follows a magniloquent account of the founding of the universe from 36,500 blocks of precious jade-stone (the days of

* An able résumé of the novel is given by Prof. H. A. Giles in the *Journal of the China Branch of the Roval Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1885.

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the year multiplied by 100). There was indeed an extra block prepared, but this was disused by the Goddess of Works, and left out of the original structure. This block of jade-stone, in the course of ages, became spiritualised and self-conscious. It roamed about the mountains of the empyrean until it chanced to discover a lovely gem-flower which it thereupon took under its shelter, watering it with the choicest nectar of the sky, until the lovely gem-flower became transformed into a lovely girl; who, in her new-found ecstasy of life, promised in the ages to come (when she and the living stone should both be embodied together on earth) to pay for that celestial moisture with her tears. An introduction, this, which seems intended to prepare the reader for a pathetic love-story of an exalted personage and some maiden beloved.

Instead of this the story itself opens by describing the early years of a handsome spoilt boy (of the surname Chia 賈 "Merchant") into whose father's sumptuous establishment in Peking there comes from the South a little motherless girl cousin who is delicate, refined, and studious beyond her years, but rather a cry-baby withal. In the innocent childhood of both of them, she at first shares his room as a little sister might. The twain do indeed become brother and sister, indulged by the fond grandmother of the lad. That lad is called Pao-yü (寶玉 apparently "Precious Gem," though that would be a girl's name rather than a boy's), and was born with a gem-tablet in his mouth. His "sister" is called Tai-yü (黛玉 "Dark Gem").

The huge establishment in Peking is represented as a double one, consisting of two mansions side by side, each with an elaboration of buildings and a spacious garden. The etiquette of these professedly Chinese households is invariably that of the Manchu Court. And there would seem to be a special significance (when once pointed out) in the names of the heads of this double household. The elder of two brothers Chia (uncle of Pao-yü) bears the personal name of *Se*, and his wife was surnamed *Hsing*; while the younger of the two (father of Pao-yü) bears the personal name of *Chêng* (政 of "government"), and his wife was surnamed *Wang* (王 of "prince"). Now if we combine the four sounds *Se-hsing-*

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chêng-wang, changing the characters for the former pair, we may write them down as 攝行政王, which is the full title for a Prince Regent.

Here is a hitherto neglected hint which might lead the reader to ask whether the so-called "Pao-yü" might not stand for some young man who was under the care of a Prince Regent. Then, in Chinese, most adjectives readily become verbs; and the name 寶玉 Pao-yü, if interpreted as "Precious Gem" is too girlish for a boy; but taking the *Pao* as a verb, the name would mean "One who treasures a gem." We should then gain the clue: A young man in the charge of the Prince Regent, who treasures a certain gem,—evidently a girl whom he regards as such, and whose name probably contains the sign 玉 for "gem."

It that be so, we have in the writer of this novel a genius who was writing for posterity, and who had to steer his course between two considerations: (1) a fear lest the reader should too readily understand his inner meaning, and (2) a fear lest no reader should eventually grasp the meaning of his veiled historical portraiture. Such indeed is a remark of the latest and ablest editor of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*.

But to resume. Before very long Pao-yü's mother's sister was compelled by circumstances to seek a home in the capital. She brought with her a young daughter Pao-ch'ai (寶釵), Pao-yü's other girl-cousin, slightly older than he; and the mother and daughter were invited to settle down in the capacious mansion of their Peking relatives. Pao-yü, Tai-yü, and Pao-ch'ai soon became fast friends. Pao-yü loved the society of either or both. But Tai-yü, spite of her reticence in Pao-yü's presence, soon began to regard the handsome and winsome boy as part of herself. And Pao-yü in his inmost heart came to realise that between him and Tai-yü there was a mystic and indissoluble affinity. At first sight of her, indeed, he had affirmed that he had met her somewhere before.

One day he was invited out to the mansion of a relative, and here, in an annex to the sleeping apartment of his hostess, he had the dream which gives its name to the book. His dream was an excursion into Fairyland, where he gained some

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initiation into his approaching manhood, and also into the vanity of the earthly passion-life,—the latter consideration becoming a seed-thought which was to bear strange fruit in his ultimate career.

After some years (his father holding office at a distance from home) his grandmother and mother decided that he should marry. Everyone knew his inner preference for Tai-yü, but that maiden had always been delicate, and now seemed seriously ill. So a consequential lady of the household persuaded his grandmother and mother to deceive Pao-yü into marrying Pao-ch'ai instead. Thus Pao-ch'ai was brought in, under the thick red veil worn by Chinese brides (the author avowedly describing a *Chinese* family), and to her Pao-yü plighted his troth—believing her to be his own Tai-yü. Then later, when he lifted the veil of his bride, he broke down completely. And on hearing the news of the marriage, the sick Tai-yü just gasped the words: "O Pao-yü! Pao-yü!" and died.

A little before this Pao-yü had lost the jade tablet which had been born with him, and which was the talisman of his destiny. He became absent-minded and listless, and the family fortunes also began to decline. And now, hearing of the death of Tai-yü (the living analogue of his gem) he swooned away, but had a dream in which he was exhorted to attend to the duties of life. And this, in spite of several relapses, he endeavoured to do. With an air of aloofness from earthly honours he competed in the great Imperial examinations, gaining the seventh place on the list of successful candidates. But at this stage, he, Pao-yü, the one hope of the failing fortunes of the princely house, disappeared entirely! He had secretly withdrawn from the world forever, to a monastery on the Wu-t'ai mountain in Shansi.

His father, on a boat-journey in midwinter, happened to see on the bank in the moonlight, silhouetted against the snow, the kneeling figure of a young Buddhist monk whom he identified as his lost son. Then the monk disappeared, and he saw him no more.

To this brief summary it is only necessary to add that the novelist, towards the beginning of his work, most un-

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accountably introduces a description of another Pao-yü, if of a different surname, who resembled him in disposition and in features, but resided at Nanking.

Such then (with this interpolation added) is the plot of this elaborate work of genius. And few until recently seem to have identified Pao-yü with any well-known historical personage. But the documents containing the full history of any reigning family in China are, by old custom, withheld from publication (or withdrawn from publication if any of them have been made public surreptitiously) until the collapse of that dynasty. And it happens that, in addition to this novel, certain works of the 17th century authors Wu Mei-ts'un (吳梅村) and Wang Yü-yang (王漁洋) together with certain poems, have been suppressed by government orders.

As to the influence of women at Court, whether those women have been wise and noble consorts or great and unscrupulous dowagers, or whether they have been young girls of fascinating appearance and manners, a long series of historical articles could be written. In some dynasties, no less than in the French Court of Louis XIII and onwards, certain ladies in China have been the wire-pullers and history-makers.

Turning to the sketch of Wu San-kuei (吳三桂) in Prof. Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, for instance, we read: ". . . A native of the province of Liao-tung, employed during the closing years of the Ming dynasty as a commander of the forces engaged in resisting the Manchu Tartars In A.D. 1643, whilst at the head of his troops at a point near the frontier, he received intelligence of the capture of Peking by the rebel (blacksmith) Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, and of the suicide of the Emperor. The next thing he heard was that Li Tzŭ-ch'êng had put his father Wu Hsiang to death, and had taken possession of his (Wu San-kuei's) favourite concubine. Then he tended his allegiance to the Manchu sovereign (upon certain conditions which are stated) The result of this move was the recapture of Peking and the establishment of the dynasty of the Manchu Tartars."

Now it happens that of the several items of bad news which Wu San-kuei received, the last was the determining factor in his conduct, for he forsook all to search for and regain the girl (陳元 t. 圓圓) who had fascinated him.

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And thus this girl-lover of the brave young general became the determining factor in the establishment of the Ta Ch'ing dynasty in China.

The boy-emperor under whose reign title of Shun Chih (順治) that dynasty began in Peking in the year 1644 was the seventh of a line of Northern rulers (and Pao-yü, we remember, gained the seventh place on the examination lists). He was then but nine years of age, and the government was in the hands of his uncle Dorgun until that uncle died in 1649. The Regent at first held the title of "Imperial Father" (皇父), and thus was both uncle and "father" to the young Emperor. The whole country had by no means submitted to the Manchus; there was a rival sovereign (the dissipated Fu Wang, son of the last of the Mings) enthroned for a while at Nanking (and Pao-yü is represented as having a double who lived there). Shun Chih remained on the throne, ruling with mild magnanimity, but devoid of commanding energy, until 1661, when his third son succeeded him as the illustrious K'ang Hsi, in a long reign dating from 1662. So much is well known historical fact.

But now, from the evidence of once-suppressed books and poems, the editor and commentator of the latest edition of the novel* claims to have proved the following items:

The young Emperor Shun Chih was enamoured of a certain Chinese girl (named 小琬 t. 白) of remarkable beauty and genius but of rather delicate health, who entered the palace under the patronage of the fond Empress Dowager at the age of 26 or 27, when the Emperor was 25 years old (1659). Her surname was Tung (董) and in the palace she was called "Imperial Concubine Tung-O" (董鄂妃). Here she became a general favourite, winning the heart of the Empress Dowager in particular; and Shun Chih wanted to make her his Empress in place of the less-brilliant Manchu girl who had been parentally chosen for him, but was checked in his endeavours to do so (if for no other reason than the

* 紅樓夢索隱, a fine edition in ten comely volumes, published by the 中華書局 Shanghai; the editor writing under the *nom de plume* of 悟眞道人 "The Taoist who has awakened to the Truth"

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strict Court rule that none but a Manchu could be Consort supreme); whereupon she sickened and died. Then the young Emperor had her immediately ennobled by a posthumous title of Imperial significance (端敬皇后), and after that, being unable to recover from his loss, he wrote a personal *apologia*, and retired from the world to the Wu-t'ai mountain monastery, where he was afterwards known as "The passionate monk" (情僧. And as it was clearly inadvisable to make that fact public, especially at the beginning of a new dynasty, the "death" of Shun Chih was diplomatically arranged, and his last obsequies also. But in the earlier years of his reign, K'ang Hsi was wont to repair to the Wu-t'ai mountain in company with Empress Dowager ("widow" of Shun Chih), and later with his own young Consort,—a series of journeys which hardly admit of any other explanation than that of filial regard for someone then living on Wu-t'ai Shan.

Should we accept the deductions of this scholarly editor as feasible, we then possess a key to the chief enigma of this long work, and its *raison d'être* becomes readily understandable. Especially so as the editor finds a hint in the second chapter that *its author was a scion of a noble family of the Ming dynasty* (and thus no mere private secretary), who may have had sources of first-hand information concerning the doings within the Manchu palace, as well as "having known the Nanking (Ming) family for many years"; and who would naturally regard this first reign of the invading Family as giving little indication of the permanence and prosperity of that Family in days to come.

Here then is this explanation, startling indeed at first, which the editor gradually unfolds in a series of introductory paragraphs, and amplifies in the numerous comments with which he elucidates the text. In these latter his task is a complicated one, for often he is wandering in a veritable

---

* A fact which was certainly not without historical parallel, for Liang Wu Ti (A.D. 502-559) thus retired three times from his throne, the third time never to return. But the comments of the centuries upon him have ever been those of pitying contempt.

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dreamland where one personage merges in another, where dissection of the written characters (of the sort practised by fortune-tellers) and literary puns and inversions abound. And, as a blind to the Manchu censors, the author every now and then seems to be describing the career of Yüan-yüan, the girl-favourite of Wu San-kuei, rather than the "leading lady" of the drama, Hsiao-yüan of the inner palace.

The many-sided personality of Hsiao-yüan, the Chinese girl so beloved by Shun Chih, is depicted in the novel by no less than seven different girls, only one of whom is represented as being about her actual age. This one is 秦可卿, the lady in whose ante-chamber Pao-yü dreamt his dream of celestial admonition, and to whom in his dream he was married. The other six are represented at about half her actual age, so as to give colour to their close sisterly relations with the boy Pao-yü, who is also represented at about half the actual age of the Emperor Shun Chih.*

But the chief analogue of Shun Chih's beloved is of course Tai-yü. Her name means "Dark Gem" (a rather strange name for a radiant "gem" of a girl, thus preparing the reader to find some inner meaning therein); but instead of the simple word 黑 for "black," the character 黛 *tai* is used, formed of "black" with the sign 代 "instead of" at the top. Thus she is someone called "Black" who stands "instead of" some person of consequence. Now, the girl who fascinated the young Emperor being named Hsiao-yüan (小琬 "Little Jade or Gem Sceptre") the second character of the name contains the gem radical 王. And her "intimate name" was 白 "White." The "gem-girl" Miss Black thus stands for the "gem-girl" Miss White. A specimen, this, of the *double entendre* which abounds throughout the long novel.

Tai-yü's original home was Soochow, which was the first home of Hsiao-yüan. Tai-yü was scholarly, refined, and delicate, as was Hsiao-yüan. And her dying of disappointed love at the news of Pao-yü's marriage to another is of course the analogue of Hsiao-yüan's dying of disappointed ambition,

* The seven girls are given as 黛玉, 秦可卿, 寶釵 occasionally, 寶琴, 晴雯, 襲人 and 妙玉.

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when Shun Chih's plans for making her Empress finally fell through.

Thus, by pointing out a thousand and one designed coincidences, the latest editor of China's most famous novel seems to convince the reader that he has unravelled the secret of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*.

He has certainly given Chinese scholars, and Western students of Chinese, a topic for interesting research and cogitation.

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LA DOMINATION CHINOISE EN ANNAM

(111 av. J. C.—939 ap. J. C.)

PAR

CH. B. MAYBON

(Suite et fin)

3.—L'ADMINISTRATION CHINOISE

Tous les hommes qui administrèrent le pays d'Annam ne furent pas des parangons de probité et de justice. Les hauts fonctionnaires envoyés par le gouvernement central, et, à leur exemple, les agents secondaires (assez fréquemment choisis sur place, surtout à dater du Ier siècle après notre ère) se montrèrent souvent plus préoccupés de leur bien propre que de l'intérêt général. Il faut ajouter, comme on dirait aujourd'hui, que leur recrutement laissait fort à désirer.

"Quand il s'agit de choisir un fonctionnaire pour une contrée en dehors des neuf provinces," écrivait un préfet de l'Annam à l'Empereur dans la première moitié du IIIe siècle, "il y a des chances pour que cela soit fait sans soin." *

En effet, le nombre était petit de ceux qui désiraient servir si loin du centre de l'Empire, et les nominations, le plus souvent, étaient à qui les demandait, quels que fussent la valeur morale ou les antécédents du candidat. On vit aussi, à maintes reprises, un fonctionnaire de l'Empire envoyé en pays d'Annam par disgrâce, parce qu'il avait démérité. D'une manière générale, la plupart des administrateurs désignés par la Chine se montraient indifférents au sort du pays: ils ne songeaient qu'à le quitter au plus vite, et fortune faite, s'il était possible.

Après avoir rappelé quelques faits regrettables, le préfet qui vient d'être cité, ajoutait: "c'est en considérant ces faits que je peux parler ainsi: pour gouverner un de ces pays de la frontière, tout dépend de l'homme que l'on choisit. Il y faut des gouverneurs intègres et capables. Dans ces pays éloignés, ils servent de modèles, et selon qu'ils sont bons ou mauvais, la contrée est dans le bonheur ou dans la peine."

* *Abrégé de l'histoire d'Annam*, trad. Sainson, p. 257.

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Et le peuple est calme ou en révolte, aurait pu ajouter le préfet.

L'avidité, les concussions, la cruauté des uns ont causé des émeutes et des rébellions, qui furent réprimées toujours avec vigueur; quelquefois non sans peine; l'équité, la douceur, l'intégrité des autres ont poussé une population semi-barbare dans une voie de progrès et de civilisation.

Les histoires dynastiques chinoises et les ouvrages annamites compilés à partir du XIV° siècle nous laissent connaître un certain nombre de bons gouverneurs ou préfets.*

Si-Kouang 錫光 (an. Tich-Quang) était gouverneur du Giao-Chỉ au commencement de l'ère chrétienne; il passe pour avoir inculqué au peuple qu'il administrait les principes de la morale confucéenne et pour avoir introduit dans le pays certaines coutumes chinoises. Il est probable aussi que, comme la plupart des premiers fonctionnaires chinois soucieux de leurs devoirs, il se soit efforcé de tourner vers les travaux agricoles l'esprit d'une population qui faisait surtout sa nourriture des produits de la pêche et de la chasse.

Jen-Yen 任延 (an. Nhâm-Diên) était préfet de la commanderie de Cửu-Chơn sous le règne de l'Empereur Kouang-Wou 光武 (25-58 ap. J. C.). Les habitants de ce pays, raconte l'histoire des Han postérieurs 後漢, vivaient surtout de la pêche et de la chasse; ils ignoraient l'art de cultiver la terre; le peuple devait acheter son riz dans les districts voisins et souvent il avait à souffrir de la famine. Jen-Yen lui apprit à défricher les terres incultes et à faire des rizières. D'année en année, la culture se développa dans le pays, et les habitants

° Il est bon de noter ici qu'il ne faut pas accepter sans contrôle les dates du *Cang-Muc* 綱目, qui reproduit la plupart des erreurs des Sử-Kí 史記 et du Sử-Kí-Toàn-Thơ 史記全書, et se trouve par suite assez souvent en désaccord avec les annales dynastiques chinoises: non seulement la chronologie est erronée, mais encore l'ordre de succession des gouverneurs est parfois interverti. *L'abrégé de l'histoire d'Annam* 安南史畧 n'est pas plus sûr à ce point de vue; en outre, j'ai pu constater, en comparant l'édition imprimée à Changhai d'un manuscrit qui se trouve au British Museum depuis 1843, que dans ces deux exemplaires de l'ouvrage de Lê-Tắc 黎崱, les différences sont nombreuses et que les biographies de certains personnages sont doublement interverties. Cf. *Bull. Ec. fr. E. O.*, 1910. p. 250-7.

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eurent bientôt des récoltes suffisantes pour satisfaire à leurs besoins.

D'autre part, avant l'arrivée de Jen-Yen, ils ignoraient les rites du mariage. Le préfet les leur fit connaître; il ordonna qu'une partie du traitement des fonctionnaires qui relevaient de lui fût attribuée aux pauvres qui ne pouvaient offrir les cadeaux de mariage. Le nombre de ceux qui se marièrent s'éléva en un seul jour jusqu'à dix mille.*

En outre, cette année-là, le vent et la pluie furent favorables et la récolte fut abondante. Des enfants naquirent; on leur donna le nom de Jen 任. Tous disaient dans le pays: "c'est à notre préfet que nous devons de connaître le bonheur."

Cette description idyllique du gouvernement de Jen-Yen a suggéré à Tự-Đức 詞德 la réflexion suivante: "Le fondateur de la dynastie des Triêu 趙 qui régna sur l'Annam, était un Chinois. D'après les réponses qu'il faisait aux lettres de l'Empereur, il est facile de voir qu'il n'était pas sans instruction et sans expérience. Comment peut-on croire qu'il n'eût pas enseigné à son peuple l'agriculture et les rites du mariage? Ce qui est invraisemblable aussi, c'est que dix mille personnes se soient mariées en un seul jour. On peut constater par là que les récits de cette époque ne soit pas conformes à la vérité!"

Il est, en effet, difficile de prendre à la lettre tous ces détails; mais il s'y trouve certainement un fond de vérité. Et Jen-Yen qui fut un des premiers fonctionnaires chinois envoyés par le pays, a dû être un administrateur bienveillant et juste, soucieux du bien-être et des progrès des habitants.

La plupart de ceux qui suivirent pendant une période d'environ deux cents ans, se montrèrent avides et méchants; il y eut plusieurs rebellions; vers la fin du II siècle, le pays tout entier allait être gagné par la révolte lorsque l'Empereur envoya Kia-S'ong 賈宋 (An. Giả-Tống). Arrivée dans sa province, il fit une proclamation, engageant le peuple à vaquer tranquillement à ses occupations et invitant les habitants qui avaient abandonné leurs demeures par suite des troubles à y

* D'après le *Cang-Muc*, Lê-Tắc se contente de dire que deux mille personnes se marièrent.

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revenir. Il leur promettait de les gouverner avec douceur, de ramener les impôts à un taux modéré; de leur donner des fonctionnaires honnêtes. Le peuple rentra dans l'ordre et il courut une chanson qui disait: "Notre père Giá a bien tardé; s'il était venu plus tôt, le pays n'aurait pas été troublé; mais à présent tout va bien et nul ne songe à se révolter." *

Quelques années plus tard, pendant la période d'agitation qui accompagna la fin de la dynastie des Han (début du IIIe siècle), un gouverneur nommé Tchou-Fou 朱符 (An. Châu-Phu), souleva le pays par sa tyrannie et fut tué par les révoltés †: c'est à ce moment qu'arriva comme préfet de la province l'un des hommes qui ont laissé dans l'Annam les plus vivaces souvenirs, Che-Sié 士燮 (An. Sĩ-Nhiếp),

Il était originaire du pays de Lou où Confucius avait vu le jour. Il appartenait à une famille qui, au moment de l'usurpation de l'Empire par Wang-Mang 王莽, s'était réfugiée dans le Giao-Chỉ. Son père avait été préfet dans la commanderie de Nhựt-Nam 日南 et l'avait fait élever avec soin; Sĩ-Nhiếp, ayant passé l'examen de licencié avait obtenu un emploi dans un ministère. Quand son père mourut, il fut lui-même nommé préfet; il était très bon et très juste; ses administrés l'entouraient de respect. Lorsque le gouverneur Tchou-Fou fut tué par le peuple en révolte, Sĩ-Nhiếp envoya une supplique à l'Empereur, demandant que ses frères fussent nommés préfets de Hiệp-Phố 合浦; de Cửu-Chơn 九眞 et de Nam-Hải 南海; à cette condition il promettait de rétablir l'ordre. Il y réussit et sa puissance fut grande. Quand il sortait, il était accompagné de musiciens, des parfums répandaient à ses côtés une fumée odorante, ses chevaux et ses chars couvraient les routes; le pays était prospère, les tributs barbares restaient soumises; "Tchao-T'o" dit un historien, "n'avait jamais été plus grand."

* Cf. *Abrégé*, trad. Sainson., p. 322. Kia-S'ong était originaire de Lieou-Tch'eng, dans la province actuelle de Kouang-Si.

† Ibid. p. 324; dans un autre passage, Lê-Tắc 黎崱 dit qu'il avait pu s'enfuir (p. 368); d'après le *Cang-Muc*, il aurait été tué dans la révolte.

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Sĩ-Nhiếp était appelé par le peuple d'Annam du nom de roi, mais c'était une marque de respect et non point un titre de souveraineté; jamais d'ailleurs, il ne songea à se rendre indépendant. Bien que la Chine fût à cette époque en proie à l'anarchie, il ne négligea point de remplir le devoir de tribut et lorsqu'un prétendant à l'Empire désigna les gouverneurs pour le Giao-Chỉ, il ne cessa point pour cela de se montrer fidèle à l'Empereur légitime. Il reçut, en récompense, le titre de général en chef pacificateur du Midi. Quand la Chine fut divisée en trois royaumes, il envoya son fils au roi de Wou 吳 qui régnait à Nan-King 南京 pour lui apporter en tribut des perles, du corail, de l'ambre et des parfums, des éléphants et des fruits rares. Il fut comblé de titres et de marques d'honneur. Pendant quarante ans, il resta à la tête de son gouvernement.

On lui a souvent attribué l'honneur d'avoir introduit en Annam les caractères chinois, mais à vrai dire, il n'est pas possible de rien affirmer à ce sujet. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il avait recueilli autour de lui des lettrés éminents qui fuyaient la Chine et que l'influence bienfaisante de la civilisation chinoise ne s'est jamais mieux exercée que sous son administration. "Le Giao-Chỉ," a dit Ngô-Sĩ-Liên 吳士連, "était alors un petit royaume de lettrés et d'hommes intelligents. Sĩ-Nhiếp avait fait connaître aux Annamites le livre des vers et les quatre livres. Toutes les traditions littéraires de l'Annam se rattachent à ce gouverneur bienfaisant."

Quand il mourut, en l'an 226 *, le roi de Wou établit le centre de l'administration à Hiệp-Phố. Il nomma Liu-Tai 呂代 (An. Lữ-Đại) gouverneur. Mais l'un des fils de Si-Nhiệp, nommé Sĩ-Vĩ 士䵋, envoya des soldats pour s'opposer à son passage, et, de sa propre autorité, s'empara du pouvoir; Liu-Tai prit la voie de mer avec son armée, et, une fois arrivé dans le Giao-Chỉ, il promit à Sĩ-Vĩ la vie sauve s'il se rendait.

* D'après une tradition recueillie par les auteurs annamites, son tombeau fut ouvert six cents ans après sa mort et son corps trouvé intact. On lui éleva un temple et il fut honoré comme un génie, hien 僊.

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Alors Sĭ-Vĭ, effrayé, vint avec ses cinq frères au camp de Liu-Tai, le corps nu en signe de soumission. Liu-Tai les fit tous décapiter et envoya leurs têtes à Nan-King.

A propos de ce manquement à la foi jurée, Ngô-Sĭ-Liên fait cette réflexion: "Les hommes sages peuvent voir par là que le roi de Wou était incapable d'étendre sa domination et que la puissance de Liu-Tai devait être éphémère."

Cependant Liu-Tai compte parmi les bons gouverneurs du Giao-Chĭ. Il était intègre et donnait toute son application aux affaires. "Il n'est pas un de ses actes qui ne puisse être examiné au grand jour," disent les historiens. Pendant qu'il gouvernait, il ne voulut rien distraire des revenus du pays pour soutenir sa famille, restée en Chine. L'Empereur apprit qu'elle était dans le dénuement et la secourut.

T'ao-Houang 陶璜 avait été préfet de Ts'ang-Wou; en 272 il fut envoyé par les Wou pour réconquérir le Giao-Châu, que Yang-Tsi 陽資, (An. Dương-Tâo) avait soumis à la loi des Tsin. Il y réussit, non sans peine, et fut nommé gouverneur. Il sut par sa générosité et sa douceur, gagner le cœur du peuple; il pacifia le pays sans employer la rigueur et maintint dans l'obéissance les tribus barbares. Lorsqu'il fut rappelé, les lettrés supplièrent l'Empereur de le maintenir dans sa charge; ce qui fut accordé. Au moment où Tseu-Ma-Yen 司馬炎 rétablit l'unité de l'Empire en détruisant Wou 吳, (280), il se soumit à la nouvelle dynastie et envoya ses sceaux à la capitale en signe de démission. L'Empereur des Tsin 晉 le rétablit et lui attribua des titres d'honneur; après sa mort ses descendants lui succédèrent jusqu'en 323.

Sous les T'ang 唐 un descendant de Ma-Yuan, nommé Ma-Song 馬宋 (An. Mă-Tŏng), fut protecteur général de l'Annam; il ne mentit pas à son illustre origine. Sous son administration intègre et paternelle, le pays jouit du calme et du bien-être. Il répandit l'instruction parmi les Annamites et ainsi "polit et perfectionna leurs mœurs"; la civilisation chinoise pénétra jusque dans les districts occupés par des aborigènes.

Un autre fonctionnaire du nom Ma-Tche 馬直 (An. Mă-Chyo), fut désigné pour gouverner l'Annam dans le cours du VIIIe siècle; il a laissé le souvenir d'un lettré éminent,

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d'un administrateur honnête et désintéressé. Sous sa direction le peuple connut des jours de bonheur et de tranquillité.

On trouvera plus loin les récits des campagnes de Kao-P'ien 高駢 (An. Cao-Biền) contre les Thai du Nam-Tchao 南詔; lorsqu'il en eut délivré le pays, l'Empereur le nomma gouverneur (865). Il s'occupa de rendre à l'Annam ravagé l'ordre et la paix dont il avait tant besoin; il se montra ferme et équitable. Les habitants qui le craignaient et le respectaient lui donnaient le titre de roi.

L'histoire ne cite guère d'autres noms remarquables par leur bonne administration et il faut convenir que la liste est bien courte.

4.—LES RÉVOLTES

Pendant la période qui s'étend depuis la défaite de Kiến-Đức 建德 et de Lữ-Gia 呂嘉 (111 av. J.C.) jusqu'à la libération définitive de l'Annam (939 ap. J.C.), la domination chinoise ne fut vraiment interrompue que soixante années environ, tant que régna la dynastie fondée par Lí-Bôn 李賁 (544-692); mais les séditions furent fréquentes dans le pays de Giao.

Elles ont été de deux sortes. Parfois, aux époques troublées de l'histoire de Chine, alors que le pouvoir central était incapable d'exercer un contrôle sévère sur le gouvernement des pays soumis, un fonctionnaire, chinois ou annamite, sut tirer parti des circonstances pour se créer une sorte de fief indépendant et héréditaire dans la contrée dont l'administration lui avait été confiée.* Cependant, l'ordre étant rétabli en Chine, l'Empereur jetait les yeux sur le factieux, ou son successeur: quelquefois il voulait bien recevoir sa soumission et le confirmer dans les fonctions qu'il exerçait; il lui arrivait aussi d'envoyer un nouveau gouverneur appuyé d'une armée qui lui permettait d'imposer son autorité par la force.

Mais ces actes d'indépendance n'étaient provoqués que par l'ambition d'un petit nombre; il s'en produisit d'autres,

* Le cas se présenta à plusieurs reprises au cours des IIIe, IVe et Ve siècles et ne fut pas spécial à l'Annam ; dans d'autres gouvernements aussi, il arriva que les fils succédèrent à leurs pères.

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véritables soulèvements populaires, qui méritent de fixer davantage notre attention.

Quand des impôts trop lourds, des corvées trop pénibles, des exactions des toute nature accablent les habitants, des désirs de vengeance, des pensées de haine fermentent et s'il se trouve alors un homme capable de grouper toutes les forces de séditions et de donner aux mécontents le courage d'agir, une troupe se forme qui entre en campagne, ravage la contrée, s'empare de quelques villages, d'une ville, massacrent quelques fonctionnaires, leurs amis, leurs serviteurs et leurs soldats, brûlent leurs maisons, et finit par succomber sous l'effort des troupes impériales. Mais quelques-uns des révoltés réussirent toujours à échapper, se retirent dans les montagnes où ils ne peuvent être atteints; ils s'y tiennent prêts pour un autre mouvement, pour d'autres pillages.

Ce sont ces soulèvements que l'on a appelés, non sans exagération, tentatives de l'Annam pour reconquérir son indépendance.*

Lorsque les habitants du pays d'Annam s'insurgeaient, ils n'avaient d'autre désir que de secouer un joug devenu trop pesant; savaient-ils même tous que le fonctionnaire, gouverneur ou préfet, contre qui ils prenaient les armes, était le représentant de l'Empereur c'est peu probable. Mais l'histoire de ces révoltes est cependant intéressante: elles ont contribué à habituer les Annamites à des efforts d'ensemble, à leur créer des besoins collectifs, à leur donner la notion de ces besoins, et les ont ainsi acheminés peu à peu vers la conception d'une certaine communauté d'intérêts.

Au moment où la dynastie des Han postérieurs 後漢 après le règne d'un usurpateur et plusieurs années de luttes sanglantes, commençait à s'affermir sur le trône, un préfet du Giao-Chi nommé Sou Ting 蘇定 (an. Tô-Định) gouvernait avec

* Luro a même écrit (*le Pays d'Annam*, p. 16) que le "peuple d'Annam conserva le sentiment de sa nationalité au point de reconquérir son indépendance." C'est là un singulier abus de langage qu'on s'étonne de trouver dans l'un des meilleurs livres écrits sur l'Annam. Les vœux des Annamites ne tendaient guère à cette époque qu'à servir des maîtres humains et justes; chez eux, comme chez tout autre peuple, le sentiment national a mis longtemps à naître et même confusément; ils étaient loin de le concevoir au temps de la domination chinoise.

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une rigueur et une cruauté extrême. Le peuple était exaspéré de sa tyrannie et il suffit d'un dernier crime pour le soulever.

Au printemps de l'année 39, Tô-Dinh fit tuer un fonctionnaire nommé Thi-Sách 詩索. La femme de la victime, nommée Trưng-Trắc 徵側, était fille d'un chef de district de Mé-Linh 麊泠; aidée de sa sœur cadette Trưng-Nhị 徵貳, et d'une troupe de partisans résolus, elle se rendit à la capitale pour attaquer le préfet. Celui-ci, abandonné de ses soldats et honni de toute la population, réussit à s'enfuir à Nan-Hai. Les deux vaillantes sœurs dont la troupe était devenue une armée, pénétrèrent dans les commanderies voisines sans coup férir; partout elles étaient reçues comme des libératrices; soixante-cinq villes, disent les récits annamites, furent bientôt en leur pouvoir. Le gouverneur et les préfets purent à grand'peine sauver leur vie. Trưng-Trắc prit le titre de Reine et établit sa capitale à Mé-Linh.

Alors l'Empereur Kouang Wou 光武 envoya des troupes sous le commandement du célèbre Ma Yuan 馬援 (an. Mã-Viện) qui s'était illustré quelques années auparavant par une campagne contre les Tibétains. Ma Yuan prépara soigneusement la campagne; il fit construire des ponts, tracer des routes pour assurer des approvisionnements de son armée et s'avança en suivant le rivage de la mer. Aux environs de la capitale, il se heurta aux soldats de Trưng-Trắc; ceux-ci, mal disciplinés, ne purent soutenir le choc des Chinois aguerris. La reine dut reculer et se retrancha dans la vallée de Câm-Khé 金溪 (sans doute dans la province actuelle de Sơn-Tây 山西) Dans une nouvelle rencontre, au printemps de l'année suivante son armée l'abandonna. Elle n'eut d'autre ressource que la mort: elle se noya ainsi que sa sœur. Pour perpétuer la vaillance de ces sœurs héroïques, un temple leur fut élevé.*

* Voir Dumoutier (*Chùa Hai Bà, le temple des deux sœurs et les pagodes de Hanoi*, p. 35 et suiv.) qui a rassemblé d'intéressants détails sur cette histoire. Consulter aussi les traducteurs de documents chinois ou annamites: A. Des Michels (*op. citat.*, p. 57 et suiv.), Sainson (*op. citat.*, p. 205), de Mailla (*Histoire Générale de la Chine*, II, p. 510: III, p. 13: XII, *Notice historique de la Cochinchine*, par le P. Gaubil), etc. Les auteurs ne sont pas d'accord sur la fin des héroïnes: d'après certains, elles furent toutes deux tuees dans le combat.

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Ma Yuan compléta sa victoire: bientôt tout le pays retomba sous la domination des Han. Avant de rentrer en Chine, le Général éleva à la frontière une colonne de bronze portant cette inscription: "Si cette colonne est renversée, la race de Giao-Chi sera détruite." *

Les succès de Ma Yuan lui valurent le titre de Fou P'o (c'est-à-dire "qui dompte les flots") et sa fille fut donnée en mariage à l'héritier présomptif. †

Pendant la fin de la période des trois royaumes, le règne de la dynastie Tsin (265-489) et la première partie de cette période de morcellement où l'Empire fut gouverné à la fois par des Souverains du Nord et des Souverains du Sud, le Giao-Châu continua à subir le sort des pays soumis: il prospérait sous la direction de gouverneurs bienveillants et justes, il souffrait et parfois se rébellait sous la domination d'administrateurs avides et cruels.

Il paya le tribut aux dynasties qui régnèrent successivement dans le Sud: aux Song 宋, aux Ts'i méridionaux 南 齊, puis aux Leang 梁, mais le passage d'un souverain à un autre ne se faisait pas sans à-coups. Il a été question, à propos de T'ao-Hoang 陶 璜, des luttes qui eurent lieu entre partisans des Wou et des Tsin. En 468, Annamite, Lí-Trường-Nhơn 李長仁, prend de sa propre autorité le titre de gouverneur; il s'oppose de vive force à l'arrivée du gouverneur envoyé par

* On ne sait pas quel fut l'emplacement de cette colonne, au nord du Champa suivant les uns, au sud du Kouang-Tong suivant les autres. Une légende raconte que les gens qui passaient près de cette colonne avaient l'habitude d'y déposer des pierres, des pots cassés ou d'autres débris pour la consolider. Aussi cette colonne ne tarda-t-elle pas à disparaître sous l'accumulation des matériaux dont on l'avait entourée. V. Devéria, *Frontière sino-annamite*, p. 2.

† Quand il revint de sa campagne, la frontière du nord était désolée par les Huns. Malgré son grand âge et ses infirmités, il sollicita la permission de commander les troupes qui étaient envoyées contre eux. Pour montrer que sa vigueur ne l'avait pas abandonné, il se dressa tout droit sur sa selle en présence de l'Empereur en disant: Il est plus convenable pour un général d'être ramené chez lui, son cadavre enveloppé dans une couverture de cheval, que de mourir dans son lit entouré de ses garçons et de ses filles." Et le souverain, plein d'admiration, dit: "Ah! que ce vieillard est vif et robuste!" Il mourut en l'an 49 au cours d'une campagne contre les tribus barbares du Ho-Nan. Cf. Mayers, *op. citat.*, No. 478.

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les Song ; en 479, il meurt et son frère Li-Thúc-Hiến 李叔賢, qu'il avait nommé préfet, prétend au titre de gouverneur et refuse de reconnaître l'autorité du préfet de Nan-Hai désigné par l'Empereur pour administrer le pays. Le peuple le suit ; pendant ce temps, les Ts'i ont remplacé les Song et le nouvel Empereur accorde à Li le titre qu'il ambitionne. Plus tard, un autre gouverneur nommé par les Ts'i, Lí-Khái 李凱, ne veut pas se soumettre aux Leang et tente de se rendre indépendant. Il est assassiné par un de ses officiers, nommé Lí-Tắc 李賁, qui reçoit de la Chine la charge de gouverneur (595), mais ses partisans tiennent la campagne et ne sont soumis qu'en 516 par Lí-Tắc 李賁.

Vers 530, un membre de la famille impériale, nommé Siao-Tseu 蕭諮 (An. Tiêu-Tư), gouvernait le Giao-Châu ;* il compte parmi les plus mauvais fonctionnaires que la Chine ait envoyés dans le pays ; son gouvernement tyrannique excita tant de haines, sa cruaute le rendit tellement odieux que le peuple, dirigé par Li-Bôn, se souleva en 541.

Les aïeux de Lí-Bôn 李賁 étaient chinois. A la fin des Han postérieurs (vers l'an 25), ils étaient venus s'établir dans le midi, et la famille étant depuis cette époque fixée dans la préfecture de Thái-Bình 太平, Lí-Bôn peut être considéré comme un Annamite. Il était versé dans la littérature et n'ignorait pas l'art de la guerre. Il forma une armée de tous les mécontents et laissa le Gouverneur s'enfuir à Canton, tandis qu'il s'installait lui-même dans la capitale. L'Empereur envoya une armée mais, mal commandée, elle se débanda avant d'atteindre l'ennemi.

En 544, Lí-Bôn se proclama Empereur du Nam-Việt 南越 et donna à son royaume le nom de Vạn-Xuân 萬春. L'année suivante au printemps une armée chinoise envahit l'Annam, sous le commandement de Yang-P'ao 楊𩉈 (An. Dương-Phiêu) et de Tch'en-Pa-Sien 陳霸先 (An. Trần-Bá-Tiên)†. Celui-ci, envoyé en avant garde, battit une première

* Dans *l'Abrégé d'Histoire d'Annam*, et par suite dans la traduction Sainson, il est nommé Heou-Tseu avec l'appellation de Che-T'ai, mais une note de l'érudit Ts'ien-Ta-Hin (qui vivait au XVIIIe siècle) indique que l'histoire des Leang l'appelle Siao-Tseu.

† Qui fonda plus tard en Chine la dynastie Tch'en (557-587)

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fois Lí-Bôn qui se retira alors jusqu'auprès de la bouche du Sông-T'ô-Lịch 蘇歷 c'est-à-dire à l'endroit où cette rivière sort du fleuve Rouge et où est aujourd'hui Hanoi 河內. Il y éleva une escalade en bois derrière laquelle il se retrancha. Défait de nouveau, il battit en retraite jusqu'aux environs de la ville de Bach-Hac 白鶴; chassé de là par Yang-P'iao au début de 546, il se retira chez les barbares Lao, qui le massacrèrent en 547 ou 548. Ils envoyèrent sa tête aux généraux chinois.*

L'un de ses officiers, Triệu-Quang-Phục, se proclama le roi; il tint l'armée impériale en respect et lui fit même en plusieurs escarmouches éprouver des pertes sensibles; il s'était réfugié dans la région de Hải-Dương 海陽, sur la limite de la province de Quảng-Yên 廣安, et les chinois n'osaient pas l'y poursuivre†.

Les réçits annamites montrent Quang-Phuc régnant dans la ville capitale de Lông-Biên 龍編; cependant le frère aîné de Lí-Bôn, Lí-Thiên-Bảo 李天寶, avait, lui aussi, pris le titre de roi‡. Il lutta avec acharnement contre les chinois, mais vaincu par Ch'en-Pa-Sien, il se retira dans les montagnes;

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* H. Maspero. *Le Protectorat général de l'Annam*, p 581-582. La date de 547 pour la mort de Lí-Bôn est donnée par l'histoire de la dynastie Tch'en 陳. Les ouvrages annamites donnent 548, 3e mois. V. notices de Lê-Tắc sur Yang-P'iao et Tch'eu-Pa-Sien, trad. Sainson, p. 351-352.

† Si l'histoire de Triệu-Quang-Phục (dont les historiens chinois ne parlent pas) n'est pas complètement légendaire, il ne s'en faut guère et il est fort difficile d'y discerner ce qui est historique de ce qui ne l'est pas., ibid, p. 584.

‡ A vrai-dire, les auteurs annamites, ne sont pas d'accord sur le commencement et la fin du règne; Lí-Bôn avait pris le titre de période Thiên-Đức et certains ouvrages comptent quatre années au lieu de cinq à la période. Triệu paraît avoir pris le titre de roi, soit aussitôt après la mort de Lí-Bôn, soit en 549 seulement: le *Cang Muc* et le *Toàn-Thơ* comptent les années de règne en se fondant sur Quang-Phuc, bien qu'il n'y ait pas eu de période. Les *Sử-Kí* seulement, tout en mentionnant Quang-Phuc, établissent leur chronologie sur les successeurs (de la famille) de Lí Bôn; cette position paraît la plus logique. En vérité, ces contradictions s'expliqueraient facilement par le fait de la non-existence de Triệu-Quang-Phục, si l'on suit l'opinion fortement étayée d'ailleurs de M. H. Maspero. *Etude sur l'Histoire d'Annam*, II, in Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1916, No. I.

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il mourut en 555 sans laisser d'enfant et ses partisans choisirent pour lui succéder un membre de la famille de Lí-Bôn 李賁, nommé Li-Phật-Tử * 李佛子. Quang-Phuc régna d'abord seul; en 558, il fut attaqué par Li-Phật Tử. Après plusieurs combats sans résultat décisif, ils résolurent de se partager le royaume; ils vécurent en bonne intelligence jusqu'en l'année 571. A cette époque Li-Phật-Tử leva des troupes, et, à l'improviste, attaqua Triệu-Quang-Phục qui fut tué dans le combat.

Lí se proclama Empereur et régna 32 ans. En 692 les Souei 隋 envoyèrent contre lui le Général Lieou-Fang 劉方 (An. Luu-Phương) qui tailla en pièces les troupes annamites. Le roi se soumit et fut envoyé en Chine. Le pays retomba sous la domination chinoise pour une période de 336 ans.

Des récits annamites répètent, au sujet de la défaite de Triệu-Quang-Phục par Lí-Phật-Tử, des détails rencontrés déjà dans l'histoire des luttes de Triệu-Đà avec An-Dương: il y est question d'une griffe de dragon qui permettait à Triệu de vaincre ses ennemis et qui lui fut dérobée par son gendre Nhã-Lang 雅郎, fils de Lí, comme la griffe de la tortue fut prise à An-Dương par le fils de Triệu-Đà †. Une annotation du *Miroir Historique* trouve qu'il y a dans ce récit une trop grande part d'invention: il serait plus opportun de faire remarquer que la légende de Triệu-Đà se trouve reproduite avec quelques variantes à propos de Triệu-Quang-Phục et c'est une raison de plus de douter de l'existence de ce personnage.

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* Fidèle à leur méthode, le *Cang-Mục* et le *Toàn-Thư* comptent le règne de Lí-Phật-Tử à partir de la mort de Quang-Phuc (571) et les *Sử-Kí* à partir de la mort de Lí-Thiên-Bảo (555); c'est, semble-t-il, cette dernière date qu'il faut adopter: en premier lieu, Quang-Phuc est un usurpateur et, s'il a régné, un souverain régulier a régné en même temps que lui: en second lieu il paraît bien que son règne appartienne à la légende, ce qui serait une raison péremptoire de ne pas l'admettre dans la succession des souverains annamites. Cf. Cadière (*Tableau chronologique*, p. 5-6.) qui suit la manière de voir du *Cang-Mục*. Lí-Phật-Tử aurait été roi de 555 à 571 et empereur de 571 à 602.

† Le village de Hà-Mô, sur le bord du fleuve Rouge, près de Hanoi, contient un temple dédié à Nhã-Lang.

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La dynastie Souei ne régna pas longtemps: au bout de quelques vingt-cinq ans, elle fut remplacée par la dynastie T'ang 唐 qui garda le pouvoir près de trois siècles (618-907) et compte parmi les plus puissantes qui aient gouverné la Chine.

Il a été remarqué qu'aux époques où le pouvoir est en des mains fermes, où son contrôle s'étend jusqu'aux provinces les plus lointaines, l'ordre règne partout; s'il est quelquefois troublé, c'est toujours pour une courte période. Ainsi que sous les T'ang le Giao-Chau, poussé à bout, se soulève ou que des voisins turbulents viennent le ravager, la répression ne tarde jamais et le pays retrouve bientôt la paix sous un gouvernement fort. Il faut du reste remarquer que jamais les fonctionnaires chargés d'administrer le pays ne furent en général mieux choisis ni mieux surveillés; certains, convaincus de concussion, furent impitoyablement châtiés et, s'il s'en trouva qui voulurent empiéter sur les droits souverains du maître suprême, ils n'attendirent pas longtemps leur punition.

Mais les incursions des étrangers ne laissèrent pas de créer de sérieuses difficultés, et c'est ce qui explique sans doute que l'Annam ne jouit pas des avantages que la domination d'une dynastie puissante aurait pu lui procurer; à différentes reprises les souverains du Champa vinrent piller le territoire annamite, les Nan-tchao se rendirent maîtres d'une notable portion du pays, les pirates malais firent des descentes sur les côtes et ravagèrent plusieurs districts, les barbares de l'Ouest dévastèrent les frontières. C'est que les forces dont disposaient les gouverneurs ne suffirent pas toujours à chasser les envahisseurs et que la Chine dut envoyer des armées commandées par d'habiles généraux; mais en définitive, malgré les obstacles à vaincre, force resta toujours à l'autorité impériale.

Vers la fin du IXe siècle et les premières années du Xe, les conditions changent: la Chine est en proie aux désordres et aux compétitions. En 907 la dynastie des T'ang succombe, et c'est alors une période de divisions qui dure plus de soixante ans, pendant laquelle l'Empire est déchiré entre plusieurs familles. Son pouvoir sur le pays d'Annam n'est guère plus que nominal et, dans la province soumise, des chefs ambitieux se disputent la prépondérance.

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La dynastie des Leang postérieurs 後 梁 (907-923), l'une des cinq petites dynasties, avait reconnu comme gouverneur du Giao-Chau le chef Annamite Khúc-Thừa-Dụ 曲 承 裕, qui en remplissait la charge depuis plusieurs années; lorqu'il mourut, il fut remplacé par son fils Khúc-Hao 曲 顥. Celui-ci fit une nouvelle division du Giao, délimita les circonscriptions, nomma des fonctionnaires; il ordonna la révision des registres d'impôts, fit dresser des rôles et accorda au peuple des réductions de taxes. Le Giao-Chau était à ce moment séparé du tcheou de Kouang 廣, qu'administrait un fonctionnaire nommé Lieou Yin 劉 隱 (an. Luru Ân). Bien que Khuc-Hao fût, en réalité, maître du pouvoir en pays d'Annam, il n'avait pas été reconnu par l'Empereur, qui désigna Lieou Yin pour joindre à son gouvernement celui du Giao et l'investit du titre de "roi pacifique du Midi." Khuc-Hao refusa de se soumettre à l'autorité de Lieou Yin et continua à diriger pour son propre compte le territoire annamite. Cependant, désireux d'entretenir avec son voisin de bons rapports d'amitié, il lui envoya en ambassade son fils Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ 曲 承 美. Sur ces entrefaites, Lieou Yin mourut: son frère cadet, Lieou Yen 劉 巖 (an. Luru-Nham) lui succéda et fut confirmé dans la dignité de gouverneur; mais elle ne lui suffit pas, et comme l'Empereur lui refusait celles qu'il demandait, il se déclara indépendant et se proclama empereur des Viêt du Sud (rétablissant ainsi le nom de Nam Viêt choisi par Tchao-T'o); plus tard il prit le nom dynastique de Han et fonda ainsi la dynastie des Han du Sud 南 漢.

Il avait espéré qu'à la mort de Khúc-Hao, il pourrait réunir le Giao à son patrimoine; mais, à ce moment, (985) Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ envoya le tribut à l'Empereur des Leang et lui demanda de succéder à son père, faveur qui lui fut accordée. Lieou Yen, furieux de sa déconvenue, envoya une armée dans le sud sous le commandement de Leang K'o-Tcheng (an. Lương-Khắc-Chanh); Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ fut battu et pris.

Lieou Yen le fit tuer, désigna un gouverneur, Li Tsin 李 秦 (an. Li-Tấn), et laissa dans le pays Leang K'o-Tcheng pour garder la capitale avec un général de Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ, qui avait fait semblant de se soumettre. Celui-ci, nommé Dương-Diên-Nghệ, rassembla des partisans en secret, puis se

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sentant assez fort, attaqua Leang K'o-Tcheng; il le défit complètement. Lieou Yen, apprenant ce désastre, en prit son parti: "Le peuple de Giao est turbulent, dit-il, contentons-nous d'exercer le pouvoir supérieur." Et il nomma Dương-Diên-Nghệ gouverneur du pays.

Le chef victorieux ne se contenta pas de ce titre; il voulait gouverner pour son compte. Il mit en déroute une armée envoyée par Lieou Yen et s'établit solidement dans la capitale (930). En 937, le commandant de ses gardes, Kiều-Công-Thiện, le tua et prit sa place. L'année suivante un autre officier de Dương-Diên-Nghệ, nommé Ngô-Quyền 吳權, se leva contre Kiều et entraina dans sa révolte un grand nombre de soldats. Kiều envoya des présents à Lieou Yen et lui demanda de le secourir; le souverain de Canton qui voyait dans cette intervention une nouvelle occasion de se rendre maître du pays se hâta d'envoyer une puissante flotte; il la plaça sous les ordres de son fils Hong Ts'ao (an. Hoằn-Thao) qu'il prit la précaution d'investir à l'avance du titre de roi de Giao. Mais les secours n'étaient pas arrivés que Ngô-Quyền avait déjà vaincu et tué Kiều; il se porta à la rencontre de l'ennemi et lui infligea une cruelle défaite au Cửa-Nam-Triệu; l éphémère roi de Giao se noya (939).

"Ngô-Quyền, dit l'historien Ngô-Thì-Sĩ 吳時士, avait tué le rebelle du dedans pour venger son maître; il détruisit l'ennemi du dehors pour conjurer les dangers qui menaçaient son pays."

C'est la fin de la domination chinoise. Même à l'époque où la Chine aura retrouvé son unité sous le Général Tchao Kouang Yin 趙匡胤, fondateur de la dynastie Song 宋 et lorsque cette grande dynastie gouvernera brillamment l'Empire pacifié, l'Annam restera libre.

(FIN.)

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THE FIRST LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY

REV. G. G. WARREN

CHINESE history contains the account of the earliest attempt ever made to end wars by a league of nations. In B.C. 546, the representatives of fourteen nations met at the capital of the state of Sung, which is connected with the present Kueitehfu, Honan, in order to contract a binding treaty to 'stop the wars of the barons'. Between the Peace Conference of Sung and its successor 2465 years later at Versailles there is little enough analogy. Nevertheless present-day events give an added interest to a tale that has been well told and has always been worth repeating if only for the laughter which is the sole reward we can give to a set of actors whose acting was superb. The account of the conference is to be found in the great Tso Commentary on the Chinese Classic, the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, or Spring and Autumn Annals. Those who desire to read the Chinese text will find it under the 27th year of "Duke" Hsiang. It is given in full in Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Vol. V. Pt. ii., pp. 528ff. with an English translation. French translations of most of the Chinese will be found in Père Havret's *Histoire de Tsin* pp. 288ff., or in his *Histoire de Tch'ou* pp. 170ff. To these the reader who needs exactitude is referred. A freer use of the material is made in the present article, though occasional translations of Tso's phraseology are enclosed within single commas. Wherever a speech

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is enclosed in double commas, it may be taken that a justifiable basis for the paraphrase can be found in the original. A very able discussion of the Commentary and especially of its trustworthiness in regard to historical accuracy will be found in two articles in the *Chinese Recorder* for April and May, 1911, by A. M. This particular section of the Commentary comes into A. M.'s discussion because of the most interesting statement 仲尼使畢是禮也以爲多文辭 which A. M. agrees with Dr. Legge in translating with the help of an inserted pronoun: "Chung-ni made (me) insert this ceremony because of the many speeeches for which it afforded the opportunity."

A preliminary paragraph on the China of B.C. 546 will help the reader to a more just appreciation of the need of a league of nations, and of what did as well as what did not come out of the gathering which was a historical fact.

For the 176 years preceding the Conference, *i.e.* for the period beginning with B.C. 722, China has handed us on a record of her history that is without parallel amongst her contemporaries of those centuries. Neither Rome nor Greece, neither Egypt nor Judæa, neither Persia nor India can be known as China is known in the VIth and VIIth centuries B.C. For some centuries previous to the earlier date the Chou dynasty had been in existence—exactly how long it is not possible to even guess. The orthodox date of its beginning, B.C. 1122, is even less probable than that of B.C. 1050 which is found in a rival system of chronology—neither system occurring in any works that were written within a thousand years of either date. By B.C. 546, the monarchs of the Chou dynasty were the merest *rois fainéants*. In connection with this Peace Conference, for instance, the king is not so much as mentioned. We have no reason to think that he had any intimation of the Conference before it was held or any report of it after. At the very start of the dynasty, a feudal system of hereditary, territorial barons had been established on lines which are distinctly traceable back into the shadowy days of the still earlier dynasty. As in every other country where such a system has existed, some of the barons rose to greater power than others and internal strife led to the extension of

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one lord's lands at the expense of his neighbours. In the first half of the seventh century, the ruler of the state of Ch'i, the modern north Shantung, by the help of an exceedingly able minister, Kuan Chung, raised his state to a position of something even more than that of *primus inter pares*. But the successive deaths of the minister and the ruler, found no one able to supply the place of either, and the state at once lost its primacy. From B.C. 636 to 628, the territory of Chin, the modern Shansi, was ruled by the ablest and most attractive baron of the whole dynasty. His posthumous title is Duke Wên. He not only gained a primacy over many (though by no means all) of the states, he managed to hand it on for some generations. By the middle of the sixth century, however, a second primacy, over states which had either not recognized, or had renounced the hegemony of Chin, had been gained by Ch'u, a state which had crept up from the northern banks of the Yangtzŭ until it had absorbed the present Hupeh and had overflowed into lands now included in Honan and Anhui. Chin's neighbour on the west, Ch'in, the modern Shensi, had never acknowledged the primacy of Chin. The two states had fought many a battle, generally, but by no means always to the advantage of Chin. The fallen state of Ch'i also, only now and again gave any acknowledgment of itself as inferior to Chin. These four, Chin 晉 and Ch'u 楚, Ch'in 秦 and Ch'i 齊 were the Big Four of those days of long ago. Ch'in and Ch'i were somewhat isolated. Between Chin and Ch'u there lay a border belt of states in which life can hardly have been worth living. The story of the way in which these states were made mere shuttlecocks to be knocked about between the battledores of Chin and Ch'u would be scarcely credible except that the Annals have been actually preserved to us. The forces of Chin would be here today to investigate the treasonable commerce with Ch'u a few months earlier. A suitable fine would be imposed together with oaths of fidelity, and away the soldiers of Chin would go, and then would come those of Ch'u who repeated the action on reversed reasoning. Year succeeded year with hardly any interval between these dreaded visits. Rarely was there a year without some ravage of war.

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The state of Sung, whence came the suggestion of the Conference, offers in this stage of its history a typical example of what was happening. In its early history, Sung was distinguished. Its dukes were descended from the rulers of the previous dynasty. The founder of that dynasty, T'ang, is almost the first tangible personality we meet with in those days of legendary lore, for the earlier Yao and Shun are more like the personified virtues of the Faerie Queen than men of flesh and blood. And if as would seem probable, there were some early engineer named Yü, he must have been a mere miniature of the god-like hero of the Classics whose deeds scorn the limitations of ordinary humanity. T'ang may be likened to Melchizedek, for his most kingly deed was a priestly offering of himself to Heaven as an appeasing sacrifice against the wrath manifest in a prolonged drought; but the story of that great offering is the story of a man. It was T'ang who overthrew the first Nero of Chinese story; it was his descendant who became Nero Secundus. Indeed the variation between the two Neros is too slight to be acceptable to those who reject the dictum that history repeats herself. It was from the fallen descendants of T'ang that one was selected to maintain the sacrifices to him and his successors, and to enable them to do so with becoming dignity the descendant was enfeoffed as the duke of Sung. From a younger branch of this Sung family, an actual descendant of the first dukes, and therefore of T'ang himself, five years before the Peace Conference, *i.e.* in B.C. 551, Confucius was born.

The record of the doings of Sung for the 26 years of Duke Hsiang's rule will show how dire was the need to put a stop to the wars of the barons. In five of the years there is no mention of Sung. For the other twenty-two years there are thirty-five references. Twenty-three of these are connected with attendances at councils called by the premier prince of Chin; eighteen times the duke attended in person; on the other five he was represented by one of his officers. Note that all these councils were councils of war; nearly every one was followed by a military expedition in which some of the troops of Sung would take part. In addition to these, special

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mention is made of three expeditions in which Sung was also engaged with other troops, and there are four expeditions made into Sung by Ch'u or some of her subordinates. Twice we hear of fugitive members of the ducal family escaping to Lu after civil strife. Only two paragraphs out of the thirty-five are concerned with friendly matters—a state visit was paid and returned between Sung and Lu. The last of the thirty-five paragraphs tells us how the duke killed his heir-son. (Garrulous Tso has a long story about this. The head of the eunuchs having been offended by this son, trumped up a charge against him, by forging in his name certain plots against the father. After the son was executed, the father discovered that he had been deceived. He boiled the miserable eunuch.)

This section of Sung's history might be paralleled by almost any one of the fourteen states taking part in the Peace Conference. It was of this Classic, which tells us all these things that Mencius made the very true remark: "The *Ch'un Ch'iu* tells of no righteous wars." Yet out of 35 paragraphs which we have analysed, 33 are taken up with wars or civil strife of some sort. Is there any wonder that out of such a hurly-burly there should go up a cry—Deliver us from the wars of the barons?

The originator of the scheme which was to deliver the oppressed was a somewhat second-rate personage named Hsiang Hsü, of Sung. (It was he, by the way, who represented Sung on that state visit to Lu to which we have referred.) For all the details which follow, we are indebted to garrulous Tso.

Hsiang Hsü was known to the two leading premiers, Chao Wên-tzŭ of Chin and Tzŭ-mu of Ch'u. Hence, wishing 'to stop the wars of the barons and also to make a name for himself' (!) he started off to Chin and laid his plan before Chao Wên-tzŭ. Chao consulted his colleagues. Tso quotes one of these as giving the following advice: "War is a calamity for the people; a blight on all economical administration and a great disaster for small states. Now when a man comes with a plan for stopping war, even though we may think it can't be done, we ought to let him try.

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Besides, suppose you do not take the matter up, well then, Ch'u will. She will straightway call the barons together, and thereby our position amongst the lords as primus is gone." We know not from Tso whether any other advice was tendered or not. The cabinet was carried and a promise of convoking the states was given. Well may Pacifist Hsü have begun to think of his 'name' and figure out a suitable reward; his scheme was henceforth a "live question;" it was "practical politics." The successful diplomat hurries off from Chin in the north to Ch'u in the south and lays his plan before Tzŭ-mu. Alas! Tso fails us; he gives us no speeches; he merely tells us, 'Ch'u also agreed.' Perhaps his unwonted reticence was due to the fact that in the record of the previous year he had lavished on us most dainty bit of conversation between a fellow-traveller of Hsiang Hsü (the latter being present) and the Ch'u premier. The manner in which Tzŭ-mu was rumpled up and his feet set in the right road, as far as conversation could set them, may well have prompted him to agree with his adversary's friend quickly. Off once more, the doubly successful pacifist hurries to the third of the Great Four and so finds himself in the far north-east. Here in Ch'i we hear for the first time of 'difficulties,' though once more Tso fails to give details as to what the difficulties were. But this is the way they were overcome: One of the Ch'i statesmen said "Look here, Chin has agreed and Ch'u has agreed. We shall be in a nice position if we don't agree too. Everybody will say, '*You* are the men who won't stop the wars.' Get that once fixed in the minds of our people, and will you tell me wha will happen next?" Nobody seems to have answered the very pertinent question, and again we read of Ch'i that she 'agreed.'

Hsiang Hsü was not indefatigable. He had bustled from north to south, from south to far north-east. He baulked the journey from north-east to north-west. He merely sent a message to Ch'in, and "Ch'in also agreed," though apparently from the context its agreement was as to other people holding a conference, for this is the end of the matter as far as Ch'in is concerned.

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It was on the fifth month of the year, our March 16th (for Tso supplies us with days as well as month and Père Havret kindly interprets Tso's algebraical symbols into the dates of our western calendar),*—it was March 16th when the first guest of the conference arrived at the Sung Capital. He was the greatest as well as the first, Chao Wên-tsŭ, the premier of Chin. Two days later the representative of Chêng arrived. Chêng was the youngest of the states. It only dates back to some fifty years before the traditional founding of Rome, B.C. 805, so it was called "New Cheng." Its 'novelty' has not yet worn off; it appears in the current Post Office Directory as Sincheng Ho. (*anglicè*, "New Cheng, Honan"). It lies not far off Kaifeng the provincial capital.

On March 19th, the ruler of Sung made a feast for premier Chao. It was this particular feast that "Chung-ni made (me) tell about." Was Tso sulky at being "made to do" something, and did he therefore leave out all the speechifying to which he specially alludes as the reason for the insertion? Or, was it that Confucius did not tell him the speeches and so without "making" the dinner would not have been recorded?

For the ensuing day the arrivals are duly chronicled, but the details need not detain us. It was April 3rd when Tzŭ-mu, the rival premier, reached the bordering state of Ch'ên, whence he sent on a confidential colleague to get a first draft of what it was proposed he should take part in signing. Pacifist Hsiang Hsü was accordingly sent off to Ch'ên with a draft. Tzŭ-mu suggested an addition. "Chin's, Ch'u's subordinates shall mutually change visitation" is the laconic original which Dr. Legge does well to expand into 24 English, and Père Havret into 28 French words to make it clear to the western reader that it means that the states accustomed to present themselves at the court of Chin shall henceforth also present

* I have noticed, by the way, that the learned father gives different interpretations of the same day in some parts of his two histories of Chin and Ch'u; but the relation between the dates that follow is the same in English as in Chinese, so that, if one is a week or fortnight out, so are all the rest.

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themselves at the court of Ch'u, and vice versa. On April 11th, Hsiang Hsü got back with the amendment. Chao Wên-tzŭ was not altogether satisfied that the plan was workable. He argued: "Chin, Ch'u, Ch'i and Ch'in are equals. Chin cannot compel Ch'i, nor can Ch'u compel Ch'in. But if the prince of Ch'u can induce the prince of Ch'in to come to our humble court, our 'orphan'* prince would not presume not to do his best to induce Ch'i to visit Ch'u." On April 13th Hsiang starts back with this puzzle which proved too puzzling for the Ch'u premier to answer off-hand. He felt he must refer the matter to his prince, to whom he despatched a special messenger, and from whom he got the sensible command "Leave Ch'i and Ch'in out of the matter and arrange for cross visitation of all the rest."

On April 19th, Hsiang Hsü gets back together with a representative from the premier of Ch'u who, together with Chao Wên-tzŭ, signed the preliminary agreement as to the terms to be used in the covenant. Two days later, Tzŭ-mu arrived in person and was accompanied by the delegates from the states acknowledging the superiority of Ch'u. The whole body of delegates arranged themselves in a twofold camp with a palisading to separate Chin and her colleagues from Ch'u and hers. One of his colleagues said to Chao Wên-tzŭ "I do not like the spirit of these Ch'u fellows; it is bad. I fear there will be trouble." The premier replied "Happily we are next to the city gate. If they should attack us, we can make an easy escape inside the walls."

April 22nd was the great day of the actual signing. When the Ch'u delegates dressed themselves for the ceremony, they took care to wear their armour under their gala clothes. A refugee who had been living for some time at the court of Ch'u, and who had from time to time given excellent advice to the Ch'u officials, was horrified at this cold-blooded treachery. He expostulated most vigorously with Tzŭ-mu. "Amongst the barons, lack of trustworthiness is impossible. They are all trusting Ch'u. Even those who acknowledge your primacy will cease to do so if they realise that you are

* Used as a term of humility—meaning, as insignificant as an orphan.

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not to be trusted. I beg you to take off your armour." The reply was as brutally frank as have been the 'Hun' statements these recent years: "Between Ch'u and Chin there has been no trusting for long enough. We want what will pay. If we can get what we want, we'll do without trusting or being trusted." As soon as the mentor had gained the ear of a friend he said "Tzŭ-mu will die within three years . . . Will begets speech; speech gives birth to trust; trust establishes the will. These three fix things. Trust being ruined how can the three be attained to?" (The reader supplies either "virtues" or "years" to the laconic 'three'!)

Chao Wên-tzŭ was troubled over the armour-wearing—it might not be so easy to make for the city gate after all. He took council with his very wise friend Shu Hsiang, concerning whom there are many good tales told us by Tso. Shu Hsiang said "No harm can come to us from such a thing as this. Even a common peasant cannot get along without trusting and being trusted. The outcome is death. Nothing can be gained by lack of trust at a meeting of the barons. I have never been troubled at any notion that men can 'eat their words' and not suffer for doing so. We come together because we trust each other. One of us shows he is not fit to be trusted. Well, that hurts him; not me. If he should attack us we can fall back into the city. We shall have all the help that Sung can give us, and with that we shall be twice as strong as Ch'u. Even an attack will not turn out to our injury. But it will not come to an attack. To use such a meeting as this to attack us—that cannot turn out to our harm."

A pretty little by-play concerning Lu is here brought to our notice. The frugal marquis of Lu, knowing full well that "contributions" (in its old Plantagenet sense) requested by Chin were in proportion to the status of the contributor, bade the premier instruct his delegates to rank themselves with the two petty states of Chu and T'êng. But Ch'i claimed lordship over Chu, and Sung over T'êng; hence these two states were debarred from the privilege of signing the covenant. Lu's deputy was in a trait betwixt two: Ought he to obey his orders and so lose the dignity of signing; or ought he to sign

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and so disobey orders? He chose the latter, and all this rigmarole is told us by garrulous Tso to account for the way in which the disobedient delegate got snubbed in the particular style given him in the *Ch'un Ch'iu* in connection with the Conference.

One last hitch occurred even after the whole of the delegates were assembled and the ceremony in progress. Was the covenant to be between Chin and Ch'u, or between Ch'u and Chin? Chao Wên-tsŭ pointed out that the premier place had "always" (*sic*) belonged to Chin. Nobody had ever thought of signing a covenant before Chin. Tzŭ-mu retorts, "You've been talking ever so much about Chin and Ch'u being 'equals.' What sort of equals are we if Chin is always to sign first and Ch'u always to take the second place? Besides which, it isn't true to say that Chin has always signed first. Ch'u, as well as Chin, has been 'Lord of the Covenant'." The block seemed serious. Once more Shu Hsiang came to the help of the Chin premier. He whispered to him: "The smaller states acknowledge the primacy of Chin not because Chin is the first to wet her lips with the covenant blood, but because of her virtue. Look after the virtue of Chin and don't bother about precedence in ritual. Moreover, remember that it falls to the lot of a minor state to make the arrangements for the ritual. Let Ch'u make these ritual arrangements and so put herself in the position of a minor state." Who could resist such an appeal to have it both ways? Not the premier of Chin, who at once accorded this position of inferiority-superiority to Ch'u.

So was the covenant signed and a paper arrangement made for putting a stop to the wars of the barons.

Tso chatters on about sundry feasting in a way that can only be appreciated to the full by those who can see the point of a quotation from the Book of Odes as clearly as a good English *littérateur* can see an apposite quotation from Shakespeare. We spare our readers any attempt to reproduce the brilliant thrust and parry that went on in the after-dinner speeches of the year B.C. 456. But the closing scene of this League of Nations is too good to be left out. When all was over Pacifist Hsü went to the duke of Sung and said, "Grant

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me some towns as a reward for this 'prevention of death' that I have wrought." And the duke granted him sixty 'towns.' (We have no means of knowing how small a 'town' could be in those olden days.) Happy Hsü Hsiang calls on his friend Tzŭ-han and shows him the grant. Tzŭ-han proved himself faithful, as a friend ought to be. He hurled the following oration at his erring brother. "Chin and Ch'u have kept the small states in awe by their militarism." (I know not whether I ought to apologize to the shades of Tzŭ-han for putting into his mouth a word that I have only heard used by the other man and not by the alleged 'militarist.' The word in the original is the simple *ping* which still does duty for 'soldier.') "These men awed, there has been kindness and harmony between the highest and the lowest. By harmony and kindness, it has been possible to keep the states in peace and tranquility." (Tzŭ-han, like his successors who have gone from China to Versailles this year of grace, is not hampered by mere prosaic historical accuracy. He represents the past as it ought to have been, and indeed as it would have been if only his assumptions had been correct.) "Thus," he goes on, "the small states have served the great. Do away with awe, and pride comes in. Pride begets rebellion. Rebellion ends in destruction, and all is lost. Nature gives birth to the five elements; these the people use. You may not annul one of them. How, then, can you do without militarism." (As far as I know this passage is unique in making militarism one of the 'five elements.') "Militarism has been part of the plan of things as they have been from of old. Therewith eccentricity has been awed and virtue has been emblazoned. Sages have risen and rebels have been destroyed by militarism. Rise and fall, preservation and destruction, clearness and dimness,—all these spring from militarism. And you are trying to do away with militarism! Isn't this a case of deception? Using the highroad of deception to mislead all the barons—what crime could be greater than yours? You ought to have incurred serious punishment, and, forsooth, you claim a reward. Insatiable, insatiable to a degree!!" And the irate orator

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could control himself no longer. He seized the offensive document granting the towns and cut it in pieces.

Thereupon Hsiang Hsü declined the 'towns.' His clansfolk were angered and wished to attack Tzŭ-han. But the quondam pacifist interfered. "I was on the road to ruin. The Master preserved me. No virtue is greater than his. How is it possible that you should attack him?"

The two paragraphs that tell of the Conference in the bald manner of the Annals are separated by two references to deeds of violence. The paragraph that follows is one of those useful references to solar eclipses that enable us to keep the work in touch with western chronology. The next begins a new year with a reference to the mildness of the winter,—'There was no ice.' And then immediately we recommence the stories of civil strife that continue to the end of the work as they had entered it at the beginning. The days that followed those of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* are known as those of the "Fighting States," though how such a title can distinguish them from the days of the Annals no one has ever been able to say.

There are a few references to the Peace Conference in later paragraphs of Tso's—but the first League of Nations was a much greater failure than the last attempt a century ago. The Big Four never meant business in the first; their successors of last century seriously meant to do *all* the business. Were either spirit prevailing to-day, the new effort would prove as abortive as its predecessors. The very fact that 2,500 years ago men wanted a League and used good arguments for it and bad ones against it, tells in favour of success now more than the fact that they were swayed by the bad arguments and merely gave a lip homage to the good ones can tell against it. Vienna did not "repeat" Sung; neither will Versailles "repeat" either.

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STUDIES IN CHINESE PSYCHOLOGY

BY

HERBERT CHATLEY, D.SC. (LOND.)

IV. THE FAMILY SOUL

ON various occasions the present writer has called attention to the idea that the Chinese practice and belief on the subject of heredity and ancestor worship can be expressed in terms of a continuous "family soul." *

The great Sung scholar Chu Hsi says "My life is that of my ancestors," and, speaking of a modern Shantung man who seemed to confuse his ancestors with himself, Mr. R. F. Johnston says "Looking upon his family, dead and alive, as one and indivisible, he could not see any practical difficulty between the statement that certain funeral rites had been carried out by himself and the statement that they had been carried out by a direct ancestor" (*Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 139-140).

* "Whatever dogmas may have been discovered by Chinese or foreign scholars in the classics, or whatever may be dogmatically lacking to support such an idea, it is perfectly clear that the Chinese behave and have behaved for millenia as if the soul of each clan were a continuous organism having an annual pulse, incarnate in the living descendants, transfusible into the women brought into the clan by marriage and into the children co-opted by adoption, immanent in all that lives associated with the family, and present at the tombs, the ancestral temple and the family altar." *Magical Practice in China*, Journal, N. China Branch R.A.S., vol. xlviii, 1917.

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This hypothesis reconciles various outstanding features of Chinese belief, *e.g.*:—

(1) The extreme reverence for ancestors, particularly those of the direct line.

(2) The community of worship in the ancestral temple.

(3) The desire for numerous descendants to carry on the ancestral worship.

(4) The alleged effect of auspicious "Feng-shui" upon the deceased ancestors, and the use of the "Breath of Heaven" by the ancestors for the benefit of the living descendants and their livestock.

(5) The assumption by unimportant members of a family of spiritual efficacy after death.

(6) The canonization or ennoblement of deceased ancestors.

(7) The annual ceremonies of worship at the grave, temple and family altar, which nourish and revive the influences of the dead.

(8) The restriction of worship to the descendants of the worshipped.

It is however but fair to say that Dr. Wu Ting fang, in a letter to the writer, says:—

"You propose to affirm that the soul of a family in China "constitutes one organism and that the psychic energy of the "family soul expresses itself through the living members of the "family, those actually deceased manifesting in so far as the "living members keep in rapport with them by the ceremonies "of filial piety. There is no doubt that there is psychic "influence in the family, but the way you put it is somewhat "novel to me, and I am not at present, without investigation "and deep thinking, able to affirm or deny your theory."

In submitting such an hypothesis one is of course at once brought to a fundamental distinction between oriental and occidental methods of thinking.. The occident demands formulae which will systematize beliefs and provide a maximum of what is the sole criterion of truth, consistency, whereas the orient is generally satisfied with a vague congeries of ideas which is not necessarily capable of being brought to a sharp focus. Nevertheless the writer cannot but feel that Chinese

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beliefs and religious practice certainly do amount to a consideration of the family rather than the individual *sub specie aeternitatis*.

In this connection it is interesting to compare the most modern religious development which runs along somewhat similar lines, viz., Mormonism. In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, under this heading, there is the following description of Mormon doctrine:—

"The Mormons no longer claim to be a Christain sect, "any more than do the Mohammedans. A system of "polytheism has been grafted on the original creed, according "to which there are grades among the gods, the pláce of "Supreme Ruler of all being taken by the primeval Adam of "Genesis, who is the deity highest in spiritual rank, while "Christ, Mohammed, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young also "partake of divinity. The business of these deities is the "propagation of souls to bodies begotten on earth, and "the sexual relation permeates every portion of the creed as "thoroughly as it did that of ancient India or Egypt. The "saints on leaving this world are deified, and their glory is "in proportion to the number of their wives and children, "hence, the necessity and justification of polygamy, and the "practice of having many wives sealed to one saint."

There are some traces of similar ideas in ancient Jewish belief. Grant Allen, Simpson and Frazer have written very convincingly as to the probability of Yahweh being a remote ancestor of the Israelites, and there are repeated references to a relation between His worship and the possession of numerous offspring. In the commandments, a quasi-ancestral responsibility is suggested when it is said that the sins of the father will be visited unto the third and fourth generation while mercy will be shown unto thousands (*i.e.*, of generations) of them that love Yahweh and keep His commandments. The promise to the "seed of Abraham" can bear a similar interpretation without violence to the text.

When we turn to modern investigations it is found that these ideas have a certain amount of support from actual facts. Biologists now hold that the progressive evolution of a race or species is chiefly due to the variations of the

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individuals from the parent stock and not, as the Darwinians hold, from inheritance of peculiarities acquired during the life of the individual from his environment, so that evolution is fundamentally germinal and not due as it were to mere mechanical action of the conditions.*

Furthermore it is found that each individual is, apart from his individual variations from type, a complete synthesis of his ancestry, and in the realm of mind there is considerable reason to suppose this is also true there. We are solidary with our ancestors and through them with all humanity, but in a degree decreasing with remoteness of blood, and if the family soul be conceived to be, as it were, the foundation and subliminal of the individual soul, it is a real fact which cannot be neglected.

Is it then suggested that ancestral worship and "Feng-shui" are of real value? The answer to this question is not simple. In the first place, it must be admitted that the worship of ancestors has developed in China beyond any degree which can be useful. Secondly, it can be asserted without grave error, that there are many features in this worship which are merely conventional survivals and have no real value *except in so far as they conserve the social structure.* Lastly, and on the other hand, the writer holds that these practices, if they are combined with a living belief in physical and psychical heredity may perhaps be usefully employed in controlling the family soul which is certainly incarnate in the individuals.

* It should perhaps be mentioned that some hold that these germinal variations are themselves "mechanical," but the evidence is as yet quite insufficient to support the hypothesis.

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A STUDY IN EARLY CHINESE RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

Section III

THREE rites have been left to a separate section, because of the uncertainty whether they belong to Nature Worship or Ancestral. In the first month of his reign Shun, besides a *wang*, offered a *lei* 類 to Shang-ti, a *yin* 禋 to the six *tsung* 宗, and extended his worship to the "host of spirits," *shên* 神. These have now to be considered.

The word *yin* is used in the Odes adjectivally, meaning 'pure' of sacrifices in Nature worship.* Dr. Legge, with most Chinese critics, takes it in this sense in the passage before us, and translates, "sacrificed purely to the six Honoured Ones," that is, to some of the aspects of Nature; but who or what the six Honoured Ones were is much disputed. On the other hand, *yin* is used verbally of a sacrifice to ancestors,† making a more exact parallel to its use here, where, like *lei* and *wang*, it seems to be the name of a specific sacrifice; and *tsung* is found most frequently in connection with the Ancestral temple; so Dr. Ross has good textual grounds for thinking that the *yin* was

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* O—II, vi. 8, 4; III, ii. 1, 2; iii, 4, 2.

† H—V, xiii. 26, 29; cf. O—III, ii. 1, 1.

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to Ancestors. He further points out that otherwise the list of Shun's sacrifices does not include any of the ancestral worship unless it be in the somewhat offhand expression "host of spirits," which he rightly thinks to be unlikely.* The only difficulty of this interpretation is again with the numeral six. The question of the *yin* might be of considerable importance to our present studies if these six could be determined; but whether ancestral or non-ancestral the records throw no light upon them, and the mere name of the rite does not tell us much.

We will now take the last clause, "he extended his worship to the host of spirits, *shên*." In the other clauses *lei*, *wang* and *yin* are all verbs used of special sacrifices, and the compiler may have found them in the memoranda from which he wrote his history of Shun; but in this last clause the verb cannot be taked in a technical sense of a particular sacrifice: it is quite indefinite, and reads less like the expression of a contemporary record than the literary emendation of a writer finishing his sentence. Still he probably had some other rites in mind. It was suggested in our last section that *shên* originally meant the spirits of the dead, but it is difficult to believe that the compiler would give ancestral rites the last place in his list, and describe them in this vague phrase, especially if, as is quite possible, they had been mentioned in the *yin*.

Shên, then, will comprehend natural objects of worship. The reader will remember that the *shê* goes back at least to the Hsia dynasty immediately following Shun, and that it included several objects of nature connected with the land, which may all be combined in the expression "host of spirits." Or again, there is another term found in the records to which we have not yet alluded; it is the *shên-ch'i*, 神祇, often found

* Ross, *The Original Religion of China*. In discussing the *Wang*, attention was drawn to the uncertain origin of this passage: to the present writer it seems to be, as Dr. Ross' argument requires it to be, the compiler's own summary of what he took to be Shun's regular sacrifices throughout his reign. Should it be taken as an historical record of what was actually done in the first month, the argument from the omission of ancestral worship may not hold good.

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in the phrase "upper and lower *shên-ch'i.*" It was in use at least in the Shang dynasty, when the viscount of Wei complained that "the people of Yin will even steal the pure and perfect victims devoted to the *shên-ch'i*;"* the use of animals suggests that the sacrifice was to some natural object. The only other passage in the pre-Chou records which seems to give any intimation of the meaning of *shên ch'i* is in the doubtful *T'ai Chia*, which says, "he served the *shên ch'hi*, the *shê* and *chi* and the Ancestral temple"; † here it is distinguished from both ancestral worship and the nature-worship of land and grain, so that, unless it be a third category of sacrifices, in which case it is inexplicable, it almost must be taken comprehensively to include the worship of all spirits, human and non-human. In the Analects Tzŭ-lu justifies his proposal to pray for the sick Master by quoting the Eulogies, "Prayer has been made to the *shên ch'i* above and below." The Eulogies was a collection of orations made in praise of the dead when the posthumous title was bestowed in the Ancestral temple, and the object of the prayer would naturally be the ancestral manes.

These uncertain indications of the meaning of the phrase tend however to show that the *shên ch'i* were all spiritual beings, but sometimes more especially those of nature and sometimes those of ancestors; the almost universal interpretation of the full phrase "the *shên ch'i* above and below" is, the spirits of heaven and the spirits of earth, and in this sense Dr. Legge consistently translates it.

To return to Shun's "host of spirits": it seems probable, in view of what has been said, that the phrase means simply 'spiritual beings,' but especially those of nature, if indeed it is meant to include ancestors at all. The passage is the only one in the authentic books before the Chou dynasty, in which *shên* by itself has this meaning; it is the compiler's own expression, and he wrote probably not long before the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period, when *shên* was already applied to the spirits of natural objects.

* H—IV, xi. 6; see the more doubtful 'Announcement of T'ang,' H—IV, iii. 4.

† H—IV, v. (i), 2.

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The third recipient of worship to be considered in this section is Shang-ti. Its high importance demands precise knowledge of what the records actually say. Shun's is the only *lei* sacrifice mentioned in the better authenticated books of the *Shu-ching*, and there in a book which is purely historical and written late. The more doubtful Great Declaration says that king Wu "offered a *lei* to Shang-ti and performed due service to great earth."* The only other reference to this sacrifice is in the Odes, which say that king Wên, before his attack upon Ts'ung, "offered a *lei* and a *ma* 𩣑."† Of the three passages this last alone can be regarded with certainty as an original document, and it does not say to whom the sacrifice was offered. Whilst thinking it worth while to point out this fact, it is not meant to deny that the *lei* was offered to Shang-ti. In the few other places in the *Shu-ching* where the word is found it has the idea of a class, or to discriminate,‡ and most Chinese critics explain it, when used of the sacrifice, as meaning 'special'; but in the Odes it is also used for a blessing or good.§ If the usual interpretation be taken and the *lei* was a special sacrifice to Shang-ti it might be inferred that there was also a regular sacrifice.‖ T'ang the Successful is made to say in the Announcement of T'ang, "Great Shang-ti has conferred a moral sense upon the people"; and then he goes on, "I presumed to use a dark-coloured victim, and making clear announcement to the Spiritual Sovereign in High Heaven, requested permission to deal with Hsia as with a criminal."¶ The change from

* H—V, i. (i), 10.

† O—III, i. 7, 8.

‡ H—IV, v. (ii), 3; viii. (i) 2; V, i. (iii) 2.

§ O—III, i. 3, 5, 6; iii. 10, 5.

‖ Dr. Legge, indulging a too frequent habit of paraphrasing according to the commentators, translates, "he sacrificed specially but with ordinary forms." Dr. Edkins (*China's Place in Philology*, p. 27, note) connects the old sound of the word, *lut*, with the lut of round, and suggests that it refers to the round altar used later in the sacrifice to Heaven. This would seem to imply that knowledge of the *lei* was only by oral tradition: the written character has no idea of roundness.

¶ H—IV, iii. 2-4.

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Shang-ti to Spiritual Sovereign suggests that his sacrifice was to a deceased king or emperor. Ssŭ-ma's theory of the five *ti* before Yao indeed supplies T'ang with an imperial ancestor, but it cannot be allowed that T'ang himself knew anything of him. The colour of his victim was that of the Hsia dynasty, as though he sacrificed to Hsia's own ancestry for permission to punish him; this would be sufficiently startling; the book however is on the doubtful list and the Analects, quoting this passage as it presumably existed at that time, instead of 'Spiritual Sovereign in High Heaven' reads 'Great Sovereign Ti:'* it is the expression for Shang-ti which we have met with in the Lu odes, and the probability is that T'ang's sacrifice was to Shang-ti. Is so, the occasion was still very special, and the fact remains that the pre-Chou documents do not mention any regular worship of Shang-ti. Under the mid-Chou dynasty there undoubtedly were more regular sacrifices: a royal ode, probably used at the *chiao*, says, "As the fragrance ascends, Shang-ti, well-pleased, smells the sweet savour;" † and another, written for king Hsüan in time of drought, implies sacrifices to him but does not say where they were offered.

The books of the Hsia are few; but it may be worth while in this study to notice that, outside of those written by the compiler, they contain no reference to Shang-ti. At the close of the dynasty, however, T'ang the Successful declared that obedience to Shang-ti compelled him to punish Hsia, ‡ and the Odes attribute the foundation of his dynasty to Shang-ti. ‖

In the Chou books he is more frequently brought before our attention, though not as often as Heaven; those books which speak of him speak also of Heaven, whilst many which

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* A—XX, i, 3. It is to be admitted that quotations in any of the Four books do not inspire confidence in their verbal accuracy; and the reading in this case from the Analects is not supported by Mo-tzŭ 墨子 who also refers to the passage. (See L—vol. III, p. 187; vol II, proleg. pp. 116-7.)

† O—III, ii, 1; cf. IV, i (ii), 1; also probably for the *chiao*: see preceding section on the *chiao*.

‡ H—IV, i, 2: cf. vii (iii) 4.

‖ O—IV, iii, 3, 1; 4, 1-3.

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teach the moral government of Heaven do not mention Shang-ti. In the Odes also, Heaven is the more prominent. The moral rule of the two powers is one and the same, and many passages use first the one term, then the other, apparently with indifference.

In no sense is Shang-ti a dynastic deity; he surveys the whole empire—"all under Heaven,"—and impartially chooses the best on earth for the highest seat. That characteristic of Heaven which warns kings and dynasties against presuming upon its favour attaches no less to Shang-ti. His prominent attribute is Justice unrelieved by Mercy. The 'Numerous Regions' says that the king of Yin might have received warning from the events which preced his final doom,* but Shang-ti is no god to plead with evil-doers; his judgements come suddenly and overwhelmingly, like a catastrophe in Nature. There is a certain hardness in the conception of Shang-ti's moral government, which dwells little upon pity and much upon majesty clothed with terrors. Though, along with Heaven, he is responsible for man's moral nature, unlike Heaven, the more tender term "parent of the people" is not applied to him.

We have already brought before the reader what little is said about the beginning of things; the formation of natural objects, the birth of man with the gift of his moral nature, are more generally referred to Heaven. So also is the control of the physical forces; drought and famine, flood, the storm and the fruitful year, are from Heaven;† once however, the Odes say that Shang-ti 'appointed' wheat and barley for the use of man, and again that he gives a fruitful year;‡ this is the blessing sought for and promised in the Ancestral temple. The control over nature, limited to blessing man's toil, which is allowed to Shang-ti and ancestors, is the result of their particular function of caring for the people, whilst Heaven's wider control over all the physical elements is

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* H—V, xiv, 5; cf. xviii, 14.

† H—IV, vii (ii) 3, flood; V, vi, 16, 19; O—II, iv, 10: III, iii, 4: IV, iii, 2.

‡ O—IV, i. (i), 10; (ii), 1.

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innate, for Heaven is Nature. Thus there may be more consistency in thought than might have been expected.

The outstanding difference is that while both have a 'mind' and a 'will,' Heaven, according to the view maintained in these papers, though living and spiritual in a naturalistic sense, is still impersonal; whereas Shang-ti is clearly conceived of as a personality. At least one mark of personality is denied to the one and asserted of the other: the Odes declare that Heaven utters no sound;* when a command is given in words it is by Shang-ti:† he is the mouthpiece of Heaven. As a person he is localized; the virtuous kings are in Heaven, but ascend and descend on the right and left of *Ti*; he, with them, is the guest of Heaven, sitting in the chief seat. We use the similes 'mouthpiece' and 'guest,' instead of what many would prefer, 'mind' and 'lord,' because they follow from the fuller powers which are attributed to Heaven. The records do not say, indeed, that Heaven is superior to Shang-ti, but only describe its powers as being greater. Nor need we we wonder at the apparent absurdity which makes the impersonal of two Powers greater than the personal one. An early naturalistic philosophy would have no clear conception of personality; man was but an augmented manifestation of impersonal Nature, and being only a part, was necessarily inferior to the whole; so also with the deceased kings, the best of the human race, who made the Court of Shang-ti; Shang-ti himself was still higher yet came short of the more comprehensive Heaven or Nature. As in the *Tso-chuan* the Directors of the elements, rivers, and individual states, exercised their power under Heaven, and were deified by being translated to certain stars of the heavens: so Shang-ti, ruler of the entire empire, abides in Heaven itself. It is he who derives glory from his uncreated abode, and not the heavens which declare the glory of the Chinese Elohim.

With regard to Shang-ti's relation to ancestors, we have seen that, like them he has the guidance of individuals and families, but unlike them he is the agent which overthrows

* O—III, i. i 7; cf. M—V, a. v. 4.
† O—III, i. 7.

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and sets up dynasties. As immediate ancestors have large powers over the families and the Remote Ancestor over particular dynasties, so Shang-ti has over the whole nation, irrespective of dynasties. The virtuous kings of both Shang and Chou and the founders of feudal states attend upon him in Heaven,* which is the "hall of Ti,"† and the dead make their petitions to him.‡ Thus he is supreme over all ancestors, and Tso-shih makes Mêng Wu-tzŭ 孟武子 of Lu say, "Though Hou Chi is nearer in relationship, Ti takes the precedence."§

We come now to Shang-ti's relation towards non-ancestral spirits. Neither in the *Shu-ching* nor in the Odes is any other raised to the same intimacy with Heaven as he: but what personal spirit except Hou Chi is found in these books? Dr. Ross appeals to the drought ode of king Hsüan‖ in support of his thesis that Shang-ti is "supreme" over all spirits.¶ As he does not refer to any particular expression, we will quote all that the ode says bearing upon spiritual beings. "What crime is chargeable to us that Heaven should send death and disorder? . . . from the *chiao* to the Ancestral temple I have presented and burned my offerings to those above and below. There is no spirit, *shên*, which I have not honoured, and yet Hou Chi cannot be moved and Shang-ti does not come to me . . . Not half a man will be left, nor will Shang-ti from the great heavens spare even me . . . The many dukes and their ministers of the past give me no help. O ye parents and ancestors, how can ye bear to see me thus? . . . The many dukes and their ministers of the past do not hear me. O Shang-ti from the great heavens grant me liberty to retire. . . . In praying for a good year I was abundantly early, nor was I slow in sacrificing to the four quarters or to the land;

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* O—III, i. 1, 16: H—IV, v. (iii) 3: T—618b: cf. H—IV, viii (iii) 10 V, xvi. 8. In H the Shang kings are only said to be in Heaven (H—V xii, 10).

† H—V, vi. 7; cf. xii, 9.

‡ T—157, 374a.

§ T—234a.

‖ O—III, iii, 4.

¶ Ross; *The Original Religion of China*.

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yet Shang-ti in the great heavens does not regard me, Reverent to the intelligent spirits, I ought not thus to endure their fierce anger. . . "

The hiatuses are all descriptive of the drought. The king, indeed, while sacrificing at many altars, prays only to Shang-ti for permission to retire, but the throne was his peculiar care. The complaint that though he had sacrificed at the *chiao* and to the land and the four quarters it is ancestors, Hou Chi and Shang-ti, who do not hear, does not make Shang-ti the controller of these objects of Nature worship any more than the other two. The sentence "There is no spirit which I have not honoured, yet Hou Chi cannot be moved and Shang-ti does not come to me," includes Shang-ti amongst the *shên* as clearly as it includes Hou Chi, to whom, if to either, precedence is given. We do not find then that the ode makes Shang-ti supreme over all spirits. Nor is he elsewhere said to to have authority over them: their court is in the stars, and only ancestors are found in the Hall of Ti.

In later times the worship of Shang-ti became an imperial prerogative, but there are signs that it was not always so. The *Shu-ching* teaches that the people as well as kings owe him service and are expected to follow his ways. * The mother of Hou Chi offered him a sacrifice which he accepted, † and king Wên offered his *lei* whilst still a subject. When the viscount of Wei 微 was inducted to his fief, the king assured him that Shang-ti would enjoy his offerings. ‡ An earl of Ch'in sacrificed to Shang-ti in 771 B.C; § in this year Ch'in was received for the first time into the comity of states and would hardly begin its intercourse with them by usurping a privilege which they did not claim. A murdered prince of Chin appeared in ghostly form to an old friend and told him that he had prayed to Ti and obtained his request. ‖

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* H—V iv 3; vii, 13; xix 12; cf. O—II iv. 8, 4; III ii 10.

† O—III ii 1.

‡ H—V, viii, 3; a doubtful book.

§ SM - vol. ii, p. 15; cf. T—383a.

‖ T—157.

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When the murderers of marquis Chuang of Ch'i imposed a covenant on the people in the middle of sixth century B.C., the philosopher Yen Tzŭ 晏子, looking up to heaven appealed to Shang-ti, smeared his mouth with the blood of the victim and took the oath. *

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, these instances may be thought sufficient to show that Shang-ti was not entirely removed from the lives and thoughts of the people in these times. Dr. Legge maintained, as a part of his theory that the original religion of the Chinese was monotheistic, that all their rites were designed in the service of Shang-ti † and the Doctrine of the Mean says that whilst in the worship of the temple the ancient kings "sacrificed to" their ancestors, they "served" Shang-ti in the *chiao* and *shê*; ‡ it was mediately and not directly; primarily the nature rites were to earth, or, if the *chiao* early became associated with Heaven and so in the Chou dynasty with Shang-ti, the *shê* was to the Father of Husbandry. The conception was the philosopher's search for unity, but in his time it was very faint in the minds of the people, filled as they were with more closely realized spiritual beings. Then, the worship of Shang-ti was a dying cult, and gave the kings an opportunity to arrogate to themselves what had been a national custom. The nobles encroached upon the prerogatives of the kings, and they on the rights of the people.

It remains now to enquire into the origin of the Shang-ti cult. It is impossible to deny absolutely that it is the remnant of a still older belief in some supreme god, Creator and Ruler of the universe, but evidence for that must be sought for outside of these records: they know of no Creation, and the only other spiritual beings of which they teach belong either to Nature worship or to Ancestral worship. As long then as we confine our enquiries to the Chinese records the origin of the cult must be sought for in one of these two systems. The question has been so long and so hotly debated that we shall only summarize the arguments which seem to carry weight, and then give our own conclusion.

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* T—514b. † L—I p. 268. ‡ D—xix. 6.

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The principal facts which seem to point to his being the personified spirit of Heaven are that in the ordering of the dynasties the name, or rather title, is used in the *Shu-ching* and in the Odes almost as a synonym with Heaven, and when the Heavenly Decree is given in words it is Shang-ti who pronounces it. Also, though the odes of the Ancestral temple speak of him, with Heaven, as the source of the family prosperity, they do not say that he partook in the sacrifices, but only in that of the *chiao* which was offered to Heaven.

On the other hand, this ode is of unknown date, and we have seen that in mid-Chou times there was a tendency to connect all sacrifices, but especially the *chiao*, with Shang-ti, whilst the odes of the royal temple were probably written early in the dynasty, when the rites were still limited to the Remote Ancestor. Shang-ti's authority over men was shared with ancestors, only his was greater than theirs is not being confined to a dynasty. Nor is his authority over the forces of nature, limited as it was to the bestowal of the people's sustenance, different in kind from that of ancestors. Also, ancestors alone form his court in heaven. His authority and court, then, connect him with ancestors, and his title Ti is that of the early emperors. Again, as far as the early records show, Shang-ti, along with ancestors, was worshipped when as yet there was no regular worship of Heaven. Further, when the other personified spirits were introduced they were deified men, and none were of super-human origin. To us, the weight of evidence is heavily in favour of the ancestral origin of the Shang-ti cult.

Who, then, was this deified man? In the *Shu-ching* only Yao and Shun, not Yü, are called Ti; but whilst the last is frequently mentioned again in the authentic books after his time,* Yao is not, and Shun is alluded to only once, being called the Great Ti 皇帝, in 'Prince Lü on Punishments.'† It has therefore been suggested that that the

* H—III, i.1 ; V, iv, 3 ; xix, 22 ; xiii, 8.

† H—V, xxvii, 5. Some take him to be Yao, others, followed by Legge, take him for Shun. The context says that "he cut off the Miao"; the compiler of the classic has it that they were banished by Shun under Yao (H—II, i. 12, *cf* 21).

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Shang-ti of the *Shu ching* is Yao. If this be accepted it must be supposed that by the time of the compiler the identification had already been forgotten, and that when he wrote "Shun offered a *lei* to Shang-ti," Yao being still alive, the last two words are his own gloss, and that his records, like the passage in the Odes, used *lei* as a neuter verb. From what we have already said about the passage this may be allowed; but then the *lei*, if not to Shang-ti, becomes a greater enigma. The theory also will not account for Shun being so seldom mentioned unless it be modified, taking Shang-ti in the plural, as some do take it, and including Shun with Yao. This would be preferable; Ti used alone is then without ambiguity, and it will be immaterial or perhaps better should the "Great Ti" be referred to Yao. Even then the Shang-ti also spoken of in the 'Prince Lü on Punishments' will be awkward of interpretation, nor will the silence of the Odes about Yao and Shun be fully explained, for most of them were written after the compilation of the *Shu-ching* when, as we have seen, the origin of Shang-ti was forgotten.* Both forms of the theory will be almost impossible to those who hold the authenticity of all the books of the present *Shu-ching*, because in the "Song of the Five Sons" Yao is called merely "the Prince of T'ao 陶 and T'ang 唐," † and in the Charge to Yüeh and the Officers of Chou both he and Shun are spoken of: in the one by name, in the other by their dynastic name. ‡ The theory then, though attractive, is difficult of maintenance, and we should look still further back for the antetype of Shang-ti. It is perhaps here that we may catch an echo of some monotheistic belief. If not, it becomes almost necessary to postulate rulers before Yao and Shun, and so far the later legend of the Five Ti has a basis in reason; still they are entirely legendary, and cannot be traced beyond the time of Tso-shih, nor, as they stand, do they account for the Shang-ti cult except by making those

* The later odes of the feudal states are more popular in character, and deal but little with the past history; if Yao and Shun are not mentioned at all, Shang-ti is mentioned very seldom.

† H—III, iii. 7.

‡ H—IV, viii. (iii.), 10; V, xx. 3.

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rulers to be ancestors of all the dynasties and feudal chiefs; but this again is strong evidence of their fabulous nature, framed to support the theory of the homogeneity of the ruling families.

As we cannot say with Dr. Legge that the cult of Shang-ti was the original religion of the Chinese; so we must further admit that it was probably only a phase, culminating in the early Chou dynasty. It had already begun to decay in the time of king Mu, and when the compiler of the *Shu-ching* did his work he mentions Shang-ti only in connection with the rites, but makes no moral appeal to him; these appeals are all in the documents and odes. In the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period the cult as a power amongst the people was already dead, surviving as a relic in the later imperial worship.

To whatever origin the Shang-ti cult be eventually assigned, it has long been lost to the Chinese, and for three thousand years he has been to them just the spiritual Ruler of the nation, whose personality, preserved in the ancient books, their philosophers have been unable to explain away. It has been a great gain to find in their classics the idea of a being fitted to wield the powers of their moral Heaven, not degraded to the likeness of a man or entangled in the passions and loves of a *Zeus*. In it the Christian convert has little to unlearn, though he will have much to add before obtaining an adequate conception of the Creator of the Universe, the Father of Lights.

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THE NINGPO FISHERIES

BY

C. A. S. WILLIAMS

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NINGPO is the greatest market in China for fish of every kind, which is exported to nearly all native ports, and even to foreign countries.

The number of craft fitted out for the sea fisheries is over 10,000 in the Chusan archipelago. A license must be procured for each boat from the civil authority. For fishing on the shores of the islands, application for space must be made to the officials, as the ground belongs to the government. There are also special regulations for fishing in the lakes, rivers and canals. On payment of a small sum, a certain amount of space is granted by the officials, and a license issued, but the holder is thenceforward held responsible for the preservation of the fish in his allotment. In order to keep the stock in good condition, a proportionate quantity of young fry must yearly be placed in the water, and no fishing is allowed during the spawning season.

Nets are manufactured at Taichow (台州), 140 miles south of Ningpo, also at Chinhai (鎮海), and in some of the small villages in the neighbourhood. Most of the nets are

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made of hemp twine obtained from China grass—*Urtica nivea* —tanned in a solution of mangrove bark and dipped in pigs' blood. Silk nets are made at Shaohsing (紹興). Fishing lines are made of jute, hemp, coir and silk; coarse ropes of twisted bamboo, straw, and reeds. Many kinds of fish traps are made of plaited bamboo.

As the chief fishing grounds are at some distance from Ningpo, special ice-boats follow the fishing-junks to buy the catch and bring it back to Ningpo between layers of ice. Among the first objects which strike the eye on the approach to Ningpo from seaward, are the thatched, tent-like constructions in which ice is preserved during the summer. The bottom of these ice-houses is nearly on a level with the surrounding fields, and is generally about twenty yards long by fourteen broad. The walls, which are built of mud and stone, are very thick, twelve feet in height, and are in fact a kind of embankment rather than walls, having a door on a side level with the floor for the removal of the ice, and a sloping terrace on the other side, from which the ice can be thrown into the house. On the top of the walls or embankment a tall span roof is raised, constructed of bamboo, thickly thatched with straw, and in appearance exactly like a haystack. The Chinese, with characteristic ingenuity, manages to fill his ice-houses in a most simple way, and at a very trifling expense. Around the house he has a small level field connected with the river, from which he takes care to flood it before the approach of winter. The water thus freezes and furnishes the necessary supply of ice at the very door. Again in spring these same fields are ploughed up and planted with rice. The ice thus stored is used for preserving the fish caught in vast quantities off the mouth of the river and in the Chusan archipelago.

Soon after the middle of March the fleets set sail for the first season of fishing, the captains having selected by the almanack an auspicious day for so important a move, and paid due heed to their traditional maxims for prognosticating fine weather. This first fishing season lasts about three months; the second, or winter season is shorter.

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Four kinds of craft are employed for the sea fisheries, viz:—

(1) The *Pu ch'uan* (捕船), or "catching ships," which take all sorts of fish with nets and lines;

(2) The *Ta-tui ch'uan* (大對船), or "great pair boats," so named because they always go in pairs dragging a large net between them;

(3) The *Hsiao-tui ch'uan* (小對船), or "small pair boats," a smaller kind of *ta-tui*;

(4) The *Wu-tsei ch'uan* (烏賊船), or "black robber (cuttle-fish) boat," which are of small tonnage, and take cuttle-fish with nets.

Many varieties of fish are caught at sea—sharks, mackerel, pomfret, rock cod, mullet, bream, conger, *huang yü* (黃魚) or "yellow fish," *tai yü* (帶魚) "or scabbard fish," *lo yü* (勒魚) or shad, etc., but of all kinds the most important by far is the cuttle-fish, of which Ningpo alone receives from 40,000 to 120,000 *piculs* in good years, and the market price is increasing yearly, showing that the supply is not enough for the demand. Jelly fish are caught with hand nets, and, nearer the shores, long conical nets, so disposed that they always present their aperture to the tide, are used for catching shrimps. Shrimps and crabs abound in the sea, lakes, rivers, and canals, and oysters are cultivated principally at the head of Nimrod Sound. Cockles and mussels are also gathered on the rocky islets outside the Chusan group. A kind of solenoid shell, called by the Ningpoese *Ch'ing tzŭ* ([illegible]子)—Mandarin pronunciation *Ch'êng tzŭ*—and another mollusc known as *Ni lo* (泥螺), or "mud screw," are gathered at low water, and held in high esteem by Chinese *gourmets*. On the mud flats, left along the coast by the receding tides, long nets are fixed vertically on bamboos, in the shape of a half circle or of a labyrinth. Fish are left prisoners in these enclosures at low tide. A special kind of mud sledge is used by the natives to visit these weirs. These sledges, called *Ni ma* (泥馬), q.d. "mud horses," are made of three small boards, and look like a long slipper or snow shoe; they are five or six feet long and one foot broad. The structure is made solid by three cross-bars. In the

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middle two uprights, 18 inches high, support a transverse bar. The fisherman, placing one knee in the middle of the sledge, and supporting himself by both hands on the bar, propels himself rapidly along over the mud by pushing with the other leg. Upon the sledge he carries a basket or two to hold his fish.

Many are the ways used in the Ningpo district for catching fish in the rivers, lakes and canals, but none of them are more curious than the fishing with trained cormorants. The best cormorants come from Fênghua (奉化), Shaohsing (紹興), and T'anghsichên (塘西鎮). The birds sit along a rail in a small boat, and are urged into the water with a pole. Each cormorant has a ring or cord round its neck to prevent its swallowing the fish it catches, and its legs are connected by a short piece of string forming a loop by which refractory birds may at any moment be brought on board *nolens volens* with a long bamboo hook.

Another remarkable method of fishing is to be seen on the Ningpo river. It is the catching of fish by moonlight, with a long, narrow, flat boat, provided on one side with a board sloping down into the water and painted a bright white. On the other side of this craft is a net stretched vertically on stanchions. The fish, attracted by the white board, jump upon it, and thence into the boat—the net preventing them from falling into the water on the other side.

The natives also fish with the ***Kan tsêng*** (捍罾), or net and clapper. The net is spread on a light bamboo frame in the shape of a truncated pyramid. The fisherman either sits in a boat or wades in the shallows, striking the water with a wooden clapper which frightens the fish into the net.

The fish called *Lien yü* (鰱魚), a species of tench used as an offering to the gods by persons desiring the happiness of having children, is reared in reservoirs, while the *Li yü* (鯉魚), or carp, is to be found in ornamental fish-ponds in the temple grounds, etc., together with numerous beautiful varieties of goldfish.

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SOME INCIDENTS IN CONFUCIUS' DAYS

BY

PROF. E. H. PARKER

IN B.C. 511 the Ruler of Lu (Confucius' state in Shantung) was still in exile at a spot in Tsin territory corresponding to part of modern Chih Li where the Yellow River then joined the River Chang, just west of his own dominions, whence he had had to fly several years earlier from a revolution in his own country.

The Ruler of Tsin, in his capacity of Tyrant of China, was on the point of reinstating the exiled duke with an armed force, but one of his ministers said: Would it not be well first to summon the head of the revolutionary party hither, and attack the malcontents only after he has proved that he is really disloyal to his prince? The consequence of this suggestion was that the Tsin government, assuring him of the safety of his person, summoned the revolutionary local "Protector," and sent a messenger to further reassure him privately. The "Protector" came and the interview took place at a convenient spot in Tsin territory; the Tsin minister thus began; "My august master has sent me to ask why, Sir, "you have driven out your prince. When any one fails in "duty to his ruling prince, the imperial house [to which both "Tsin and Lu were of course still nominally subject] has

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"definite punishments to meet each case and you ought to "think well on this." The offender, who wore a penitential hat and clothes, and walked with bare feet, threw himself at his interlocutor's feet and said, "I am not in a position to "serve my prince, as he is away; but I am here to accept the "decree of the law. If my prince holds that I am guilty, I "beg you to hold me prisoner in a certain Lu town [the "private seat of the revolutionary Ki family] until my prince "have time to make enquiry into the matter, and then let his "highness decide. Should he see fit, in consideration of the "past services of my family, to visit me alone with death, and "not to extinguish the whole of my kin, or should he spare "my life, and not even banish me, this will be his highness' "grace, and I shall never forget it, even in death; but if I am "enabled to accompany my prince back to his throne, I "should be only too pleased, and of course I harbour no "possible disloyal feeling."*

Accordingly the two repaired together to the frontier town where the fugitive prince was staying. His own minister in attendance said, "Your highness had better go back with him; "is it not better to bear with this single short humiliation, "rather than undergo a whole life's humiliation in exile?" The prince said, "Yes." But his suite of attendants said, "You have only to say the word, and Tsin will turn him out "for you."

The Tsin minister meanwhile tried his suasive influence on the timid prince of Lu, offering the condolences of his own august master, "who has instructed me to chastise the "revolutionary for you, nor has the said revolutionary any "intention of evading punishment: I think therefore your "highness should go back." The prince replied, "His grace "your master, in view of his and my ancestors' long friendship, "has been so good as to interest himself in poor me, and "desires me to return and cleanse my patrimony of pollutions, "so as to be able to serve him as usual; but I cannot bear to "look on that revolutionary man again, and may I perish if I "ever bring myself to do it."

* This was feeling how the land lay.

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On hearing this the Tsin minister stopped his ears and hastened away, saying, "My august master feared he might "be blamed [by the Emperor and other princes] for not "restoring this prince; but, as things now stand, it is "impossible to foretell the disasters in store for Lu. All I "can do is to report to my own prince" In doing so he took the opportunity to say to the revolutionary: "Your ruler's "wrath is not yet cooled; you had better go back alone and "resume temporary charge."

The Lu minister in attendance said to the exile: "If your "highness goes back without any armed escort to the Lu camp, "the revolutionary is certain to go with you." The prince was disposed to do so, but had to yield to the counter pressure of his suite.

A few months later the timorous prince died in exile.

Thus, in the year B.C. 510, Confucius' own prince, who had been in exile for several years on the Tsin frontier, under the protection of Tsin, having had to escape from the domineering influence of the usurping family of Ki, died in the place of his self-imposed captivity. This is how the story is told by the commentator of Confucius, who himself in his bare annals simply records, "In the 12th month the Duke died at Kan-hou":—

"In the 12th month the Duke was very sick, and began "to lavish all sorts of presents upon his ministers in attend- "ance, who, however, would not accept them under the "circumstances. He gave his chief minister [the one who "had tried to induce him to go back to his throne] a double "signet, a ring, a badge, and a fine suit of clothes, which "were accepted. On this the other courtiers also accepted "their gifts. A few days later the Duke died. His chief "minister on this returned the presents above enumerated to "the treasury keepers, saying, 'I could not presume to "question his highness' royal pleasure [when he gave them]'. "The minor ministers similarly returned their presents. "The book [meaning Confucius' original annals] simply says " 'The Duke died at Kan-hou,' meaning by implication that "he died at a place where he should not have died [instead "of in his own royal apartments]. One of the Tsin ministers

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"[the one who had tried to arrange a compromise for the "exiled ruler with the revolutionary "protector"] said, 'The "Ki clique have driven out their prince, and yet the people "are satisfied with the arrangement, and the other feudatories "acquiesce. The prince dies abroad, and no one seems to be "blamed.' The astrologer replied:—'Things go in pairs, or " 'triplets, or quinaries and have their satellites. Hence in " 'the sky we have sun, moon, stars; here below we have the " 'five elements;* our own bodies have right and left of " 'everything; thus each thing has its companion. The King " '[*i.e.* Emperor] has his dukes, the vassal princes have their " 'ministers, in each case there being a secondary ruler. " 'Heaven produced the Ki family as a second to the princes " 'of Lu, and this has lasted a long time. Is it not then " 'appropriate that the people should be satisfied with the " 'arrangement? The rulers of Lu have for generations in " 'succession failed in their duties. The Ki family has for " 'generations in succession worked with assiduity. The " 'people have forgotten their prince, and, even though he " 'has died abroad, who cares about him? The tutelary gods " 'of the state may be worshipped by one person as well as " 'by another, just as prince and minister may have or may " 'lose their posts; from ancient times this has been so. " 'Hence the Ode says:—

" 'The highest banks have their depression,
" 'The deepest valleys have their elevations.

" 'The clans of our first three [semi-mythical] dynasties are " 'now part of the ordinary population, as you know. The " 'Book of Changes has a passage [cited] to explain the way " 'of heaven in this case, and the history of the Ki family " '[given] descended from a younger branch of the ruling " 'family, shews how four dukes have successively by their " 'neglect handed over the *de facto* power.' "

In B. C. 500 Confucius, premier of Lu, accompanied his own prince to the neighbouring state of Ts'i, with which

* Dr. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford, has pointed out that the Indo-Persian religious philosophy also had the five elements, "Water, fire, earth, wood, and wind." For "wind" the Chinese substitute "metal."

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there had been war. A gallant officer of this last-named state, who had the year before shewn great bravery in assaulting a beleaguered town, made the following suggestions to his royal master:—

" Confucius understands the ceremonies, but he lacks bravery;
" if we cause the semi-barbarous prisoners we have taken
" [modern Lai-chou, annexed in B.C. 567] to kidnap the
" prince of Lu, we shall get the better of him. The prince
" of Ts'i acquiesced, but Confucius retired with his own
" prince, giving the order, 'Let the guards attack these men
" 'with arms. Our two princes are on excellent terms, and these
" 'foreign barbarian prisoners attempt to involve us by force
" 'of arms: this is not the way in which the Prince of Ts'i
" 'will establish his authority over the other vassals. It is
" 'not for foreigners to attack China; nor for barbarians
" 'to disturb China's peace; nor for prisoners to meddle with
" 'treaty negotiations; nor for arms to put pressure upon
" 'spontaneous good-feeling. Such action is inauspicious
" 'towards the gods [to whom we have to announce the
" 'treaty;] it is incompatible with the principles of right
" 'dealing; and from a social point of view it is discourteous.
" 'I cannot believe this is the prince's own doing.' When
" the prince of Ts'i heard these words, he instantly ordered
" the Lai barbarians to withdraw. Just as the treaty was
" being concluded, the Ts'i ministers added the following
" clause to the text: 'Should your Ts'i armies ever march
" 'outside of your own dominions, may we be cursed if we,
" 'Lu, do not support you with 300 chariots of cuirassiers [*i.e.*
" '22,500 men.]' Confucius sent one of the Lu ministers back
" with the following counter-stipulation: 'If you Ts'i do not
" 'return the territory you took from us, our acceptance of
" 'your behest will stand on the same basis' [*i.e.* we shall
" decline.]

" After this the Ts'i prince wished to entertain his royal
" colleague of Lu, but Confucius [who scented treachery] said
" to one of the proposed hosts:—'You must well know the
" 'precedents governing the relations between our two states:
" 'the object of our meeting having been achieved, it is
" 'putting you to useless trouble for us to accept a formal

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" 'banquet. Besides, the emblematic drinking cups should
" 'never assemble in the open. Moreover, whilst a full-dress
" 'banquet would be out of place, an undress one would look
" 'downright shabby. To be shabby would be for the
" 'respective princes to lose in dignity; to be ceremonially
" 'out of place would be for them to leave behind a bad
" 'repute. You should well consider all this, Sir. A formal
" 'banquet is intended to exhibit the ruler's virtue. If
" 'there is none to be exhibited, better go without it
" 'altogether.'

"As a result there was no banquet, but the Ts'i
" government restored to us the territory taken the previous
" year."

In the summer of B.C. 492 there was a fire in the Lu metropolis, the princes' palace escaped, but two of the deceased rulers' shrines were involved in the conflagration. The rescuers all shouted, "See to the things in the treasury." But Nan-kung King-shuh, coming up just then, ordered the keepers of the Chou archives to get out the royal books [presented by the Imperial Court to the Princes of Lu] and to await further orders at the palace, adding, "Do your duty; those who are not on the spot are liable to the penalty of death."

Another high officer, coming up, ordered the clerks of the ministry to save the books on ceremonial, and await the sequel, any want of respect to be punished by the ordinary law; the ostlers were commanded to bring out the horses four by four, and the coachmen to grease the axles [to secure speed]; all officials to stand to their posts; stores and treasuries to be guarded; all *employés* to stand at attention; to use wet blankets, etc. wherever sign of smoke, and drape the prince's residence with the same, beginning with the chief temple of state, proceeding onwards according to the importance of each building, and to render assistance where needed. Any disobedience to be punished by law without mercy. Orders were next given to the stablemen to harness the prince's carriage, and Ki-kwan-tze attended the prince outside the palace gate. The firemen were ordered to cease operations the moment

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there was danger to human life, as mere valuables could always be replaced. Orders were given to place the gate book in a place of safety [*i.e.* the book of new rules exposed to public view at the palace gate in the 1st month of every year] on the ground that "it will not do for the old regulations to perish." Then the order was given "You might "as well try to pick up spilt liquid as to expect the officials to "deal with cases where no reasonable precautions have been "taken," and accordingly all wood-work in the direction of the wind was cleared away; a clear space was thus made around the prince's palace.

Confucius was in the state of Ch'ên [having left his own state in disgust and taken to a peripatetic life], and hearing there of the fire he said, "So those were the two "princes!" [whose temples were destroyed; meaning that it was the chastisement of Heaven].

The above story is interesting because Nan-kung King-shuh is the person recorded in other works to have accompanied Confucius on his visit to Lao-tsz, Keeper of the imperial Chou archives; also because the Chou archives and the Chou Book of Rites are here specially mentioned, together with special librarians, and it was on the question of rites that Confucius went to consult Lao-tsz. In the year B.C. 489 it is specifically mentioned in Confucius' expanded annals that the King of Ts'u (Yang-tsz Valley) sent a messenger to the imperial capital to consult the astrologer of Chou about a portent. Again the mention of annual regulations or procedures, and of temples, illustrates the undoubted fact that government, law, and religion were still regarded as inseparable parts of the one system of themistes: written law, as written dogma, being considered undesirable; the imperial rites, or statutes governing relations between prince and subject, father and family, being the only public law.

It was during the life-time of conservative Confucius, who, like his socialist *confrère* Lao-tsz, was no religious apostle but only the head of a school of thought, that all the rival

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schools were developed,—the legists or patrons of written law, the "Epicureans," the "Draconians," and so on. It is still more remarkable that in India, Persia, Greece, &c., similar intellectual developments were going and doubtless exchanges of thought imperceptibly filtered their way through in all directions, just as in later times, inoculation, gunpowder, the compass, printing, tobacco, and other novelties gradually spread forwards and backwards without leaving clear tracks behind.

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A TRIP UP THE YANG-TZE KIANG

I.

It was at the comfortable Club, one night after dinner, that my fellow wanderer first said he was satiated with the charms of Shanghai. He said we had driven so frequently along the roads to the Bubbling Well and the Point that he knew every stone on them; we had watched the gee-gees being prepared for their autumn engagements so persistently that the trainers were looking on us with suspicious eyes; we had indulged in violent exercise at the cricket ground and loafed at the Club; been charmed by the band and thoroughly disgusted by a visit to an opium den; so now he suggested fresh fields and pastures new. "Where?" I asked; "Peking?" The road between Tientsin and there was still flooded in several places. Then a nice new friend of ours came to the rescue and suggested the Yang-tze Gorges. He had not been there, and did not personally know anyone who had, but was certain they existed, and that the first stage was by river steamer to Hankow. This was evidently the place for our money,—virgin soil as yet untrodden by the vandal tourist. The next day we find out that the China Merchants' steamer the *Kiang-kwan* sails for Hankow early on September 15, so we take passage by her. She is built after the model of the American river steamers, and is comfortably fitted, so we are sure of a pleasant trip for the first part of the journey.

At 2 a.m. on Sunday the 15th we leave Shanghai. Coming on deck after breakfast one sees nothing but flat

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uninteresting country for hours till the Kiang-yin fort and floating battery, erected in case the French called in 1886, are reached. Beaver Island, a long, flat strip of land in the middle of the river is passed about 5 p.m., and four hours later we are opposite Silver Island. This is a small cone-shaped island, beautifully wooded; with the mainland it forms a narrow passage; there are forts on both sides, and two guns, saying "Pass, friend" allow us to go through, when the lights of Chinkiang, the first treaty port, appear. Half an hour later we are alongside the hulk there, but our stay is to be very short, so we are unable to go ashore and visit the scenes of the riots of last February. On leaving, Golden Island, a larger island with a summer palace is passed. The next morning we are awakened at five o'clock by the steamer going alongside the hulk at Nanking; of the city and walls only parts are visible, as it is situated some five miles away. It is said to be one of the cleanest of Chinese cities; the streets are wide, well-kept and comparatively clean; but the glory of the place has departed—not a vestige of the famous porcelain tower is to be seen, and the porcelain factories are all destroyed. Some fine velvet for the imperial household is made here, and pieces can occasionally be obtained by the 'foreigner.' The large tombs of the Ming dynasty are situated some miles outside the city walls, but the steamer never stays long enough to allow a visit to be paid them, and as there are no hotels the only way would be to stop at the house of one of the foreign Missions.

Later in the day is seen Missionary Hill, a headland on which are situated some fine buildings of the American Missionary Society, and on rounding it the town of Wuhu comes in view. This is the second of the river treaty-ports, and although only a small place it is important as the shipping port for the surrounding large rice districts. Early the next morning Ganking is seen, with its large pagoda on the outskirts of the town; we pass within 300 yards of it and go alongside the hulk, but as we are told the place offers no attractions whatever we do not go ashore.

On the port side, after leaving here, are some well covered hills running down to the water's edge, and in the

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background a range of fiue mountains, in the valleys of which pheasants, deer and wild pig abound. The Little Orphan, a rock rising some 300 feet right out of the water, claims the attention next; half-way up is a monastery, and on the summit the usual joss house. A couple of hours later the walled town of Hu-kan is reached, with the approach well guarded by batteries. On a headland to the right of the town is a fine old monastery, and beyond is seen the exit of Po-yang Lake, with the Great Orphan, a large rock rising out of its blue waters. Kiu-kiang, the third port, is reached at four in the afternoon, and we go ashore. There is a nice little well shaded bund in the foreign concession, and the tall chimneys of several factories for compressing tea give the place quite an air of commercial importance. In the native town are numerous shops for the sale of porcelain from the famous King-te chen factories, and also a few jewellers who turn out some very pretty beaten silver ware and little silver ornaments of quaint design.

From here a couple of stoppages are made during the night at ferry stations for passengers, but nothing of note occurs till the next morning after breakfast, when the factory chimneys of Hankow appear, and soon after we are alongside the hulk. On going ashore, the Agent tells us that the steamer to take us on to I-chang, the second stage of our journey, will not sail for five days, so that we have to kill time by examining Hankow and its vicinity.

On the opposite side of the river is the large military city of Wu-chang, walled and strongly fortified; in it is a large Examination Hall capable of holding 8,000 candidates, each of whom has his separate box of about four feet square. As the examinations are going on at present, and as the erratic and fanatic students have a great tendency, during the intervals between papers, to pelt 'foreign devils' with stones, we abstain from visiting the place. A few missionaries reside in the town.

Hankow, the fourth treaty-port, is a great tea mart; the foreign concession is well laid out, with good, wide streets, a very pretty bund, and many imposing buildings looking on to the river. Several of the big Shanghai houses have branches

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here, but not much is done except during the tea season, May and June, which is a period of great commercial activity, as many as twenty steamers of 2,000 to 3,000 tons lying in the river loading tea. The Russians form a large proportion of the community of 150 foreigners in the settlement; they buy the best and the worst tea in the market: the best goes off at once to Russia for aristocratic consumers; the inferior quality, siftings, tea-dust, etc., is compressed into cakes resembling ordinary bricks except for their black colour, and then sent off to Russia to form the beverage of the poorer classes. There are several factories engaged in compressing, and their tall chimneys, mentioned above, give the first evidence of the whereabouts of Hankow.

Just beyond the American Consulate is the Club, with racquet court, bowling and tennis lawns and library; and a short distance out, towards the city wall, is a pretty little race-course with grand stand and offices complete.

Velvet is another article for which the town is celebrated; anybody fortunate enough to possess lady friends can secure them a most suitable present. The porcelain sold here is very coarse and badly decorated. By the kind attentiveness of the American vice-consul we are enabled to see the Shansi Guild, the great Club of the Chinese tea merchants:—our ideas of what a Club should be differs considerably from theirs, so we refrain from any comments.

The good ship *Kiang-kwan* returns to Shanghai shortly, so we transfer ourselves to the *Kiang-tung*, the boat which is to take us up as far as I-chang. On Monday, September 23, we receive documents with a wild array of signs and seals on them, which our consul states are passports authorizing us to travel in the interior of China; we also secure the services of Ah Chee, an elderly native of sad countenance, who, for a consideration, agrees to serve us as guide, philosopher and cook for the portion of our trip beyond I-chang.

II.

At 5 a.m. the next day we hear the welcome sound of the screw revolving, and are at last fairly off for I-chang. Arriving on deck, we see the country is inundated for miles

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round; the water instead of falling rapidly as usual at this time of the year has been rising steadily, owing to the late heavy rains. All along the route are seen villages partially submerged, the inhabitants living in junks moored a few yards away from the house-tops. These groups of junks look most picturesque, covered with their owners' penates, which are all out to dry on this fine day.

The only place of any importance passed is the town of Sing-ti; having been built too near the river all its streets are converted into canals, and ground floor apartments are at a considerable discount. The night turns out very dark, and the whole appearance of the country is so altered by the floods that the captain decides to anchor about eight o'clock. Next morning an early start is made and we get on deck a couple of hours after in time to find to see where the big Tung-t'ing lake sends its clear blue stream to join the muddy Yangtze. The river now commences a series of S curves, and throughout the day we can frequently see points passed by us three or four hours earlier. Shang chuang is the name of a large town reached early in the afternoon, and then comes an endless succession of villages half under water, and innumerable joss houses in groves of fine trees, till, a little after seven, we again anchor for the night. One cannot help admiring the intense love of country and home implanted in the Chinaman, which makes him return to this land of floods and bamboo-whackings, from a life of comparative safety and luxury in America and Australia.

At day-light next morning another start is made, and soon the town of Tian-kwan is reached, where we stay to drop a few Chinese passengers; then advantage is taken of a short cut which saves some six knots, and we get into the reach pathetically named by Blakiston, Last Bottle Reach. Another cut two hours later saves some fifteen knots and brings us out opposite Sunday Island in the main channel again. The river now ceases its tortuous style, and a fine stretch of water leads up to the town Ho-han; from this place a series of magnificent 'bits of straight' bring us to the town of Sha-si at seven in the evening. For some two miles before reaching the town we pass a fleet of large cargo junks

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lying five or six deep along the right bank: these testify to the importance and trade of the place, which should have been the treaty-port instead of I-chang.

Anyone longing for a row can soon be accommodated by landing here; the populace have hitherto successfully mobbed any foreigners who have gone ashore.

We anchor for the night and leaving early next morning pass in rapid succession the town of Kiang-kan and Spring and Hope Islands; then a fine pagoda is seen and three watch-towers, mementos of the Tai-ping rebellion, then the town of Chi-kiang is near. Above this the surrounding country is very fine, and range after range of well wooded hills shut us in on both sides; with the lake expanse of flooded river in addition it reminded us forcibly of New Zealand Lake scenery.

The next place of note is the walled city of I-tu, and a couple of hours' run from that brings us to Tiger's Teeth Gorge; a small one only, and the first on the river, with a pretty, natural arch in a huge rock; and then I-chang can be made out in the distance right ahead. Shortly beyond this, on the starboard is a handsome pagoda in a good state of repair; and on the port side is a beautiful valley, at the head of which stands a mountain peak, some 1300 feet high with a monastery perched on the very summit; and soon afterwards we are opposite the city of I-chang.

As the *Kiang-tung* remains here about three days, we stay on board: this is convenient, as I-chang does not support an hotel. The following morning we go ashore to see Her Majesty's representative, and landing at the Customs steps, after a few minutes' walk through a filthy, dirty lane, come to the consular residence. It is not an imposing-looking building, nor are its surroundings elegant, but the reception one meets with inside compensates. The consul is most attentive and anxious to give every assistance in his power, and when we have stated our plans he sends a reliable man to find a boat to take us through the Gorges and rapids as far as Wu-shan. We then start to see the town; it is a mean, poor-looking place, and competent authorities state it to be all it looks. There is not much society, as the

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European residents number a dozen; the only lady there is the wife of a missionary; so at present they have just one clique.* A walk round the city wall does not give any extended view of the river, but merely conveys what a dirty Chinese town might be,—the consul says this is a clean one. During the month of September it has rained already 21 days, so perhaps the place is not looking its best. During the afternoon Captain Jankowsky of the *Kiang-tung* shows us his collection of butterflies and beetles; for variety, richness and brilliancy of hues we have never seen their equal in any part of the world. He tells us they are chiefly the result of excursions in the neighbourhood during his stay here, and that the surrounding country is a vast field for both scientist and sportsman. Reeves' and other varieties of pheasant, together with large game,† are plentiful; and some of the botanical specimens sent home gladdened the heart of Kew.

The consul's boy has found the proprietor of a boat willing to take us, and we go to inspect the vessel; as it seems a comfortable craft and the owner only a moderate scoundrel in appearance, we arrange to have it brought alongside the *Kiang-tung* the next day for provisioning, etc. It turns out a wet morning, and the boat owner does not appear, but comes down early the day after.

And now to describe our home for the next ten days. The boat is about 60 feet long and 10 wide, with a square bow and turned-up stern; she has one mast, used chiefly as a towing pole, and a ragged sail. In front, for 26 feet her deck is uncovered, which space the crew occupy; the rest is covered by a wooden house some six feet high. The lao-pan's (captain's) quarters are right aft over the rudder; ours in the centre, 27 feet long, are divided by sliding wooden panels into three rooms, so that we have a bedroom each and use the outermost compartment for a sitting-room. Through Captain

* We know a treaty-port in China where there are twelve European ladies and five cliques. There, one is never in want of a subject for discussion.

† A recent publication by a Shanghai resident gives a thrilling account of an adventure with a leopard.

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Jankowsky's kindness and his attentive steward, we are fitted out with all necessaries,—in fact some of the items might be classed as luxuries.

Lao-pan presents us with a huge red paper covered with hieroglyphics, which Ah Chee states is the contract, with the names of his securities; so we go to the British consul who sees it is in order, and we pay our first of three instalments, others to be paid on reaching Wu-shan and on returning here. Lao-pan promises to engage a No. 1 crew and to buy provisions in the afternoon so as to be ready for an early start the next day. However, the following day it is one o'clock before he gets together the full complement of 25 villains who are serve as crew and trackers, and then at last we are off for the Gorges.

III.

We are partly tracked and poled up for some three miles past the long row of boats in the creek, the rate of progress being a mile an hour; then lao-pan makes fast for the night. vowing the current is too strong for us to proçeed. He gets away at seven the next morning, but it is pelting with rain and the towpath is often a foot under water. The little village of San-yu-fung is reached at 9 o'clock, but the tow-path is now on the opposite side of the river, and from the mouth of the gorge, only about 300 yards wide, such a tremendous eddying volume of water rushes that lao-pan does not care to try crossing, so makes fast beneath the little bridge over the creek. In the middle of the village a long flight of stone steps leads up the hill, on the top of which a path, turning off to the right, brings us to a cave utilized as a Buddhist temple. The creek is navigable by sampan for about half a mile; its sides mounting straight up, covered with ferns, creepers and bamboo clusters of the brightest green, help to form a really lovely picture with the clear blue waters at their base.

The following morning turns out beautifully fine, but as the river has risen some two feet in the night, all hope of crossing to-day is at an end. As some compensation we discover a most convenient bathing place a quarter-mile up

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the creek. All yesterday the weather was so bad and the mountains so covered with heavy rain clouds that we could get no idea of the gorge; but this morning we go on up the hill beyond the turning to the temple and come on a glorious view. The rocky sides rise straight from the water to heights of 400 to 1,000 feet, their summits assuming an endless variety of form; between runs the swift current, foaming and bright near us, but dark and gloomy higher up where it seems to issue from the base of the mountains; a background of lofty peaks, partly shrouded in clouds, and a glorious blue sky complete a grand picture of natural scenery.

Ah Chee accounts for the fine weather by the sacrifice of one of our fowls last night: in his own vernacular, Lao-pan makee chin-chin him joss, lendee one fowl. By the next morning the water has fallen considerably, but lao-pan still thinks it unsafe to try crossing. Hitherto we have been a fixed source of entertainment to the villagers, old men and maidens, young men and children turning up in crowds, especially at meal times; but to-day they kindly amuse us. Out of one of the numerous fan-tan houses two individuals came, gesticulating at one another in a threatening way; nice, kind friends however intervened just as they were coming to blows. In China, spectators are generally cheated in this manner. Shortly after, two lads began wrestling on the bridge, and as their little, angry passions rose, they pummelled one another splendidly until separated by two elderly females, evidently their mothers; who, having smacked their respective offspring, engaged in an animated word-competition. Unfortunately we do not understand the niceties of the Chinese language; but the remarks made by those ladies were very tasty, judging by the laughter and applause of the onlookers. On going for a walk before dinner we came upon a dog-fight. The most objectionable village dog, a brindled one, had taken on a mild-looking black dog out of a junk just arrived. I am glad to relate he was horribly mauled by the stranger, so perhaps we may be barked at less when going ashore now.

The next day lao-pan makes an attempt to get across, and for a short while we have a gay time among the young

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whirlpools, but eventually the tow-path on the opposite side is gained without mishap, and we are in I-chang Gorge. Twenty men in various degrees of undress scramble ashore and tow us up at the end of a long, plaited, bamboo line of about 3-inches circumference; this is said to be stronger and more lasting than an ordinary hemp rope of twice the thickness which the sharp pointed rocks soon fray to pieces.

With á 4-knot current against us and the tow-path very wet and slippery, our progress is very slow, and we only reach Ping-shan-pa that night. This is a native Customs station about three and a half miles up the Gorge, and we are boarded by a slimy-looking individual to overhaul the boat for "contrabandista." Nothing is found for him to squeeze on, and we proceed next morning about a mile further and then have to bring up in company with several junks, at K'antze Point. There is a tremendous rush of water round here, and two junks in trying to get round yesterday had their ropes smashed and were whirled down stream, narrowly escaping two large whirlpools in mid stream. The water falls in the night, and two large junks get round the point safely during the morning; so we make lao-pan attempt it much against his will, consequently at the critical moment there is some six fathoms of tow-rope lying slack in the water, and the trackers hauling in a lazy, lubberly fashion at it; the boat's head is caught and swept round by the current, thus breaking the tow-rope, and we are whirled down stream by a 6-knot current. The men on board manage with the big bow-sweep to keep us clear of whirlpools and bring us up opposite Ping-shan-pa, and the trackers, following down along the path, get us up again to the starting point. But as lao-pan does not care to try again we do not press the matter. One of these experiences is sufficiently exhilarating for one afternoon.

At a mass meeting of lao-pans the next morning it is decided to be unsafe to try the point,—the water has risen during the night; so the trackers have a holiday, which they employ in the intervals of feeding, by opium smoking and vermin hunting on one another. In the course of the day a small junk, trying the Point, is washed down and goes to

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pieces on some rocks just above Ping-shan-pa. The water has fallen three feet during the night, so next day lao-pan consents to try again, having arranged with the lao-pan of a large junk to combine trackers; and bringing the boat up this time more like a sailor than a tailor, he gets round safely. One method of procedure in some parts is to send the sampan ahead to make fast our rope to holes cut for the purpose in a rock, and then haul the boat up to it. In others, where the tow-path can be used, the double set of trackers, about 40, lay on to the rope and haul first one boat up and then the other. The pace is consequently about a mile an hour, but the tediun is relieved, once by our rope breaking, and shortly after, through some leather-headedness of our lao-pan, by the hawsers being cast off before the trackers have us in hand. Fortunately in both cases the crew get the boat round after drifting back for a couple of hundred yards only. Late in the afternoon, when our consort was being towed through a rapid part, her rope snapped, and away she went down stream, being too large and unwieldy for her crew to turn or stop her. Having just negotiated that place safely by the aid of her trackers we sympathized deeply in seeing her whirled down to Ping-shan-pa again. As they have been waiting there for the last three weeks for slack water, the place won't seem at all strange to them to-night.

About here the Gorge alters its direction from west-by-north to almost due north, and soon the lao-pan stops for the night. The fates seem anxious now to compensate us for the delays and bad weather up to date; for, having granted us a sunny day with cloudless skies, they give us also a perfect moonlight night. The scene from our cabin windows I have neither the ability nor the wish to describe; perhaps in these days of abundant and carelessly-used superlatives it is best left alone. The true beauty and grandeur of the river should be seen to be appreciated, for the pen of a Sala and the brush of a Turner would hardly do it justice.

Our progress next day is continued at the same rate, and we soon come to a huge mass of rock, quite separate from its fellows and towering up for some 1,800 feet; this is called the Needle of Heaven, and marks the end of the I-chang Gorge.

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The extended view now and the more daylight are very welcome after being so shut in for four days by those huge, dark walls of rock. On the left, about a mile away, is a conspicuous wall of limestone cliffs rearing a bold front of 3,000 feet; on the right are some fair-sized hills with an occasional cluster of cottages. Having done four miles from the Needle we come to a stop, and as the moon is at the full to-night we enjoy for some hours after dinner the grand scenic effects.

Soon after leaving on the next morning we come to a young rapid which proves very troublesome. Twice our tow-rope snaps, but the men manage to hold her. Two miles further up is the first Rapid (Blakiston), but the water is so high as to completely cover the rocks which cause the Rapid; so, hugging the shore, we slip up comfortably and reach the village of Hwang-ling-pu. Here lao-pan lays in a stock of thick ropes and hires extra hands to get us round a trouble-some point half a mile beyond. It takes an hour to get round, and then Shan-tou-pien village and Rapid can be seen. Here also, on account of the high water we are able to get well inshore of the Rapid and are not knocked about much. The village offers no attractions, so we pass on to Mao-ping, the boundary between I-chang and Kwei-chou districts, marked by a pile of masonry on each side of the river. Lao-pan wishes to stay here for the night and give the trackers a good rest before attempting the formidable Ta-tung Rapid, which is a mile and a half ahead. We reach there at eight the next morning; on both banks are clusters of a few houses, and in the centre of the river, spreading to the south shore, is as nasty a piece of broken water as one would wish to see. Lao-pan goes ashore to hire extra trackers, so we accompany him, and get a good photo of the Rapid. He beats up every male inhabitant, from seven to seventy years of age, to help in towing us; having arranged with these he goes aboard for his wife and children, and earns our undying respect and admiration by remaining ashore, squatted comfortably among them. Fortunately the second in command is a very able man, and usually looks after the vessel; he brings us safely through, in spite of shouting and giving orders by all our fifty

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new trackers. The towpath is now on the north bank of the river again, and as it is in good order the trackers take us along at a good pace. In trying a short cut the boat takes the ground, and an hour is wasted in getting her off, thus effectually spoiling our chance of getting through the Niu-kan Gorge this evening. However, we reach Lao-kwan, a small village at the entrance, and manage to get a couple of good photographs before the light fails.

IV.

Here unfortunately our trip must end. The *Kiang-tung* sails from I-chang early next Monday morning, and we are only allowing ourselves one day to return the distance it has taken ten days to come.

Our lao-pan's face flatters him. I have said previously he looked only a moderate scoundrel: I wish now to correct that statement and affirm that, even for a Chinese, he is an exaggerated one. Having ascertained from the boys his compatriots on the *Kiang-tung* that we had to return by her, he has not made the slightest effort to reach Wu-shan, the place he was paid to go to; the fewer extra rapids reached, the fewer extra trackers hired; every stage advanced has been gained only by dire threats of consular displeasure at I-chang. For the No. 1 crew he promised to hire he secured four boys who, though willing enough, had neither the strength nor the weight to be useful; the rest, with three exceptions, are a set parcel of old, opium-dried vagabonds, the riff-raff of I-chang, hired merely for their food and their share of the customary drink-money at the end of the voyage, men whom no junk-owner with a grain of self-respect would employ; they could not pull if they would, and would not if they could. Of the ten large cargo junks in company with us at K'an-tze Point, all except the one already alluded to have passed us; though larger and deeply laden their rate of progress has far exceeded ours. I shall not bring our fraud into undue prominence by mentioning his name, but shall take steps to prevent his having another such opportunity of swindling.

Never before has the saying, "Time and tide wait for no man" come home more forcibly to me; previous arrangements

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force us to return to-morrow though just at the entrance to a photographers' paradise and the happy hunting ground of the naturalist. At five the next morning lao-pan leaves, and with the good current in our favour the rate of downward progress is excellent; the crew are pulling five oars a side, standing, facing the bow; we go dashing through the rapids and cover eight miles in the first hour. After this the current is not so strong, and we have full opportunity of admiring the views down the I-chang Gorge. Rounding Mussulman Point the boat gets into a whirlpool and is swung round smartly three times; this is a decidedly novel experience, but the boatmen extricate her before it becomes unpleasant. Fifteen minutes later the Pyramid opposite I-chang comes in view, then the *Kiang-tung* is seen, and by 10 o'clock we are on board of her, having come down the whole way in seven hours.

The first piece of news told us that she will be detained till Wednesday morning! So that we could have continued our trip for another two days. The second is that the peace and harmony hitherto existing in the European community at I-chang has been rudely disturbed by some Philistine who has brought various eccentricities of one of the members under vulgar gaze through the medium of the Shanghai press. This is very regrettable: no person or subject seems sacred now-a-days. However, on Wednesday we leave and go humming down the stream at the rate of 15 miles an hour. The country all bears evidence of the heavy rains experienced by us up in the Gorges. Twenty-five hours steaming brings us back once more to Hankow. Here the river has played sad havoc: there is two feet of water on the Bund, nearly all the large houses facing the river have their ground floors flooded, and traffic has to be carried on entirely by sampan; so we hire one in which to go round and pay our adieux.

At the British consulate is a new representative of Her Gracious Majesty; his courteous ways, tempered with a genial bonhomie must eventually endear him to all fortunate enough to come in contact with him. Getting up to the Club is a difficult job, as our craft draws too much water; but we arrive at last and find the members in full force.

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After saying goodbye to cheery friends there we return; the long streets of water recall Venice and its canals; and we speculate as to how many more bambooings it would take to complete the illusion by transforming the dirty Chinese boatmen into the gay gondolier.

One of Butterfield's boats, the *Gankin*, leaves for Shanghai, so we go on board and secure berths. She is a large, elegantly-fitted boat, and after dinner, seated in comfortable easy-chairs in the saloon, both time and distance have so mellowed the enormities of the weather clerk and the lao-pan that we can relate the whole trip calmly and veraciously to the pleasant captain.

The rattling of the chains at 4 a.m. lets us know we are leaving the hulk and off for Shanghai.

[A page of the manuscript is missing here; and the remainder of the article is mainly taken up with good advice to future tourists to the Gorges of little use in these changed days, and therefore not reproduced here.—Ed. *N. C. Review.*]

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NOTE ON THE INVENTION OF WOODCUTS

BY

ARTHUR WALEY

EUROPEAN writers have commonly asserted that the Chinese art of printing from wood-blocks dates from the end of the 6th century A.D. Thus Prof. Douglas writes, in his *Guide to the Chinese and Japanese Illustrated Books*, (1887), "History tells us that the art of printing from wooden blocks was invented in China in the 6th century, and that in 593 A.D. the Emperor Wăn-ti ordered the various texts that were in circulation to be collected and engraved on wood, for the purpose of being printed and published."

Sir Ernest Satow (*Trans. of As. Soc. of Japan*, X, pt. 1, p. 48), says "The founder of the Sui dynasty is said to have had the remains of the Classical books engraved in wood"; and Anderson (*Japanese Wood Engravings*, p. 19), "It has long been known that printing from engraved blocks was employed in China at least as early as the 6th century."

It is possible that all these statements are founded on a passage in a pamphlet published by Julien in 1850, entitled *L'Imprimerie en Chine au sixième siècle de notre ère*. On p. 2 Julien gives the following extract from the *Khe-tchi-king-youen* (in English transliteration, *Ko Chih Ching Yüan*):

"Le huitième jour du douzième mois de la treizième annee

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du règne des Soui (l'an 593 de J.C.) il fut ordonné, par un décret, de recueiller tous les dessins usés et les textes inédits et de les graver sur bois, pour les publier. Ce fut là, ajoute l'ouvrage que nous citons, le commencement de l'imprimerie sur planches de bois; l'on voit qu'elle a précédé de beaucoup l'époque de Fong-ing-wang ou Fong tao, à qui l'on attribue cette invention, vers l'an 932."

The original of the above passage (*Ko Chih Ching Yüan* 格致鏡原 xxxix, f. 2r°) runs as follows: 隋深燕閒錄。隋文帝開皇十三年十二月八日敕廢像遺經悉令雕撰。此印書之始。又在馮瀛王先矣。

"Lu Shên [1477-1544 A.D.; Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 1427] in his Yen Hsien Lu says, 'On the 8th day of the 12th month of 13th year of K'ai Huang, the Emperor Wên-ti of the Sui dynasty ordered all worn-out images and surviving Classics or Sūtras to be carved and collected.' This was the beginning of book-printing, and was indeed anterior to Fêng Ying Wang" [*i.e.* Fêng Tao 道, 881-954 A.D.; Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 573].

It would be interesting to know whence Lu Shên, writing c. 1500, derived his very precise information. The standard histories seem to contain no allusions to this event. But it is not at all certain that his inference ('this was the beginning of book-printing,' etc.) is justified by the text as he quotes it.

As 雕 'to carve' and 撰 'to collect' or 'to put together materials for a work' are dissimilar terms, it seems necessary (and such constructions are common in Chinese) to take the first as referring to the 'images' and the second as referring to the 'Classics,' *i.e.*, 'worn-out images to be (re-)carved and Classics to be collected.' Julien's translation completely distorts the sense of the original, for 撰 certainly does not mean 'publier' nor does 印書 mean 'l'imprimerie sur planches de bois,' but simply 'imprinting books.'

The term 雕 does not necessarily imply that wood is the material used, for in the *Li Chi* (禮記) III, 3, 14 we read 南方曰蠻雕題. which Couvreur translates 'Les habitants du midi, appelés Man, se tatouaient le front.'

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The meaning of hsiang 像 in this connection is illustrated by a passage referring to the same Emperor Wên-ti. In the 20th year of K'ai Huang, says the Mirror of History (通鑑), the destruction of images, whether of Buddha, the Heavenly Honoured Ones,* or of spirits, was forbidden (禁毀佛天尊及神像). The commentator on this passage says 所謂像者非畫摹塑則雕剡耳 'The term image does not refer to paintings or figures modelled in clay, but only to carvings.' Julien's 'dessin' is clearly wrong.

Since, as the above passage suggests, Wên-ti was a protector of Buddhism and Taoism, it is probable that the images which he caused to be carved were those of Buddhist or Taoist divinities, and that the *ching* which he collected were Buddhist Sŭtras or books of the Taoist canon.

This passage from Lu Shên, mistranslated by Julien and indirectly quoted by subsequent writers, is certainly very poor evidence that wood-block printing existed in the 6th century. Yet it seems that beyond this isolated passage no other evidence exists.

But another sentence, not previously noticed or translated, seems to have a much more certain bearing on the subject. It occurs in the Preface to Liu P'in's *House Instructions* (柳玭家訓序), and will be found quoted on the same page of the *Ko Chih Ching Yüan* as the extract from Lu Shên: "Once when I was in Ssŭch'uan, I examined in a bookshop a school-book printed from wood blocks 印板小學書."†

Liu P'in flourished c. 870-890 A.D. There does not seem to be any doubt that 印板書 means 'a book printed from wood-blocks.'

This passage, then, would seem to be the earliest indubitable literary reference to the invention.

Liu P'in, writing c. 880, appears to speak of printing as a novelty. It is remarkable that it was in Ssŭch'uan and not at the capital (Ch'ang-an) that he saw this early printed book. Possibly the art travelled with Buddhism from the West.

* Title of the highest order of Taoist divinities.

† The famous work on moral philosophy by Chu Hsi 朱熹 cannot of course be meant.

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The province of Ssŭch'uan was later noted for its book-production, and in the 15th century stood second only to Hangchow. *

The earliest Chinese woodcut known to exist is dated 868. This is the Diamond Sŭtra, with frontispiece, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun-huang, and now in the British Museum. †

The only earlier woodcuts in existence are the dhāraṇī charms from the Mu-ku Jo-ko Kyo 無垢淨光經 (*Vimala Nirbhasa Sūtra*) distributed by the Empress Shōtoku 稱德 in 764 A.D., three of which were presented by Sir Ernest Satow to the British Museum. It is probable that an art which existed in Japan in the 8th century must also have been practised in China at the same date.

But there is no valid evidence that this art was known in the 7th century, still less that (as asserted in many European works) it was invented in the 6th.

* *Ko Chih Ching Yüan*, XXXIX, 2 v°.

† Binyon, *Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts*, p, 576, No. 1.

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

CHAPTER IV

DEATHS 喪禮

WHEN a person seems just about to die a few bundles of cash-paper are burned at his side; two candles and some incense are also burned. The dying person is sometimes moved from the bed and laid on the ground, but it is more lucky to die in bed. The superstitious, however, will not afterwards use the bed where one has died, for fear of the demons. Children of the dying kneel at the bedside while the spirit takes its departure. Rice is thrown about the house to drive away demons, if by any means the life may still be saved.

As soon as life is gone a tablet is set up. On its front is written the name of the dead, and on the back the dates of birth and death, with the characters for the five elements, gold, wood, fire, water and earth.

Beside the tablet, to call the spirit to enter it, a yellow paper flag is set up bearing the characters meaning, "To the goddess of mercy who saves from suffering."

If the corpse does not stiffen or does not close its eyes there is fear that more deaths in the family will soon follow.

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Soon after death the evil influences of the dead are let out from the house *ch'u ssŭ hsing* or *sha* 出死星 or 煞, by poking a stick or bamboo pole through the roof; a person inside calls, "Has it come out?" and one outside replies, "It has come out." Then the stick is pushed through the hole onto the roof, and no one will touch it again if he knows it has been used for this purpose.

Before death the bed-curtains are removed, that the spirit may have easy exit. After death the body is laid on the ground or on the coffin-lid to cool.

In the case of the aged, one envelope full of paper money for each year the deceased has lived is burned in the central room. While this is done the corpse is bound in a chair, and an umbrella held over its head; women wave peach and willow branches toward heaven, and others flourish knives toward the earth, lest hungry ghosts should come and rob the dead of his travelling money.

The ashes of this paper imitation money are gathered and put into a jar, to be buried with the body, either in the coffin or beside it. The idea is that as soon as the spirit is free it is in need of cash to secure its passage through the various courts of Hades.

Five garments of each kind, suitable for all seasons of the year, are often put on the corpse. The shoes are made with cloth or grass soles, no leather being allowed. The coverlet is often very expensive. The pillow is filled with sawdust, cedar branches, or wood ashes.

In wealthy families the whole body is bound in a single piece of white cloth or silk, each finger, toe and limb being bound up by itself. Only the napkin for the head is separate. After this, or, in poor families, after the corpse has been washed and shaved, it is dressed. No outsiders are allowed to see these operations.

In ancient times it was believed that a precious stone held in the mouth 含玉 *han yü*, would preserve the corpse from corruption. The custom now is to put a piece of silver or some small article in the mouth.

It is said that a corpse has a small loaf of bread placed in one hand and a stick in the other. If attacked by a dog

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he may first feed it with the bread and then, if necessary, drive it away with the stick.

Coffins are of various prices, according to the wood and varnish used. It is common for elderly people to have their coffins lying ready in the house for many years. The provision of a good coffin and an expensive funeral gets over many a difficulty in family relationships.

The body is encoffined 入殮 *ju lien* as soon as everything is ready. The sealing of the coffin lid 封棺 *fêng kuan* or 閉殮 *pi lien* takes place three days later, the delay being to give the spirit time to return if it will. Black varnish is generally used for sealing, and a charm is pasted on at the top and bottom. The stick and bread are taken out before the sealing. Three days later the coffin is placed in position in the central room, preparatory to the chanting for the dead. It may remain there for three months 三月殯 *san yüeh pin*, or for a year.

To show the importance of burial, there is a saying 亡人得土如得金. Earth is to the dead what gold is (to the living).

Funeral rites are counted more important than care for the living. The *Li-chi* 禮記 ideal is for one mourning a parent to have a bed of straw and a pillow of clay 寢苫枕塊, and for three years the teeth must not be shewn in laughter; neither wine nor meat should enter the mouth, nor silks cover the body; but coarse weeds and coarse food must be the mourner's lot.

The rule to mourn a parent for three years is based on the mother's nursing of her child for that time.

Strips of white paper are pasted on the sign-board, etc., mourning scrolls over the door-gods and the sorcerer's chart over the family altar.

There is a custom confined to the mountain districts and decidedly aboriginal: old and young of both sexes sing and dance in a ring round a pot of wine 跳鍋樁 *t'iao kuo chuang*. After dancing, each person cuts a piece from a large lump of pork, sits on the ground and sucks wine from the pot through a long pipe stem. This goes on for two or three days and nights.

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On every seventh day after the death, till forty-nine days have elapsed there is chanting, and the women of the family weep.

Soon after death there is a ceremony to open the road for the spirit; this is done by chanting and is more or less elaborate according to the family means.

A passport to Hades is also burned and the ashes put in or near the coffin and buried.

Immediately after opening the road a ceremony may be performed called 繞棺 *jao kuan*, to go round the coffin, or 熱血道場 *jê hsüeh t'ao ch'ang*, hot blood chapel. The Taoist priest chants the 救苦經 *chiu-k'u ching* save-from-sorrow classic. The ceremony may last from one to three days, according to the means of the family. It is the short way of getting through the funeral ceremonies; the longer will be described later.

Within three days all mourning preparations must be complete. The chief mourners must have white garments, turbans and shoes, with a coarse girdle; sometimes the clothes are of coarse hempen cloth. If a son of the deceased should hold an official position he must vacate office for three years.

The coffin is guarded by sons and grandsons while in the house.

The tablet set up immediately after death, and called 血靈位 *hsüeh-ling wei*, is only temporary. It is removed, and a new one of wood, sometimes gilded, takes its place 設靈位 *shé ling wei*. This is carried to the grave at the funeral, brought back, and kept in the house for three years.

At each family meal food is offered to the spirit, in some families for three years, in others only till the funeral, perhaps during seven or fourteen days. Much depends on the position of the family.

The priestly ceremonies: 道場 *T'ao ch'ang*.

Chanting for the emancipation of the soul is done by Taoist priests and lasts for from three to eight days, according to the family means. The first act of the ceremony is to invite water 請水 *ch'ing shui* for the cleansing of the altar. The priests go in a body to the river where they bury paper,

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incense and candles, chant awhile, and return to the house with a vessel full of water.

Then the priests have a day of tramping round the house, a man following them with a tray of vegetarian dishes of all kinds, 串齋 *chuan chai.* Some of this food is first offered to the dead; the rest is eaten by the company. At the close of the ceremony the rice offered to the dead is at once carried off and presented to families with no male issue, in the hope that sons will then be born.

The priests then proceed to break open Hades 破地獄 *p'o ti-yii.* Quicklime is sprinkled on the ground in the form of a square to represent Hades; at each of the four sides is an imaginary gate. The priests walk round it, chanting as they go, then a priest breaks it open by smashing a basin or tile with his staff at each corner and in the middle.

At certain seasons lighted lanterns are set adrift on the rivers to appease the spirits of those dead who have no one to sacrifice to them.

To each of the ten kings of Hades a tablet is set up; the priests go round them chanting prayers and followed by the youth of the family. Each time they go round a passport is burned, till all ten kings have been thus passed.

In the courtyard of the house a small platform is erected for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*; ten lighted yellow candles are set thereon, incense is offered, and there is much chanting with clanging and banging of gongs, etc. It is said that when the spirits are pleased a small black line appears on the candles.

A ticket containing an official declaration about the person for whom the chanting is being done is burned with a thick bundle of paper, and thus sent to the gemmeous Emperor. This is called 上表 *shang piao.*

The priests cast a flower here and stick another there; this is supposed to take away sin or to lessen its evil consequences.

The departed spirit is exhorted 勸亡 *chü'an wang* to behave and and not to injure the living. It is also invited, with chanting, to return, the youths of the family kneeling meanwhile.

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A platform is put up, paper and incense burned on it, commands issued to the spirits, and 鬼彈子 *kuei tan-tzŭ* scattered for the benefit of orphan spirits. These *tan-tzŭ* are bread and cakes; the people scramble for them and eat them; those who eat become bold and are free from bad dreams.

A little weeping may be heard directly after the death, but it is generally checked because it confuses the spirit so that it cannot find its way; but after the formalities of opening the way and escorting the spirit through the difficulties of Hades are finished, the floodgates of weeping are opened. There are few if any paid weepers at a funeral, and this may be regarded as the real and spontaneous outflow of grief, though some, of course, weep as a mere form.

The ceremony of chanting for the dead is performed every seventh day for seven weeks, at the end of 100 days, and on the first, second and third anniversaries of the death.

The three Offerings to the dead, etc. 三獻禮 *san hsien li.* Only those occupying a high position in social life and having an ancestral hall can have this expensive ceremony.

The three offerings are all alike, but one is given by the eldest son, one by the eldest grandson, and one by younger sons and grandsons. In each case the offerings are of three kinds, as follows: 酒樽, *chiu tsun*; 羹饌 *kêng chuan*; 香帛 *hsiang pi*; or, respectively, wine, soup and food, incense and silks. But various minor gifts are also included under these headings.

In this ceremony sacrifices are made to Heaven, Earth, the well, the kitchen god, the door god, the carrying-poles for the funeral, *sang yü shên* 喪輿神; to the effigy which leads the way 開路神 *k'ai-lu shên*, and to the 河伯 *ho pei* or gods of the river if a stream has to be crossed.

Temporary buildings are generally put up for the purposes of the ceremony; they are called 望燎所 *wang liao so* or 望位所 *wang wei so*, and often adjoin the house. They consist of rooms where are stored the three kinds of offerings named above; a 'chapel,' *tsan chiang t'ang* where the master of ceremonies performs the ceremonies; a pavilion 歌講廳

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ko chiang t'ing for the singers, who are generally scholars with youths to assist; a room for the mourning robes of the family, etc.

The officiating masters are usually literati, who call on the mourners to do certain things in a certain order. They are, the officiating priest 點主官 *tien chu kuan*; the two precentors 引讚生 *yin tsan shêng*; three or four assistant precentors 通讚生 *t'ung tsan shêng*; the reader of the eulogy 讀祝生 *tu chu shêng*; singers of the poetic eulogy 歌詩生 *ko shih shêng*; the teacher of filial duties for the youth of the family 講書生 *chiang shu shêng*.

Letters are sent to relatives, announcing the date of the funeral and the time when offerings to the deceased should begin, and giving an invitation to be present.

The mourners arrive for the ceremony, bringing many kinds of gifts, such as pigs and sheep for sacrifice; pig's head, feet and tail, raw, or cooked with coloured rice; paper, candles, incense, gold and silver tinsel money, with "golden youths and gemmy maids" *i.e.* slaves made of paper.

A paper shrine is prepared to contain the tablet when carried to the grave.

The sons and daughters put on their white or coarse hemp garments, and white turbans or girdles are given out to all visitors.

A likeness of the deceased is hung in the chief room of the house. Lanterns are hung, and mourning scrolls of any coloured paper except red; the most commonly used are white and light blue. On the lanterns are the characters 當大事 *tang ta shih*.

The services are begun by the sons going round to the mourning department, donning the mourning robes and taking from each store such things as wine, incense, etc.; these they offer to the tablet 神主牌 *shên chu p'ai*, and then fall down before it while the the preacher reads and the singers chant the Filial Piety classic 孝經 *hsiao ching*.

The members of the family walk up to the pavilion where the ancestral tablet has been placed. They prostrate themselves before it at the bidding of the master of ceremonies, and return to their places. This is done thrice.

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A notice is read that the family has entered on a season of mourning 讀成服文 *tu ch'êng fu wên*. Then the chief mourners kneel towards the *wang liao so*, the master of ceremonies burns the notice of mourning, the mourners and friends enter the house, and the initial ceremony is at an end.

The ancestral tablet 神主牌 *shên chu p'ai*, is a double piece of wood about three feet long, the outer portion fitting on the other like a box-lid; on both surfaces is written 新故某公某府某諱某老人老孺人之神主 meaning that it is the abode of the newly deceased person, name, etc., being given.

The consecration of the tablet begins by the eldest son kneeling down and taking it on his back; he carries it to the ceremonial table and there leaves it.

Then the scholar *tien chu kuan* who is to perform the duty is brought in; he washes his hands and approaches the table, where a pencil and red ink are also put ready. He takes the tablet from its casket and lays the two parts on the table with their surfaces exposed. Then the finger of the chief mourner is pricked for blood, with which the officiating scholar mixes his red ink. The pencil, having been dipped in this blood and ink, is breathed on by the scholar. The idea is to get the life, virtue and ability of the son and the officiating scholar into the tablet, as in writing a Heaven and Earth tablet. (See under *Family Altar*).

Next, a dot of red is put over the date of birth and another over the date of death. Then a red stroke is made through the character 神 *shên* on the inner tablet 穿內神 *ch'uan nei shên*, and a red dot is put on the 主 *chu*. These characters being thus completed they are enclosed by covering with the external part of the tablet 合主 *ho chu*. The same two characters on the outer tablet are then finished in the same way.

A red circle is put on each side of the tablet to represent the ears; a red dot at the top is for the forehead, and one at the bottom is for the feet; down the middle of the tablet is put another red mark, on both front and back. This whole proceeding is called *k'ai kuang* 開光 or opening the senses. It is to be remarked that there is an inner part of the tablet,

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supposed to correspond to the inner man, while the sense organs are on the outer tablet, and the breath on the pencil touches all into life.

When the writing is finished the scholar throws the pen over his shoulder. It is caught and used to paint the sores of smallpox: they will then not run together.

The tablet is put back into its casket, and the scholar addresses it as the person himself and lauds his virtues.

The chief mourner then knocks his head 磕頭 *k'o t'ou* four times to the officiating scholar, who now retires, and the tablet is taken by the son and placed beside the spirit tablet 靈牌 *ling p'ai*.

Incense and wine are offered to the tablet, while the preacher reads aloud the pacificatory ode 安主文 *an chu wên*.

A document in which are written the virtuous deeds of the deceased is burned. The sons bow thrice while this is done, fire-crackers are let off, women weep and singers praise the dead man's virtues; and the ceremony comes to an end.

The funeral 送喪 *sung sang*.

The finding of a lucky spot for the grave is the geomancer's business, and is a most important matter. Many miles may be travelled and much money spent in seeking the right place, especially for a parent's grave. The prosperity of the family depends on the position of the ancestral tombs. It is said that if the *wang ming* 亡命 departed life and the earth crust 山甲 *shan chia* do not agree, the spirit returns and troubles the living with sickness and disaster. For this reason the remains are sometimes removed to a new resting-place.

The geomancer has also to fix the day for the funeral. As all branches of the family must have their convenience suited, the funeral may be postponed for years, the remains being kept in the house or in a temple, or the coffin may be put outside and thatched with straw against the weather 寄土, *ch'i t'u* or 停棺 *t'ing kuan*. When the lucky day is agreed on, the lucky times for leaving the house and for lowering the coffin are also fixed.

At the proper time the coffin is carried out and a catafalque placed over it; a tile on the roof is driven outwards

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with a hatchet and broken to pieces; sometimes rice is scattered and swept inwards as the coffin is carried out.

Strips of white paper attached to the ends of bamboo rods are used as flags to lead the spirit to the grave 引魂幡 *yin hun fan.*

Paper money called 買路錢 *mai lu ch'ien*, buying-road money, is scattered to the demons on the way. This money is of various shapes and sizes.

The tablet which is to be destroyed at the end of three years, not that belonging to the ancestral hall, is carried out on a portable pavilion *t'ing tzŭ*, with candles, incense, etc. Afterwards it is taken back to the house.

A paper image to which sacrifice has been offered, is put in front of the coffin to open the road, 開路神 *k'ai-lu shên*. It is burned at the grave.

On the coffin a white cock is carried, to lead the spirit which is supposed to be in the coffin. For there are three spirits; one enters Hades, one the tablet, while the third goes to the grave. The cock is the perquisite of the geomancer.

Paid men carry the coffin, and the chief mourners dressed in weeds go in front and pull. Women generally go in chairs, weeping as they go. They are accompanied by umbrellas, gongs, fire-crackers, etc.

A coffin may not be borne through a city unless it has the dragon's head at its back and front. This becomes absolutely necessary when a funeral cortège has a long distance to go.

Husbands and wives are laid close together, the side of the first grave being opened and the side of the coffin laid bare, that the new-comer may lie close. This is termed 聯棺合塚 *lien kuan ho chung.*

The grave is dug 開山 *k'ai shan* a day or more beforehand at a lucky time, and in the direction fixed by the geomancer.

A scholar with a degree is invited to 破土 *po t'u* break earth. He shoots three arrows away from the grave, then burns incense and worships. The idea is that the progeny of the deceased will become like this scholar.

A notice is read, to inform the spirits of the hills that the interment has taken place and to set the spirit of the deceased at rest.

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The shops which sell other funeral requisites have ready-printed forms for title-deeds of the ground on which burial is made. These are read at the grave and on the third day burned there. In the case of land acquired for the purpose of course it is a copy of the real deed which is used.

The position of the coffin in the grave is fixed by the geomancer with chart and compass.

Three days later an offering of food, wine and paper money is brought to the grave 三日伏山 *san jih fu shan.*

Cranes, deer and a tombstone, all of paper, are taken to the grave; the tombstone is placed where the proper stone will afterwards be erected; the other things are left on each side of the grave to be destroyed by the weather.

The grave is guarded by the sons of the family, but sometimes people are paid to do it. Grave riflers might otherwise strip the dead of their clothing, though the punishment for such crime is death. For the first three nights a straw torch is lighted at the grave; if it is burns out it is a lucky omen, it is unlucky if half is left unburned.

After a few months fresh earth is heaped on the tomb, and every spring or winter afterwards.

A tombstone or ornamental arch is erected to the memory of the dead. In wealthy families the stone is set on the back of a stone tortoise. In the case of officials stone pillars are put up. High officials have stone lions round the grave, to remind them of the stone lions of their yamens. The trees of a graveyard are spoken of as being like the clothing on the body. If they grow well the family will increase and prosper. There is hence trouble when one branch of a family wishes to cut down trees round the ancestral tombs.

Before the graves of very important men are set up statues of men, horses, etc.

Public graveyards are generally on land given for the purpose, and the title-deeds are kept in the yamen for 60 years, after which the graves and tombstones are a sufficient guarantee. In some such public cemeteries small towers 枯骨塔 *k'u ku t'a* are built as receptacles for dry bones dug up in grave-digging; on them may be the characters 骨肉相遇 *ku jou hsiang yü*, flesh and bones meet.

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A young child is often rolled in a mat or old garment and buried without ceremony, and new-born babies are often thrown out to be devoured by the dogs.

Buddhist priests' graves may be known by the small pagoda-shaped stone in front.

It is supposed to have been the custom to level all grave mounds at the beginning of a new dynasty, till the Ta Ch'ing dynasty, whose grace extended to love of the bones of the dead 泽及枯骨 *chai chi k'u ku*. At the present time much land is occupied by the dead which is greatly needed for the use of the living.

Sometimes the astrologer says the deceased has done something which will shortly cause another death in the family 犯重喪 *fan ch'ung sang*. Then a coffin is prepared and funeral rites gone through for some imaginary person or perhaps for a known sick person, and the empty coffin is buried. It is hoped this will deceive the demons and prevent the second death.

The Cantonese in Ssŭch'uan often remove the bones of their dead to another place. A grandparent's bones are inurned and kept on the family altar, in some cases being counted and strung together on wire or cord.

The aborigines find out from the astrologer how a body should be disposed of, whether by hanging out for the birds to devour 天葬 *t'ien tsang*, by throwing to the beasts of the field 地葬 *ti tsang*, by cremation 火葬 *huo tsang*, or by throwing into the river 水葬 *shui tsang*.

National mourning 國服 *kuo fu*. On the death of an emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty men went unshaved for a hundred days; and no red buttons might be worn on the hat; if the New Year came in this period no red scrolls were pasted on the doorposts, etc., but white or blue scrolls might be put up in sign of mourning. Women did not wear their ornaments, and marriages and theatricals were deferred till the hundred days were over.

During the first three days all officials sat for a certain time on straw in the temple, while no public business was attended to, except urgent cases of life and death.

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CHAPTER V

THE DOMESTIC ALTAR 家神 *

THE domestic altar is called *chia k'an hsiang huo* 家龕香火 or *shên k'an* 神龕 or *shên kuei* 神櫃; on the upper part is an incense pot; in the niche or cupboard is *t'u ti* 土地 the precinct god. This shrine is the last thing to leave the house when the habitants remove, and as long as it is there the owner of it claims to be in possession. When he removes the cupboard he invites the domestic gods to follow him, *ch'ing chia-shên* 請家神, the colloquial for worshipping them being *kung* 供 *chia-shên*.

The Heaven and Earth tablet 天地君親師 *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih* is dedicated to Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Ancestors and Teachers. It is said this tablet originated with Ssŭ tzŭ Yen wang 四子燕王 of the Han dynasty. Before he became emperor he fled before soldiers seeking to kill him, but stopped at the request of some friendly folk who asked him to write a tablet for the family altar. He wrote the above five characters, and explained that "Heaven has a covering grace, Earth a supporting grace," and so on.

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Another account says they were written by 漢班超 Pan chao, also of the Han dynasty. Both men may have done it, but the former story is the more generally believed.

The writing of a family altar tablet is an important matter with many people. The wisest and most learned man available is asked to write it; he puts on his best official robes and breathes upon his pencil to give life to it and to the tablet.

The ancient ancestral tablet 門中歷代高曾遠祖位 *mên chung li tai kao tsêng yüan tsu wei*, has largely been ousted by the Heaven and Earth tablet; but some scholars still use it because they consider Heaven and Earth are only to be worshipped by the emperor. The ancestral tablet is only written to three generations next to the living head of the family, but in all, eighteen are included, nine ascending generations and nine descending. The nine dead are named, 鼻祖 *pi tsu*, nose ancestor, or first ancestor; so called because the nose is the part supposed to be first conceived is the womb; 2, *yüan* 遠 or distant, 3, *t'ai* 太 great; 4, *lieh* 烈 illustrious; 5, *t'ien* 天 heavenly; 6, *kao* 高 high; each of these adjectives being joined to *tsu*, ancestor; the deceased great-grandfather, grandfather and father are respectively 7, *tsêng tsu* 曾祖, 8, *tsu kung* 祖公 and 9, *hsien k'ao* 顯考. The nine descending generations are the son, called *nan* 男, and the rest are *sun* 孫 grandson combined with the following adjectives: *ssŭ* 祀, *hsüan* 玄, *lai* 來, *k'un* 昆, *jêng* 礽 *yün* 雲, and *êrh* 耳; the last name being again on the supposition that the ear is the latest member formed.

These eighteen generations come within the scope of the family altar. Sometimes, for brevity, *pi tsu* represents the ancestors and *êrh sun* the posterity.

Thus in ancestral worship prayer is made to the departed heads of the family for a long continuation of the line; this is spoken of as 香爐灰不斷 *hsiang lu hui pu tuan*, to perpetuate the ashes in the incense pot. There can be no greater insult than to empty out the ashes from the incense urn; and for fear of this being done many old people will not permit the family altar to be touched by anyone.

To obtain sons they make pilgrimages to distant shrines; a man on changing his residence invokes the spirits of his

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ancestors to follow him. Everything pertaining to idolatry may be given up easily, but ancestor worship only with great difficulty. Some have pretended to be without a family altar, while they have still been continuing the worship in a secluded part of the house. This is the kernel of the religion of the Chinese; fear of the displeasure of departed ancestors is very real, and no expense is spared to make their spirits rest in peace.

The idea of transmigration or rather rotation of souls seems to be found in this altar, and the *tzŭ p'ai* 字派 of the family bears this out. Most families use only sixteen names; but some have thirty-two and a few have twenty-four; when these have run their course the round begins afresh, and the spirits of ancestors are probably supposed to do the same.

The furniture in the chief room in the house does not belong to any individual member of the family, but is attached to the family altar and is family property.

A tablet to three classes of religions is not uncommon, and in some homes it takes the place of the Heaven and Earth tablet. It includes (1) 上三教 *shang san chiao*, the upper three religions, viz.—Confucius 儒教孔聖 *ju chiao K'ung shêng;* the Taoist Sage 道教老君 *tao chiao Lao chün;* Buddha, 釋教牟尼 *Shih chiao mu ni.* (2) *Chung* 中 *san chiao*, the middle three religions: the god of Literature 文昌帝君 Wên Ch'ang ti chün; the god of War 關聖大帝 Yin ch'üeh ta ti; the god of dark Heaven 玄天上帝 hsüan t'ien shang ti. (3) *Hsia* 下 *san chiao*, the lower three religions: the god of Medicine 藥王菩薩 Yo wang p'u sa; the goddess of Mercy 觀音大士 Kuan Yin ta shih; the god of cattle Niu 牛 wang p'u sa.

On this tablet there is also written 歷代昭穆 *li tai chao mu*, to the ancestors far and near.

At the outer left hand side of the door as one enters a house may be seen an idol or tablet to the Taoist trinity, 三品三元三官大帝 *san p'in san yüan san kuan ta ti.* The worshipper bows to the outside as he is supposed to be worshipping heaven. The idol is generally a painting about a foot square.

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The Kitchen god 竈神 Tsao shên, is the universally worshipped god of the kitchen, who preserves the lives of the families from starvation and poison. There is said to be a wife also, who acts as the god's deputy when he ascends to heaven on the 23rd of each month to give in his monthly report. In the last moon he goes up to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct through the year. Before he goes incense is burned on his altar, and sugar candy offered him to gain his favour and get a good report.

He is said to have been Sui jên 燧人 the Prometheus who taught the Chinese how to get fire. The belief dates back to the mythological period. Fire was then produced by driving a drill into different kinds of wood according to the seasons; in spring the elm and willow were used; in summer the date and apricot, or in late summer the silk-worm oak; in autumn the gardenia and rosewood, and in winter the oak and hornbeam.

The kitchen god has been styled the lord of the house. He has two assistants, the stick-gatherer 撥柴童子 *pan ch'ai t'ung tzŭ*, and the water-carrier 運水郎君 *yün shui lang chün*. He is chiefly worshipped in his niche in the kitchen, but occasionally in the chief room. He takes special care of the domestic animals, chickens, cats, dogs, etc., and sometimes a picture of these is put up just below his shrine. In the kitchen fire nothing dirty may be burned, for fear of offending him, nor may flesh of dog or cow be cooked in his pot. No quarrelling is allowed in the kitchen, lest he should hear and report, 一家吵鬧使我不安我必降災廚登牛犬穢氣觸我我必降災.

"If in kitchen vessels the vile odour of dog or cow annoys me I will send calamity; if the family quarrels and disturbs me I will send calamity."

The domestic lares are husband and wife, 長生土地 *ch'ang shêng t'u ti* and 瑞慶夫人 *jui ch'ing fu jên*. The domestic god of the soil bestows long life, and his wife gives good luck to the household. His place in the house is just below the Heaven and Earth tablet, and special offerings are made to him on the 7th of the 7th moon.

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If the family worships a *t'an shên* 壇神 or altar of lemuria or shades, then that spirit looks after the animals; otherwise the duty falls on this tutelary god and the kitchen god. Often when a child falls sick or the pig gets the measles, an offering is made to this god. He has two slaves, *chao t'sai* 招財 and *chin pao* 進寶. These names are often given to dogs; hence a saying 來狗主富 *lai kou chu fu*, when a dog comes he rules the riches.

T'an shên is the altar of the lemuria or ghosts. The spirit is believed to be a man named Chao, 趙 formerly prefect in Nan Yang. The altar is in the left-hand corner of the chief room. Some are fixed shrines, others are moveable and are often a hollow stone in which incense is burned. It is mostly used by the superstitious wealthy.

Every three or five years there is a 'tranquillizing' ceremony: see under Sorcery and particularly under the heading *ching t'an*.

When a family changes its abode or when anything unlucky has happened in the house the family altar has to be pacified 安神 *an shên*. This is the work of the *huo chü tao* 火居道, married Taoist Sorcerer.

The same class of priest is used for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*. During this ceremony the family altar is covered with a chart or tablet. A table is placed outside the door under the open sky and an offering of incense and candles is made.

The ceremony is most commonly performed when the paying back of a vow is required. A son may, for example, vow to offer to heaven so many sets of candles and incense sticks if a parent is healed of a sickness, or gains a lawsuit, or has a safe journey. A *set* means 32 of each kind, but if a Buddhist priest officiates (which is seldom, except at a funeral), the set is only 24.

What would appear to have been originally an exceptionally pure act of worship is now often a pretext for gratifying the lowest passions. For instance a man may vow an offering to heaven if a certain enemy dies or has his line of succession cut off, and the like.

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The tablet used is 三十二天上帝中央一元梵天帝君 *san shih êrh t'ien shang ti chung yang i ch'i fan t'ien ti chün*; or a Buddhist priest uses 二十四諸天菩薩無量世尊 *êrh shih ssŭ chu t'ien p'u sa wu liang shih tsun.*

Note that there is one incense stick and one candle for each spirit worshipped.

Another ceremony is the worshipping or thanking Earth *kung ti* 供地 or *hsieh t'u* 謝土.

This is deemed necessary when a house has been repaired, the dragon having possibly been disturbed; or when a new house is first occupied, or when 土府不安 *t'u fu pu an*, the place does not agree with the resident. This is indicated perhaps by his digging up some unlucky thing, such as *t'u lung tan* 土龍蛋 dragon's eggs, which are black, soft balls with contents like blood: in such cases there is need to worship Earth. Or it may be necessary because a geomancer states that the resident is at variance with the five capital evils 五皇煞 *wu huang sha*, or with those of the current year *sui* 歲 *sha*, or with that of the yellow flag *huang fan* 黃幡 *sha* or that of the leopard's tail *pao wei* 豹尾 *sha*; when Earth is worshipped these disturbing spirits are worshipped.

This ceremony also is managed by a married Taoist sorcerer. A table is set outside the house and candles and incense lighted on it. On the ground the four points of the compass are marked by lines of dry lime, a candle being stuck in the earth at each extremity of the lines and in the centre. Sometimes, especially when the fault is with the house itself, the ceremony is performed in the chief room.

Five tablets are set up to the five dragons of the five points, *wu lung shên* 五龍神, inscribed with 東方青帝青龍神君 *tung fang ch'ing ti ch'ing lung shên chün*, the eastern green dragon spirit, and similarly for the other four, which are the southern red, the western white, the northern black, and the central yellow dragon spirits. Along with these tablets there are others to the gods of the five planets; in the east the wood-virtue god (Jupiter), while south, west, north and middle are the gods of fire-virtue (Mars), metal-virtue (Venus), water-virtue (Mercury), and earth-virtue (Saturn) respectively. The inscriptions are 東方木德星君 *tung fang mu tê hsing chün*, etc.

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The five dragons and five planets have an intimate association with the five cardinal tenets of the secret societies.

Another tablet of a more general nature is set up, 土府九壘高皇大帝 *t'u fu chiu lei kao huang ta ti*. This is for worshipping the god of springs and placating the five dragons. *T'u fu* seems to include the whole family of Earth, while *chiu lei* is said to refer to the nine continents.

There is also a somewhat similar ceremony of worshipping the gods of Wind, Clouds, Thunder, Rain, Sun, Moon and Stars; the tablets being Fêng po 風伯 (*fêng*, wind); this was a statesman of the T'ang dynasty named K'uei Chêng 魏徵. He is said to have killed the five-horned dragon. Yü Shih 雨師 (*yü*, rain), a statesman of the Yin dynasty, by name Fu Yüeh 傅說. Le tsu 雷詛 (*lei*, thunder) is said to have been Wên t'ai shih 文太師. And lastly Yün lung 雲龍, the cloud dragon. The sun is the emperor, the moon the empress, the planets the statesmen, the larger stars the provincial officials and the smaller stars, the people.

There is also thanksgiving to the Fire-star, 謝火星君 *hsieh huo hsing chün*, both a parochial and a domestic affair. We here speak only of the domestic side, the other being dealt with under the Feast of All Souls. When there has been anything approaching to a conflagration in the house, or anything to indicate that the fire-demon is in the ascendant, a few pieces of red-hot coal are taken from the kitchen fire, put into a jar, and extinguished with water, while the priest chants the incantations necessary to drive the demon from the house.

Those who live by rivers and marshes worship or thank the Water-star 謝水星 *hsieh shui hsing*, hoping to be thus saved from flood. In this ritual the dragon of the five cardinal points is the chief object of worship. A jug of water is brought from the river, and the priest chants his incantations over it. After the ceremony both jug and water are taken outside and thrown away.

[To be continued]

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A LITTLE-KNOWN CHINESE WRITER

BY

E. T. C. WERNER

H. B. M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW, (RETIRED).

SOME of the greatest writers are but little known. A voluminous Chinese writer whose works were not published during his life-time, and have not yet been published, died in 1916 at an age variously stated as 81, 82 and 84. His name was Wang K'ai-yün 王闓運; his *hao* Jên Ch'iu 壬秋. He was a native of Hsiang-t'an Hsien 湘潭縣 in Hunan, a *chü-jên* 舉人 of the Ch'ing dynasty, and received the title of Chien T'ao 檢討 during the reign of Kuang Hsü. He, Tso Tsung-t'ang 左宗棠, Ou-yang Hsiao-ts'ên 欧陽筱岑, and another, were known as the Four *Chü-jên* of Hunan (有湖南四舉人之目).

Of these four, Tso Tsung-t'ang, generally referred to as Tso Wên Hsiang 左文襄, the honorific title bestowed upon him by imperial edict after his death, was when a youth of an ambitious nature, aiming to be the Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 of the Ch'ing dynasty. Ou-yang Hsiao-ts'ên was a relative of Tsêng Kuo-fan 曾國藩, usually known by his canonized title Tsêng Wên Chêng 曾文正, who is reputed to have been of a similar nature, often holding the native authorities up to ridicule. Wang K'ai-yün was one degree lower in rank than

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Tso Wên Hsiang. During his youth he also was of an independent disposition. In his letters he calls Tso his thirteenth uncle (十三丈), and his correspondence generally contains many high-falutin phrases. Tsêng Wên Chêng, who re-established the Ch'ing dynasty by quelling the rebellion at Kiang Nan, south of the Yang-tzü River, treated men of wisdom and virtue with respect, and when possible enlisted them in his service as secretaries, etc. Some of these were Wang's pupils. Tsêng once made enquiries at his secretariat concerning Wang, but the reply he received was: "Jên Ch'iu, though his parents are very old, is now on his honeymoon (新婚)." Whether this was true or whether it was a ruse to prevent Wang being appointed to an official post there is nothing to show. However, in the reign of Hsien Fêng 咸豐, Wang was acting as amanuensis to the Grand Secretary Su Shun 肅順, who was in the emperor's confidence, and had great influence with him. When, in the reign of T'ung Chih 同治, Su Shun was put to death for remonstrating with the Empress Dowager for taking the management of the national affairs out of the emperor's hands, Wang gave up his post and returned home.

Wang's intercourse with the famous statesmen Li Hung-chang 李鴻章, Chang Chih-tung 張之洞, P'êng yü-lin 彭玉麟, etc., was conducted on terms of equality: he made no difference with them because they were high officials. Some of his correspondence with them is written in a humorous vein.

Yang Tu 楊度, of the Hung Hsien 洪憲 period (the Imperial title assumed by Yüan Shih-k'ai) and Sung Yü-jên 宋育仁, who was impeached by the parliament for advising Yüan Shih-k'ai to abdicate in favour of the emperor Hsüan T'ung in 1914 or 1915, were both his pupils.

His Essays are composed in imitation of those of the Six Dynasties (六朝); his *p'ien t'i* 駢體 are the best of modern times. However, the construction of his Memorials to the Throne and of his *ku-wên* 古文 are not so good as those composed by the various Ministers of the Ch'ing dynasty, the eight famous *ku-wên* authors of the T'ang and Sung dynasties, the T'ung Ch'êng 桐城 sect, etc. But his *Hsiang chün chih*

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湘軍志, *History of the Hunan Military Expeditions*, is quite super-excellent; the best parts of it have been compared with the *Shih chi* 史記 of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷. His Commentaries on the various *ching* 經 are in agreement with those of the great scholars of the Han dynasty. His poems are modelled on those of the Han, Wei, and Six Dynasties, but he did not imitate those of the T'ang, those being in his opinion too modern (!). He wrote commentaries on each paragraph of the thirteen *ching*, as well as criticisms of the twenty-one histories. Hardly any of these have been printed. He annotated the topographies of the various provinces and of the *hsien* districts of Hunan, some of them being compiled entirely by him. His criticisms on the *tzŭ* 子, philosophers, of the Ch'in, Han, etc., dynasties are accepted as correct. His knowledge of literature was vast and thorough. It is said there was no book with which he was not acquainted. But while his *pien li* 駢儷 dissertations, his poems, and his criticisms on the various philosophers are regarded as classics, his commentaries on the *ching* 經 are somewhat faulty and not so pure in style as that of his criticisms, etc. Some blemishes are also to be found in his essays. He ignored the *li hsüeh* 理學 ethical treatises, of the Sung, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties, as well as the *ku wên* from the T'ang dynasty onwards. He was also fond of expanding the principles involved in the opinions he had previously expressed.

Nearly all the Hunanese scholars of that time were his pupils. He was successively appointed Superintendent of various colleges, and it is related of him that when he went on a round of inspection of the dormitories he would stand at the door and ask the students if there were any doubtful points in their studies, and would then explain them more fully.

Yüan Shih-k'ai appointed him Chief Secretary of the National Historiographical Bureau. His appreciation of his old friends was very great, especially of P'êng Yü-lin, who died a long time (26 years) before he did. This is especially shown in a preface of his dedicated to the Hêng Yang 衡陽 College.

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Yang Tu's sister was his daughter-in-law. At the time of their marriage Chinese women were in the habit of discussing with one another how to save China from foreign aggression, etc., and she made up her mind to go to Japan to study, but Wang wrote to her pointing out, in effect, that reform should begin at home. She subsequently took to teaching in poor families, refusing all offers of employment by the wealthy.

His sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law were all thoroughly educated in the Chinese classics, history, and literature. Whilst he was very much attached to his poor friends and aged relatives, he enjoyed chaffing the government authorities. The ribaldry of his nature once lost him a post to which was attached a salary of 10,000 taels offered him by Chang Wên Hsiang. In his reply to the offer he treated the matter as a joke, so the proposal fell through, Music, money, and women were always treated by him with indifference.

He is the standard Confucianist of modern times.

The draft of his essay, the *Mu chih ming* 墓誌銘 (an engraved monument buried in front of the coffin) of P'êng Yü-lin, is valued by native bibliophiles at 3,000 taels.

The books he wrote but did not publish, when piled up formed a column as high as himself.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

THIS number of the Review is in lighter vein, because it is the summer number. The *Trip on the Yangtze* can hardly be called sinology; but to those who remember the China of thirty years ago it will be interesting. It was evidently written in 1889, probably sent to the *China Review*, and now first sees the light again. There is no name attached to the manuscript.

* * *

Prospect Hill 景山, the subject of the frontispiece to this number, is familiar to all who visit Peking. It is an artificial mound, about 150 ft. high, and is supposed to be a heap of coal, laid up long ago as provision in case of siege: hence its common name of Mei-shan 煤山, Coal Hill. The last Ming emperor, having lost the empire, hanged himself on this hill.

* * *

Major Yetts' etching was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London this year. The beautiful print from which our reproduction is made is not offered for sale; but the original which was reproduced in our first number is still in the possession of the Review, and the Editor will be pleased to show it to intending purchasers.

* * *

A valued correspondent sends the following as an attempt to translate the passage from Carlyle quoted by Mr. Cornaby on p. 57 as being untranslateable. He remarks that

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he has represented God as stage-manager, so to speak, rather than as author of the drama; but this could easily be altered. The attempt will no doubt be interesting to a number of our readers.

實不極詣機明及所爲其轉以照以無即演爲萬
座可明於以智萬含上主蔽永臨衆塊在劇劇圖
之遍轉上導慧般之帝演之時之陽之無之戲歷
前視暗帝引之開意其者屏爲炬爲中窮塲其史

NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON

MOSTLY ON GILES' DICTIONARY

[The Nos. refer to the *Chinese-English Dictionary* unless the *Biographical Dictionary* is named]

LIANG HAO, Giles' *Dict.* No. 3895 and *Biog. Dict.* No. 1244, 灝 as given under No. 7479 is correct and not 顥. Liang's antecedents are not very clear. According to the *Ch'êng Yü K'ao* and *San Tzŭ Ching* he was 82 when he took his degree, whereas both the 朝野雜記 and 黃氏日抄 state that he took his degree at 26, 梁｜中狀元年才二十六. The 宋史梁灝傳 has the following passage, ‖雍熙二年中狀元 *i.e.* in A.D. 986, which would make him 73 when he took his degree. Query: at what age did he graduate?

* * *

"Under the hibiscus mirror" 人鏡芙蓉, is an expression meaning that one will have literary fame as happened to 李固言; see Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 1157. 口角, 陽春, 口角生春, 口角發風, are terms for persons who have the gift of the gab, flatter, cajole, etc. These phrases originated with Sung Ching (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1830) whose sobriquet of 陽春 was given to him by the people because of his loquacity.

* * *

12,043, 杜康, "liquor," is taken from the name of a skilled inventor of wine. The distillers at Shaohingfu in Chekiang pay respect to his manes every 酉 day. He was a

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native of Tung P'u 東浦 near Shaohingfu, a place still famous for its good wine.

* * *

No. 9602, 色難, does not necessarily refer to "filial piety"; it is constantly used in the sense of "difficult to define one's duties." Under the same number add 咬色, "to regard duty as unimportant." This is an historical expression. Giles has omitted under No. 1335 the common phrases | 子 and | 女, the father's instructions to the respective sons and daughters on the wedding day, | 宵 refers to the wedding dinner. Under No. 2302, | 水 is also a metaphor for "tears."

* * *

No. 3375, 結髮夫婦 does not necessarily mean of an "old couple," but may be referred to a young couple as well. *Chieh fa* 結髮 also means "in early youth." In a poem by Su Wu of the 1st cent. B.C. the sentence 結髮爲夫婦 means married in early youth. In the Commentary of Li Kuang 李廣 B.C. 119, we read that he fought with the Hsiung-uu from his early youth 自結髮與匈奴戰.

* * *

Under 1325, the entry 再 | "to marry again," is said to be of modern origin, and the correct character to be *li*, 醴 No. 6950; at least it was so used in ancient times. As the character *li* refers to the non-alcoholic spirits used at marriage ceremonies, there is much to be said for its use instead of *chiao*, which rather refers to sacrifice.

* * *

Giles' 2032 | 友 and 13,630 玉昆 are the sobriquets of two brothers of the Ch'i State named 王鎧 and 王錫, noted for their virtue and fraternal love. According to the 梁史 the original phrase was 金昆玉友.

* * *

According to ancient history (*vide* commentary on the 堯典平章), there was a distinction between the 黎民 and 百姓. The former were apparently the agricultural class, and the latter the official and business classes. The term 百姓 is derived from the hundred official clans, (百姓百官族姓也); the sentence 黎民於變乃是民耳, when the

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li min (uncivilized) become transformed, they are the same as the *min* (civilized or educated), proves this. This brings us to an important subject, *viz:* the Shih Ching sentence 民靡有黎 *Vide* Giles, No. 6942: "there were no black-haired men left among the people,—only grey-headed men:" Giles, it is evident, copied Legge's translation, which is too forced. The obvious meaning is therefore, that all of the men employed in agriculture, or husbandmen, were exterminated during the wars.

* * *

To further elucidate our subject, I may mention that the sentence 保我黎民 inscribed on votive tablets in temples does not mean "Protect Our black-haired people," but "Protect Our husbandmen,"—so that they may till the fields and produce crops in order to provide the people with food.

* * *

According to the author of the *Sui-Yüan-Sui-Pi*, the great Emperor Yao 堯 had a double surname, 伊祁; the surname of 姬 was taken after his accession to the throne. His worthless son Tan Chu's surname was Li 狸, fox. This is another instance of father and son having different surnames.

SIAMESE WITCHERY 訂頭 (*see p. 91*)

The Siamese witchery "牛皮訂" has penetrated those parts of China contiguous to the Siamese and Lao districts. Williams' Dictionary, under Ku 蠱, gives 放蠱 to poison, said to be done by women in Kwang-si. Evidently this is a special form of the poisoning art, not the common "下毒." It would be interesting to know if the "ox-hide" superstition is referred to in this case.

In Yünnan, as far north as 景東廳, such a practice is associated with the distinctive term "下蠱," and was brought to my notice by my coolies suddenly and unaccountably refusing their food. Persuasions, exhortations, scoldings were equally useless. They simply would not eat; and marvellous as it is for a Chinaman to refuse physic, they would not even indulge in an enjoyable chew of quinine.

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Then came the explanation. The women of those parts had a fearful magic. An ox-hide was spread out, whilst over it charms were chanted and spells were cast. The hide responded by contracting until, in size, color and texture, it was indistinguishable from a grain of rice. Being dropped into a stranger's rice-bowl, it was taken into the stomach, where it remained unchanged until the poisoner chose to repeat the appropriate charm. Thereupon, however remote the interval of time or location, the hide slowly but surely resumed its original size, with painful and gruesome results to the unfortunate victim, who until now had been blissfully ignorant of anything amiss.

There is a variation of the practice, wherein the effects are in the sexual, rather than the gastronomical, realm. The oxhide is not required. The lady operator in question, being smitten by the charms of the chosen male, weaves her wicked spells over the rice which he is to eat. As before, the victim experiences no immediate effects; until, maybe years afterwards, virtuously seated in the bosom of his devoted family, the charm is worked by his far-off seducer, and he is irresistibly drawn, over river and mountain, to her arms.

* * *

At 景東廳 bananas were abundant, and we revelled in the luxury. But solemn warnings were given that the fruit was the immediate cause of 瘧痢. This particularly virulent form of malaria is rampant in those localities, adding fearfully to the death-rate.

Lying low in a long narrow valley, the district bears an evil reputation amongst the Yünnanese occupying the high tablelands surrounding it; their horror being crystallized in the couplet:—

"景東一條瞢
紅燕過路要落毛."

ARTHUR H. SANDERS.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Letters to a Missionary, by R. F. Johnston. London; Watts & Co., 1918, 4/6. (Kelly & Walsh, Limited, $2.70).

The reviewer saw a picture displayed in London shop windows many years ago, in which a bush appeared with much smoke curling upward from it, while a man stood looking at it awestruck; but to everyone except simple Moses the mystery of the burning bush was solved by the sight of a tramp who was vigorously smoking behind it.

Even to refer to such blatant vulgarity of a free-thinking journal may seem unfair; we do it only because Mr. Johnston has not scrupled to rake together what is most discreditable to Christianity; and we hasten to add that while the book cannot but be a joy to most vulgar enemies of religion it also provides much for the intelligent Christian, the fair-minded agnostic and every seeker after truth. That it will also make sad the heart of many righteous is perhaps for their good. A great many Christians probably will praise it, though Mr. Johnston would exclude such from the Christian pale.

The occasion of the work is that a missionary was asked to resign his connection with the China Inland Mission because he could no longer hold that the Bible taught the everlasting punishment of the unbeliever. .e later issued a circular letter on the subject, with some pamphlets, addressed

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to 'the Christian public' and innocently sent one to Mr. Johnston, and received in answer the letters before us. Hence the main theme is the doctrine of an everlasting hell, especially as a part of missionary teaching in China; but as the missionary would have accepted the doctrine if he could have found it in the Bible, we have a second main subject, the infallibility of Scripture. Many other doctrines are also touched on in the later letters, the virgin birth, the resurrection of the body, etc. To many readers the last letter will be of special interest, since it gives Mr. Johnston's own religious position.

Now a merely sinological journal cannot presume to take part in theological controversy; yet it cannot pass without notice a work by one of the most distinguished writers in China.

Mr. Johnston takes a collection of dogmas, held for some 2,000 years and surviving to-day, and assumes these are the whole of Christianity. He charges on the church the narrowest and most unlovely of beliefs, regards these alone as truly Christian, and denies the right of all who reject any of these dogmas to call themselves by the Christian name. If, for example, one cannot accept everlasting torture as part of one's creed one is no true Christian and should not call oneself so. Here Mr. Johnston is at one with the Pope and the C.I.M. director in America,—a strange trio.

This is admirably clear. But to prove the horrors of belief in a hell, the evil of accepting the Bible as infallible, and the general inadequacy, absurdity or evil tendency of various Christian dogmas, the author quotes copiously, and since he is writing to a so-called Christian he kindly draws largely from Christian theologians, bishops, missionaries and others who tell us that the old dogmas are dead: *e.g.*, that 'no intelligent person believes in hell,' and so on.

Among these comfortable utterances he states that a certain American University professor had "in all his experience only come across three male students who believed in an eternal hell." He quotes (from the *Church Quarterly*), "a universe where there was an ultimate loss of souls through the complete determination of the will towards evil would be

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an essentially atheistic universe, for it would be one in which the evil was in the end partially triumphant over good,"—a very sensible criticism, Mr. Johnston says. He states that "those within the churches show a growing tendency . . . to push hell into the background." "Sometimes Christian apologists attempt to minimize hell's importance by suggesting that very few human beings ever have been or can be sinful enough to qualify for admission." He speaks of the readiness of believers to admit that the doctrine presents serious moral difficulties," and says "the keenest critics of the orthodox Christianity of the Churches are themselves Christians."

Now what more can Mr. Johnston want?—except, indeed, to hasten the process. Since all the intellectuals are on his side why not be pleased with them? and why not give some praise to those enlightened ones who thus fight what he disapproves? He allows that these men only stay in the church on purpose to reform it, but he insists that they ought not to call themselves Christians; though the only other term he uses is 'modernist,' which leaves one very cold.

But the author's chief trouble is that the doctrine of hell is preached *to the Chinese*, and, he says, as part of the 'glad tidings of great joy.' This is a smart touch, but not fair; with practically every missionary in China the glad tidings consist in the announcing of a sure way of escape from sin and its eternal consequences, open to every human being without exception; and Mr. Johnston must also know that the lives those missionaries live among the Chinese, of more power than any doctrines preached in a chapel, show much of heaven and little of hell to all around them.

But the author feels so strongly on the subject that there is a bitter earnestness in many of his expressions, and some are even violent, offensive, and what Christians would call blasphemous: thus, "an eschatological theory which, if true, proves the Christian God to be guilty of atrocities that make Satan and the Germans look like bungling amateurs in devilry." And on p. 89 there is the suggestion that if Satan stormed heaven again, and this time conquered, "he would open the gates of hell—certainly to release his fellow-sufferers

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and possibly (who knows?) *to admit his vanquished foe.*" Such writing will prevent many from reading the book, especially the class Mr. Johnston seeks to influence, and it is most unworthy of the author. He quotes Mr. Britling's indecency about "spitting in the empty face of God," but we all recognize that this is only a popular novelist playing to the gallery—which will applaud vociferously. We expect more reverence from a religious man like the author, and we feel sure he will loathe such applause, though he cannot escape it.

We are indebted to Mr. Johnston for some noble studies of Buddhism, and in this book the references to that religion are all sympathetic. The church of Christ has had a long and often lamentable history, and it survives to-day divided, as this work shows, into a hundred parties, (ninety-nine of whom he thinks, should stand out!). Thoughtful men may ask if Buddhism is any better. How much in its history is discreditable, though its faults are not war and persecution? Amid its nobler literature and its incoherent pile of fables, puerilities and trash, how much more truth is there than can be disentangled from the Bible? Buddha as a hare once jumped into the pot to provide a meal for a Brahman, but first took care to shake the fleas from his fur that they might not die. Is this better than the talking of Balaam's ass? Finally, as we are told that Christianity is not defined (unless by its least lovely dogmas), who can define Buddhism for us and reduce it to a system which we may study and accept, without fear that other Buddhists will (mildly) call us heretics?

Similar questions might be asked about any religious system; and the fact remains that Christianity may be as bad as all its enemies can prove, and yet may be the best there is to offer to a suffering world.

The fact is that the author has not quite escaped the *odium theologicum*. We fear he takes the worst of Christianity to compare with the best in Buddhism. He claims that a Zulu taught Bishop Colenso to rebel against orthodoxy, and thinks the keen-witted Chinese could easily have put Dr. Edkins on right theological lines "if he had been less opaque." But we are not yet prepared to generalize and call every 'heathen' wiser than any Christian.

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On pages 86 and 150 there are examples of the author's humour which are blots in the book; flippancy should have no more place in such a work than scurrility. The aim of the book is a serious one. It is stated to be to "persuade some, at least, of the supporters of foreign missions not only to undertake a critical examination of the teachings and methods of the missionaries . . . but also to scrutinize with equal care the foundations of their own conceptions of belief." No doubt a further aim is to make missionaries in China examine their method and beliefs. We may disagree with much in the book, but all right-thinking men must sympathize with the expressed aim of it.

State Morality and A League of Nations, by James Walker and M. D. Petrie. T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd. 4/6 net. 1919.

This little work consists of two essays, not *pro* and *con.*, but regarding a League of Nations from two standpoints. Mr. Walker puts all his faith in political action, assuming that the state is a moral personality ready to form a brotherhood when the politicians have worked out the scheme. Miss Petrie will not believe that political action can do more than carry out what mankind demands, and can only follow, not lead, in matters of human aspiration; that the League is ideally a "mandate of humanity" as President Wilson says, and cannot be a mere political scheme. This view makes the establishment of the League far more difficult and postpones its complete realization indefinitely; for though clever men might soon elaborate a perfect plan on paper, the conversion of mankind to an active love of peace and brotherhood is a very slow process.

It must not be supposed that Miss Petrie is not as hopeful and enthusiastic as Mr. Walker, but she emphasises the limitations of politics and allows for the present unreadiness of men to enter into more than a very imperfect union; yet every small advance is something to be thankful for.

Both essays contain clear and sound thinking, and on some points are very enlightening.

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The Chinese Isles of the Blest; by Major W. Perceval Yetts. (Reprint from *Folk-Lore*, March, 1919.)

An extremely interesting and even fascinating paper dealing first with the Unnatural History of *hsien* 仙, then with the various Chinese legends of Fortunate Isles, and finally with the world-wide beliefs that "There is a Happy Land, Far far away." The Chinese stories are Taoist in origin, and are intimately connected with both art and history; more than one Chinese ruler has in later times, like the western Charles V. sought peace in a monastery; but in earlier history they fervently wished for the joys of immortality in Pêng-lai or Fu-sang, and actually sent out expeditions to locate Paradise. It is most interesting to have these legends collated with those of other races, who have also realized the need of something better than this 'vale of tears,' followed by darkness and death.

Stern law of every mortal lot,
Which man, proud man, finds hard to bear,
And builds himself, I know not what,
Of second life, I know not where.

Science has swept these islands into limbo, and a better faith has made them unnecessary. How vast a distance between the restless monarch, keen for immortality, pacing the seashore, yet afraid to embark, and the Christian poet singing

I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care.

The Far Eastern Review; June and July, 1919. Shanghai.

The June number is largely taken up with Chu Chi-chien's plan for the reorganization of China, including many very valuable statistical tables. There is also Sun Yat-sen's programme for the international development of China. But to many of our readers the most interesting paper will be the short account of the Lung-mên sculptures, with the perennial bitter

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outcry against the incapacity of the government to protect from vandalism these unique and rapidly vanishing treasures. The July number is naturally more full of the boycott than of anything else, but there are also accounts of the Ssŭch'uan salt-wells and the Philippine coconut. Both numbers are extremely informing and readable.

Richard Cobden, The International Man, by J. A Hobson. London; Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1918. 21/-net.

Although the Great War and the problems it has produced are the occasion of the work, it seems to deal with matters antediluvian; history and politics which some five years ago were keenly interesting have been relegated to the years before the flood, and we emerge from the war into a new world. Cobden lived and strove when there were no penny newspapers, when "our 13-inch shells of two thousand yards' range" were wonderful; when the personalities and politics of Palmerston, Bright, Disraeli and Gladstone filled the public mind and overflowed the public press. What a long while ago it seems, and how trifling now the issues which then shook the nation! Only the professional student of political history can any more be interested in the elections, divisions, measures and ministers of sixty years ago, and our little wars,—like the Crimean—may be moved onto the top shelf; surely it is only the present generation that counts!

Most readers will skip or only skim the mass of letters here given us, dealing in detail with far-off, half-forgotten things, but those who read them with an eye on the present will find them interesting enough. They shew us how unsafe it is to prophesy; how short-sighted are the views of even wise men; how often factors unsuspected come to falsify our hopes or fears; and the black becomes white, and the impossible easy. There are many wrong judgements in these old letters, and one is always tempted to a foolish regret that men cannot live long enough to see how mistaken they were.

But the chief principles that Cobden held have not been discredited. The book is to justify the title once given him of "an international man." He was an early exponent of

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views peculiar then and commonplace now. His Anti Corn-law work, and the establishment of Free Trade principles in our commerce, were only a part of his wider policy of non-intervention of governments in other nations' affairs. To him the work of Foreign Offices was mostly mischievous, while the unfettered commercial intercourse between peoples must lead to peace on earth and good will among men. He especially promoted friendship between Great Britain and her chief allies of to-day, the United States and France. Disarmament and arbitration were part of his programme; though it may make us smile now to think what "limitation of armaments" could have meant in those early days when all our ships were of wood. We are well on the way now to reforms which he advocated then and suffered for; like all reformers he was before his time, and died with only a fraction of his work complete. But he must always be held in honour both for the principles he held and the simple, clean-handed way in which he worked.

His limitations and his errors in forecasting may be illustrated by a few quotations, and some referring to the second China War will be most intelligible to most of our readers. Of course he calls the First War the 'Opium War,' and he states (without authority quoted) that the *Arrow* lorcha, at the time it occasioned the Second War, had no flag flying at all! "Inasmuch as our Government have determined that this falsehood shall be made the pretence for an attack on China" . . . and so on. All foreign merchants in China may smile at the bland simplicity of the following:—"I know precisely the course which . . . should have been pursued in China. We should adopt the plan which the rude common sense of our ancestors reverted to in the times of the Plantagenets. Then, the merchants of the Hanse Towns . . . who came to London to trade in our raw products in exchange for their manufactures, lived under a distinct code of laws . . . on condition that they lived apart and did not mingle with the natives. They were located in a walled-in place . . . near the river . . . This is the only way in which collisions can be avoided, and in which trade can be carried on with these

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Eastern people with profit to the English people, as distinct from the few filibustering British residents in the East to whom wars and confusion are often profitable." (p. 315) It seems strange he should go back to the Plantagenets as though he had never heard of the Factories in Canton; and he seems to regard the opium and the *Arrow* as the causes of war, whereas they were but the occasions, the causes being the insults and injustice of a hundred years. Again, "The Chinese have always set Europe an example of low duty on imports" . . . "I wish our trade with the continent of Europe were as free as with China, and that we had five ports or even one in France where the Chinese tariff was in force," (pp. 198-9.) He was entirely against the British views—maintained to the present day—concerning blockade in war; and during the Civil War in America he makes the cheerful declaration (in italics) "*I do not believe there will ever be another blockade.*"!

As a final sample, " . . . Free Trade as the means—and I believe the only human means—of effecting universal and permanent peace." It seems to have been quite beyond his imagination that wars for markets, and for open doors were a possibility, and that increase of industrial prosperity would bring, not peace and fat living to all workers, but the bitterest competition and economic hostility between nations.

His large vision and his shortsightedness are equally of interest; but the man himself, a successful reformer, a statesman much reviled and greatly honoured, is a figure for Englishmen to be proud of. A politician, he was an honourable man; so are they not all. Quixotic, and often mistaken, as we with our wisdom of a later generation can so easily see, he was always on the side of truth and honour and the things that make for peace.

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THE BURIAL-PLACE OF GENGHIS KHAN

BY

E. T. C. WERNER

H. B. M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW, (RETIRED)

SINOLOGISTS are aware that the burial-places of the Mongol emperors are unknown. This is due to the secrecy, observed by that race as to the sites where their dead sovereigns were interred. Concealment of the corpse in such a manner as to preclude theft of it or of the valuables deposited with it is a custom which has prevailed in many parts of the world. When inside one of the pyramids of Egypt I noticed a most ingenious device by which the large sarcophagus had been left empty, while the mummified body had been buried only a few feet off in the solid rock over which the pyramid had been constructed—thus giving the idea that the corpse had already been stolen. This was, of course, an exceptional case, for the mummified bodies were as a rule deposited inside the sarcophagi and other means of protection used, though the bodies were often stolen, sooner or later.

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The Mongols adopted a different method. They buried their dead emperors in level ground, and then caused the site to be trampled over by ten thousand horses, so as to obliterate all traces of the digging of the grave. "They neither made grave-mounds nor planted trees." The location of these "tombs" has thus been one of the unsolved problems of Mongol history.

A controversy has recently taken place between two learned Chinese scholars as to the location of the site of the grave of Genghis Khan, the great Mongol conqueror. The discussion, of which a translation made by me was published on pp. 379-396 of the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* for December, 1918 (issued April, 1919), is too long to be reproduced here. It waged round the question of the Kerulen River *versus* the country of the Ortous Mongols as the site of the burial-place of Genghis Khan, and the decision is undoubtedly in favour of the latter.

Mr. Chang, one of the learned scholars above referred to (whom I have the honour of calling my friend), whilst staying in the palace of the Prince of Taldi, met a Wandering Priest who, in reply to enquiry, said his name was T'ê-êrh-han, and that he was one of the guardians of the imperial tomb. On being asked which imperial tomb, he said that of Genghis Khan. In this way information was obtained and subsequently verified which proved the burial-place to be at Rache Tchurin (Ai-chin-ho-lo) in the country of the Ikh Chao League (I-k'o Chao), or Ortous Mongols. I quote the following passage from my translation:—

"The official guardian of the tomb is called 'Guardian of the Spirit resident on the Tomb.' There are five hundred families living at the tomb. Their style is T'ê-êrh-han. These T'ê-êrh-han have special rights under the Mongolian Banners. They pay no taxes. At times they go forth, as Wandering Priests, to beg alms; and if they go to any of the Mongolian Banners, these must give them sheep or oxen: they dare not refuse. But these five hundred families must only go out on these tours in turn. Seventy or eighty families must always stay at the tomb. They do not live in houses, but in tents or dwellings made of willow branches.

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"The tomb of Genghis Khan has no protecting wall, nor any *t'ing-êrh* or halls, but there are two enclosures formed of piled-up stones and screened by large, white, felt curtains. These two enclosures adjoin each other; the front one is for the sacrificial animals; the rear one, separated from it by a silk curtain, contains a stone coffin, in which the bones of Genghis Khan are preserved* The 21st day of the 3rd moon in every year is the date for sacrificing at the tomb. Before that date, in the open space on the north-eastern side, a large tent is erected, and the white stone coffin is respectfully carried out by a white horse and a white camel, and carefully placed in the middle of the tent. In front of it are arranged the bows, arrows, and carts belonging to the deceased; also the sacrificial animals. They then worship and pour out libations according to the rites. On the same day, the neighbouring princes, dukes, and other nobles also come in person to worship. Those who live far away to the north of the Shamo Desert or to the west of the Yellow River, send their official representatives to present sacrificial offerings. Even those living a thousand *li* away do not consider it too far to send their deputies. From inside the Great Wall, merchants of Chihli, Shansi, Shensi, and Ssŭch'uan bring their goods, camels, tea, cloth, and other things to exchange for the cattle and horses of the Mongols. The tents are set up in the open space and extend a distance of more than ten *li*, enormous numbers congregating to the amount of several tens of thousands. This lasts for seven or eight days, after which, having made their exchanges, they return home. It forms a splendid spectacle.

"The Prince of Taldi moreover said: 'The bows, arrows, and carts were all used by Genghis Khan personally; the bows and arrows are kept in the spirit tent; the carts are left on the sandhills of Chun-ko-êrh, and when the time for sacrificing approaches, they are respectfully brought to the tomb, in order that the deceased emperor may have the use

* This seems doubtful. In a subsequent part of the discussion it is stated that the bones of Genghis were buried in the ground, the things contained in the stone coffin being only relics left by him, such as clothes, crowns, knives, swords, etc.

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of them. The white horse and the white camel are provided by the seven Banners in turn; when they are old they are changed. At the time of changing a Lama priest is employed to recite several canons; then a silver tablet, specially prepared, is attached to the horse's mane. On ordinary days the horse is allowed to wander in the meadows without an attendant, but three days before the sacrifice it comes back of itself, and when the sacrifice is over it goes away again of itself. The horse is so keen about the sacrifice that during the whole day on which it is performed it stands waiting on the felt carpet outside the tent, without any necessity of being tied up, and neither eats nor drinks nor neighs nor moves. This is a miracle of the spirits."

Thus the accidental meeting of Mr. Chang with the Wandering Priest who visited the palace of the Prince of Taldi to solicit alms has thrown light on a point in Mongol history which otherwise might have remained unsettled, except in the minds of those Mongols who were in the secret, for a very long time to come.

I may add an incident not mentioned in the controversy which throws a lurid light on the ideas prevailing at a time when Magna Cartas and Habeas Corpus Acts were concepts which did not formulate themselves in the Oriental mind. Genghis Khan died in his travelling palace at Ha-la T'u, Sa-li Ch'uan, Kansu, and in order that it might not be known to what place his body was being taken for burial, everybody —man, woman, or child—met by the cortège on its journey to the Ortous country was promptly put to death. In this way, it is said, about thirty thousand people perished.

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LE GRAND PELERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

PAR

HENRI DORÉ S. J.

Article IV.—*Particularités physiques de la Montagne du Loup.*

I Roches et esplanades.

1° Le Rocher de la Lune de la mer. Ce rocher s'élève au N. E. de la montagne, comme un toit volant au-dessus de l'abîme; le caprice des poètes lui valut son nom. "Quand au bord de l'horizon la lune apparait au-dessus des flots et déchire les voiles de la nuit, il reçoit le premier baiser de ses rayons argentins."

En tout temps de l'année l'eau tombe goutte à goutte de son sommet; c'est pourquoi on lui à donné aussi le nom de Rocher qui distille les perles.

Communément le peuple l'appelle le Rocher de Koan-yng, parce que la pagode de Koan-yng est bâtie au bas de cet escarpement.

2° Le rocher de la Félicité céleste. Situé un peu à l'Est du précédent. A l'époque des Cinq petites dynasties Yao-Tsuen 姚存 fit escale au pied de cette roche, au retour d'un

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voyage à la capitale Tchang-ngan. La pierre étant d'un violet rouge on l'appelle encore La Roche violette, Tse-che-yen 紫石巖. Cette particularité a même été la raison pour laquelle on a surnommé Lang-chan la Montagne du corail violet, Tse-lang-chan 紫琅山.

3° Le rocher Fixe ciel, aussi appelé parce qu'il parait se dresser pour regarder le ciel. Sa position est légèrement à l'Est de la roche de la Félicité céleste.

4° Le rocher de l'Encensoir, Hiang-lou-fong 香爐峯. C'est un gros rocher en forme d'encensoir, qui s'élève au sommet septentrional de Lang-chan, à l'Est de la roche de la Félicité céleste.

5° Le pic de la Gourde, Hou-lou-fang 葫蘆峯; à l'Est de la grotte du Soleil, sur l'angle N.E. du mont. Il est taillé en forme de gourde, de là vient son nom.

6° La pierre de la Décision; ainsi nommé parce qu'il faut de la décision et du sang-froid pour s'y aventurer. Elle surplombe la grotte du Nuage et parait comme suspendue dans le vide, sur le front Nord de la montagne. En se risquant sur cette proéminence au-dessus du vertigineux précipice on se sent saisi de frisson.

Le lettré Lou Tse-liu 陸子履, des Song, avait fait une description de ce rocher; les caractères, gravés sur une stèle de pierre étaient déjà en partie effacés au commencement du XVIIIe siècle.

7° La pierre de la Demi-cour, ou du Demi-mille; à l'Est de la bibliothèque de la pagode, dans la cour intérieure de la bonzerie. Elle forme une vaste plate-forme de plus de cinquante pieds de diamètre, et dont la moitié seulement apparait dans la cour. On la nomme encore la pierre du Demi-mille, parce que cinq cents personnes pourraient se réunir sur sa surface, n'étant que la moitié en largeur de la fameuse pierre de Hou kieou 虎邱, appelée la pierre du Mille. (Cette pierre se trouve au Nord de Sou-tcheou, sur la montagne de Hou-kieou chan).

8° La pierre Volante; tombée du ciel, soi-disant, à l'Est du temple de Çakyamouni, et derrière la pagode de Che-siang-kong 施相公. Haute et longue de dix pieds et plus, sur six pieds de largeur, elle est comme une agglomérat de petites

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pierres soudées ensemble, et qui ont l'apparence d'écailles. On croit plutôt qu'elle proviendrait d'un éboulement au sommet de la falaise.

9° La Pierre-à-l'encre des Immortels.* A la base N. E. de la montagne, à l'Ouest de la pierre du Lion, s'étend une pierre plate, large de vingt pieds et plus, longue d'une quarantaine de pieds. C'était sur cette pierre, dit la légende, que les Immortels broyaient leur encre. Les caractères qu'on y avait gravés sont en majeure partie effacés.

10° La pierre du Lion. Sise à l'Ouest de la grotte du Soleil levant, sur le socle N. E. de la montagne, haute de plus de trente pieds, elle a l'apparence d'un lion assis et levant la tête. Les trois caractères Che tse che 獅子石, pierre du Lion, sont gravés sur son flanc.

11° La pierre du Tambour; à soixante pas à l'Est de la pagode Ta-che-yuen 大士院, près de l'assise Nord de la montagne. Elle est arrondie comme un tambour; sa circonférence mesure plus de vingt pieds. On y voit gravés les deux caractères 鼓石 kou-che, Pierre du Tambour. Hoang Kia-hien 黃嘉憲 de Koan-tchong 關中, lettré des Ming 明, avait y écrit une pièce de vers, gravée sur pierre, mais devenue illisible.

12° L'esplanade de la Recherche de la Solitude. Située à l'Est de la pierre de la Décision, au sommet Nord de la montagne, elle peut avoir dix pieds de long sur vingt de large. "Sur ces sommets," écrit un poète, "on se sent comme separé du monde, on domine les choses d'ici-bas. Tels ces immortels, que s'élançant des flancs caverneux de la terre voyagent dans les airs, montés sur des grues, ou planent sur les ailes du vent à travers les champs d'azur."

Plusieurs sages sont venus ici chercher la solitude, après avoir renoncé au souci des affaires. La plupart des caractères jadis gravés sur le rocher sont maintenant effacés.

13° L'esplanade de la Belle vue. Elle s'étend devant l'entrée de la pagode supérieure; c'est une plate-forme d'une cinquantaine de pieds de côté, entourée d'une balustrade en

* Notons au préalable que les Chinois se servent d'une pierre plate, sur laquelle ils frottent leur bâton d'encre, pour le délayer avec un peu d'eau.

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pierre et parfaitement pavée. De cette esplanade la vue s'étend au loin sur le grand fleuve et sur les alentours; le coup d'œil est encore ravissant, bienque la mer se soit retirée. Elle se trouve devant la pagode de Wang-ling-koan.

14° L'esplanade Protectrice contre la marée. Ainsi nomme-t-on la plate-forme supérieure d'une forte digue en pierre, élevée devant le temple des Quatre grands Rois du ciel, pour protéger le bas de la montagne contre les ras de marée.

15° L'esplanade de la Réincarnation; sur le versant Nord de la falaise, derrière la pagode de Koan-yng-ta-che. Là, disent les bonzes, le bouddha Koan-yng reprit naissance sous le nom de Seng-kia-ta-cheng 僧伽大聖. C'est, comme on peut en juger, un confirmatur mensonger, inventé dans le but d'accréditer la sotte légende, qu'ils ont intérêt de maintenir bien vivace dans l'imagination des masses. *

II Grottes.

1° La grotte du Nuage. En descendant d'une centaine de pas le versant Nord de Lang-chan, on suit un sentier en lacet, et on arrive à l'entrée de la grotte, qui matin et soir est voilée par un nuage, s'échappant d'une déchirure du rocher.

2° La grotte du Soleil levant; située à l'Est de la pierre du Lion, vers le bas du versant N.E. Elle a une dixaine de pieds de largeur, double est sa hauteur, et sa profondeur est d'une quarantaine de pieds.

La légende rapporte que l'empereur T'sin Che-hoang 秦始皇, épris du désir de contempler le soleil levant, fit jeter un pont sur la mer, pour relier l'îlot de Lang-chan au continent, et vint ensuite dans cette grotte pour assister au petit lever de l'astre du matin. Les esprits et les génies commandèrent aux rochers de descendre dans la mer, et quand ils n'obéissaient pas assez promptement à leurs volontés, ils les cinglaient de si vigoureux coups de fouet que le sang s'échappait des blessures. Sur le flanc Nord de Lang-chan, la roche est encore sillonnée par les cicatrices provenant des coups de fouet. C'est ainsi que la fable est survenue, pour expliquer le travail d'érosion produit par les vagues déferlant contre la paroi de pierre.

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* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. II, pp. 1-5; liv. III, pp. 1-9.

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Les poètes chinois sont intarissables sur ce sujet. Ils décrivent " L'aurore au front de rose, aux pieds d'or, sortant souriante de son céleste palais "; ils saluent " Le roi de gloire, passant les portes de l'orient, monté sur son char étincelant d'or et des rubis, tandis que l'océan, la falaise et ses déchirures boisées vibrent et mirouettent sous le scintillement de ses rayons."

3° La grotte du Nord; à l'Est du pic de la Gourde; elle a vingt pieds de haut, et quarante de large. Propre et spacieuse elle pourrait servir de salle de festin pour mille invités. Elle s'ouvre, vers l'Ouest, près d'une source, et le soleil en achevant de mourir à l'horizon vient l'éclairer de ses derniers feux. Pour cette raison on l'a nommée quelquefois la Grotte du Couchant. *

III. Sources.

1° La source Toujours Limpide. Elle fut découverte par le bonze Tche-hoan, à l'Est du temple de Çakyamouni. On l'appellait encore la source Intarissable. Le tao-che Yen Kou 燕谷, des Song, composa une pièce de vers sur cette fontaine, et grava sur le rocher les trois caractères Heng tsing tsiuen 恒清泉, source toujours limpide.

Plus tard on combla cette fontaine et on exhaussa le terrain pour y bâtir le temple de Che-siang-kong 施相公. Le premier caractère, Heng, apparait encore au-dessus du remblai. Les connaisseurs regrettent qu'on ait ainsi enseveli sous terre cette source célèbre.

2° La source Fraîche et Limpide, à l'Est du temple des Quatre grands Rois, au bas de la montagne. Le bonze Tche-hoan fit creuser cette fontaine. L'eau s'y maintenait toujours à la même hauteur, quelque quantité qu' on en puisât. Plus tard on y creusa un puits, qui fut appelé Hoan-kong tsing 幻公井, Puits du bonze Hoan.

3° La source Ou se mire la Lune. Elle se trouve à l'Est de la grande porte monumentale qui donne accès à la montagne. La lune à son lever venait s'y mirer, ont dit les poètes. Elle n'existe plus qu'en souvenir et dans leurs poésies, depuis elle a été comblée. On montre encore l'emplacement.

* *Annales de cinq Montagnes*, liv. II, pp. 8-14.

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4° La source de la Pure Sagesse. Elle jaillit fraîche et limpide à la base septentrionale de la montagne. Pendant les plus fortes chaleurs elle ne tarit jamais.

5° Les deux viviers du Rachat des êtres vivants. Ils furent creusés à la base de la montagne, l'un à l'Est et l'autre à l'Ouest, par ordre impérial sous l'empereur Song Kao tsong, la 17e année de son règne, c'est-à-dire en 1147. Le texte de cet édit fut gravé sur une stèle, placée sur la montagne du Loup. C'est la plus ancienne dont il soit fait mention dans les *Annales des cinq Montagnes*. Le texte entier se trouve au iiv. XI, pp. 1-2.

6° La pièce d'eau En communication avec le Kiang. Creusée au pied de la montagne à l'Est, au milieu d'un bouquet de verdure, l'eau jaillit du rocher et est inépuisable. On croit que cette fontaine est alimentée par les eaux du Kiang; on a gravé sur le rocher ces deux caractères, Tong Kiang 通江, en communication avec le Kiang.

IV. Ancien aspect de la montagne du Loup.

Jadis le versant méridional de la montagne était du haut en bas planté de beaux sapins. Li Tsou-lai 李祖徠 de Jou-kao 如皋 avait institué la Société des planteurs de sapins. Nous possédons encore quelques unes des pièces de vers composées par six lettrés affiliés à cette association, et Imprimées dans nos Annales, liv. IV, pp. 1-4. Ces vers rappellent l'aménité toute champêtre de cette forêt de sapins dont ils étaient les protecteurs. Sans doute que leur zèle se ralentit, car dans la suite ils disparurent en grande partie. Les notables de Tong-tcheou et la société chargée de l'entretien des pagodes en firent replanter d'autres.

Le bouquet de sapins qui couronne le sommet de l'ancienne falaise est un bien maigre souvenir des temps, où nos lettrés décrivaient dans leurs compositions poétiques les charmes de cette solitude boisée et la montée des Dix mille sapins. C'était le nom donné à un sentier en lacet, serpentant à l'ombre de ces grands arbres et conduisant jusqu'au faîte de la montagne.

Le port de Lang-chan.

L'ancien port de Lang-chan, nommé Lang-chan-kang 狼山港 ou encore Hoang-kang 黃港, le port jaune, se

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trouvait au Sud-Ouest, en avant de la montagne de Terre Jaune. C'était un port très fréquenté, on y voyait des bateaux de tous genres, jonques de mer, gros bateaux du fleuve, navires de commerce, barques de voyageurs, jonques de guerre; ils y étaient à l'abri du vent derrière une jetée. L'administration y avait aussi bâti une douane, chargée de prélever les taxes.*

Les alluvions ont peu à peu comblé ce port. Lang-chan une fois soudé au continent et entouré d'une large bande de terre d'alluvion, a perdu avec son importance militaire toute valeur commerciale.

Article V.—*Fondation du premier monastère bouddhique à Lang-chan.*

A quelle époque remontent les premières fondations sur la montagne du Loup?

Pour répondre à cette question nous commencerons par juxtaposer les textes tirés des *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, puis nous donnerons les correctifs insérés dans le dernier livre intitulé *Chroniques supplémentaires*. Les prémices posées, il ne restera plus guère qu'à tirer les conclusions.

A. La première bonzerie.

La bonzerie de Tse lang chan yuen 紫琅禪院, sise sur le côté Est de la montagne du Loup, fut bâtie la seconde année de Tsong-tchang 總章, c'est-à-dire en l'an 669 ap. J.C., pendant le règne de T'ang Kao-tsong. Les *Annales de Tong-tcheou* et les anciennes chroniques en font foi. Le bonze Tche-hoan 智幻 et un notable du pays nommé Yao Yen-tchang 姚彥章 construisirent la grande salle de la pagode, les temples secondaires, la tour et l'habitation des bonzes. A cette époque Lang-chan était une falaise complétement entourée d'eau; on ne pouvait y accéder qu'en bateau, aussi nomme-t-on la bonzerie Tse-hang-yuen.† Durant la période Ta-pao (958-971, à l'avénement des Song) on donna à la pagode le nom de Koang-kiao-chan se 廣教禪寺. La raison de ce changement de nom, disent les Annales, c'est que

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* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. III, pp. 12-15.

† Cf. ch. I, Art. I, (*supra*, p. 47) où il est donné une explication de ce nom, désignant à la fois un îlot et la consécration de la pagode sous le vocable de Koan-yng pou-sah (Tse-hang Koan-yng).

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"L'ancien nom lui avait été donné, parce que la montagne était entourée d'eau de tous côtés. Puisqu'elle avait commencé à se souder au continent après la période Yuen-fong 元豐 (1078-86), il convenait de lui donner un autre nom." La 13e année de Kang-hi (1674) l'établissement de la montagne du Loup reçut son nom actuel, Tse lang chan yuen,* bonzerie du Corail violet.

Rappelons nous qu'à la fin du Xe siècle le préfet Yang-Kiun 楊均 avait par superstition changé le nom de la montagne du Loup en celui de montagne du Corail violet. †

Résumé historique des Annales.

1 La premiére pagode appelée Tse-hang-yuen fut bâtie en 669.

2 Elle changea une première fois de nom de 958-971 et s'appela Koang-kiao chan-se.

3 Son nom actuel Tse-hang-chan-yuen date du règne de Kang-hi, 1674.

4 Le bonze Tche-hoan bâtit la première pagode en 66[illegible]

5 Le notable Yao Yen-tchang aida le bonze.

Pour élucider cette question historique il nous reste à répondre aux trois points suivants:

1, Le bonze Tche-hoan fut-il le fondateur de la pagode Tse-hang-yuen en 669?

2, Le notable Yao l'aida-t-il pour cette construction de 669?

3, La première pagode Tse-hang-yuen fut-elle bâtie en 669?

A la première question nous répondons catégoriquement, Non. La raison est péremptoire: c'est qu'il ne vécut que trois siècles après. Nous tirerons tous nos arguments du texte même des Annales.

1° Les mêmes Annales qui le donnent comme fondateur sous T'ang Kao-tsong en 669 renferment sa notice biographique au livre X; pp. 11 et 12. Ces notes historiques, disent elles, sont tirées des vieilles *Annales de Tong-tcheou.*

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* Nom actuel,— c'est-à-dire à l'époque de l'impression des Annales au XVIIIe siècle.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. V, pp, 1-3; I, p. 1. *V. supra*, p 44.

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Or, il est dit clairement que le bonze était un docteur de la dynastie des Song (donc après 960, époque de l'avénement de cette dynastie).

2° En outre, les bonzes, dans une assemblée élurent Tche-hoan comme supérieur de la bonzerie Koang-kiao-chàn-se pendant la période Tai-ping-hing-kouo (976-981); c'était donc plus de trois cents ans aprés la première fondation fixée en 669.

3° Nous savons déjà que la bonzerie n'avait reçu le nom de Koang-kiao-chan-se que sous la période Ta-pao 958-971. Puisqu'elle portait déjà ce nom à l'époque où Tche-hoan fut nommè supérieur, c'est donc une preuve de plus que cette nomination, ne peut, en aucune façon, avoir été antérieure à la seconde moitié du Xme siecle.

4° Le bonze Tche-hoan pour en imposer, et pour se donner des tîtres à la vénération publique, se donnait comme une réincarnation du bonze Seng-kia-ta-cheng; or, Seng-kia ne mourut qu'en 710. Tche-hoan ne peut donc pas être né avant la mort de celui qui devait se réincarner dans sa personne.

Donc tous les détails de la vie de Tche-hoan, et même les légendes qui circulent sur son compte, prouvent à l'évidence qu'il n'existait pas en 669, et par conséquent qu'il n'a pu être le fondateur de la pagode Tse-hang-yuen à cette époque.* Les bonzes de Lang-chan le donnent comme premier fondateur, probablement parce qu'il passe, à tort au à raison, pour avoir reçu le grade du docteur, et qu'ils ont comme tactique de faire remonter la fondation de leurs bonzeries à un personnage célèbre ou à un thaumaturge; c'est un moyen d'attirer les foules et de battre monnaie.

A cette difficulté de date ils répondent sans sourciller que Tche-hoan était un saint bouddhiste, qui vécut plus de 300 ans, et la question est resolue!

Seule l'hypothèse de deux bonzes ayant porté le nom de Tche-hoan pourrait concilier ces difficultés historiques, mais aucun document trouvé jusqu'ici n'est de nature à éveiller même le plus petit doute.

* Les *Annales supplémentaires*, liv. xx, p 3, admettent la thèse que nous defendons.

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Il parait donc historiquement certain qu'il ne doit point être considéré comme le premier supérieur, puisque le bonze Louo-ngan Hoei-wen l'avait précéde dans cette charge deux siècles auparavant, si nous en croyons les Annales (Liv. x, p. 12, et liv. xx, p. 5).

Seconde question; le notable Yao Yen-tchang l'aida-t-il pour cette construction de 669? D'abord, il n'aida bien certainement pas Tche-hoan en 669, puisque ce bonze n'était pas né; mais outre cette réponse générale on peut se demander si du moins, Yao vécut à cette époque.

Là encore nous devons répondre négativement. Au livre xx, p. 3 des Annales nous lisons, "Yao Yen-tchang, d'après les Chroniques de Tong-tcheou, est le même que Yen-hong 彥洪,* neveu de Yao Ting-koei 姚廷珪, et c'est lui qui eut grandement à souffrir sous le roi Tsien 錢 nommé Lieou 鏐." † Or, Lieou devint roi de Tsien en 851 et se maintint sur le trône jusqu'en 932; ce fut donc de 851 à 932 que Yao Yen-tchang fut molesté par cet aventurier parvenu au pouvoir royal. Cette date prouve que Yao Yan-tchang a pu être contemporain du bonze Tche-hoan; mais par ailleurs, elle démontre péremptoirement l'impossibilité de la coopération pour bâtir la pagode en 669. Ici encore il y a un anachronisme de plusieurs siécles.

La troisième question est: La première pagode Tse-hang-yuen a-t-elle été bâtie en 669? Rien ne s'y oppose, pourvu qu'on nous accorde que Tche-hoan at Yao Yen-tchang n'y eurent aucune part.

Il ne reste plus aucun monument, aucune stèle, datant de cette époque; nous sommes réduits à nous en tenir au témoignage des *Annales de Tong-tcheou*, anciennes et nouvelles, et à celui des *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, qui toutes affirment que cette pagode fut construite en 669. Les *Annales supplémentaires* au livre xx tout en repoussant comme une fausseté historique l'ingérence du bonze Tche-hoan et du notable Yao, dans une œuvre bien antérieure à leur naissance, garde un

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* C'est-à-dire qu'il avait deux noms, Yen-tchang 彥章, et Yen-hong 彥洪.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. xx., p. 3.

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silence absolu sur le fait en lui-même. Elles ne disent ni oui ni non; elles n'ont à apporter aucune preuve contre, et à donner aucun document pour. Nous sommes dans le même cas, èt nous donnons cette date de 669 comme l'époque probable de la première fondation, sous bénéfice d'inventaire, cependant, et sur la seule foi au témoignage des Annales. Nous sommes en droit, cependant, de conclure qu'il existait péjà une pagode à Lang-chan vers 760, car Louo-ngan Hoei-wen de retour au Fou-kien, sur le déclin de l'âge, vint à Lang-chan vers cette époque, et y mourut comme supérieur de la bonzerie; ce qui suppose qu'elle existait déjà depuis un certain temps, et c'est une nouvelle preuve de probabilité pour l'opinion qui place la fondation de cette bonzerie en 669.

B. La tour de Lang-chan.

I *Date de sa construction.* La tour carrée à cinq étages, bâtie sur la crête la plus élevée de la montagne du Loup, devant la grande pagode de Seng-kai-ta-cheng, fut appelée de deux noms différents. A l'origine on la nomma Tche-yun-ta 支雲塔 Tour Etai des nuages, puis quand le culte de Ta-cheng fut introduit à Lang-chan on changea aussi le nom de la tour qui s'appela alors Tour de Ta-cheng 大聖 ta-cheng ta. Cette distinction bien établie, il ne reste plus de difficulté insoluble dans tous les passages du texte des Annales qui traite de ce sujet.

Au livre vii, p. 10 il est dit, "La tour Etai des nuages est sise sur le plus haut sommet de la montagne du Loup, devant le hall de Ta-cheng. D'après les anciennes Annales sa construction remonte à la seconde année de Tsong-tchang 總章 des Tang, 669 ap. J. C. C'est une tour à cinq étages; son faite domine les nuages."

Les *Annales supplementaires*, liv. xx, p. 3, semblent à première vue combattre cette opinion; voici comment elles s'expriment: "Les vieilles Annales de Tong-tcheou mentionnent l'érection de la tour de Ta-cheng à Lang-chan pendant la période Tsong-tchang, 668-70. Mais la biographie de Ta-cheng nous apprend que ce bonze arriva en Chine pendant l'époque Long-cho (661-664), qu'il habita la pagode Long-hing-se 龍興寺 à Tchou-tcheou 楚州, durant la période Tong-tien 通天 (696-7), et qu'il contruisit sa tour dans le

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Se-tcheou 泗州 à l'époque King-long (707-710), plusieurs dizaines d'années après la période Tsong-tchang. Comment auraiton pu lui construire une tour à Lang-chan avant sa mort? N'est-ce pas une erreur d'avancer que la tour de Ta-cheng fut édifiée pendant la période Tsong-tchang? On est donc obligé d'avouer que la construction en question n'était point la tour de Ta-cheng, et que ce ne fut point le bonze Tche-hoan qui la bâtit."

C'est, me semble-t-il, le cas d'appliquer la distinction ci-dessus énoncée. La construction de l'époque Tsong-tchang n'était point la tour de Ta-cheng, mais c'était la tour Etai des nuages qui plus tard fut appelée Tour de Ta-cheng, après l'intronisation de ce bonze sur le mont du Loup. Jusqu'à preuve du contraire nous préférons nous en tenir au témoignage constant de toutes les vieilles Annales, qui font remonter la première bonzerie et sa tour à l'an 669. En tout cas elle date au moins de la fin du Xme siècle, comme nous allons le voir.

II *La tour de Ta-cheng et la légende.* La branche de saule, la fiole d'eau lustrale, et la tour: voilà comme les trois attributs inséparables de Ta-cheng. Plusieurs légendes circulent au sujet de cette tour. Déjà nous en avons conté une dans les *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. vii, p. 266.

Ta-cheng partit un jour de Si-ki 西岐, bourg du Tong-tai-hien 東臺縣, au Kiang-sou, avec l'intention de se rendre à Lang-chan. Sur ses épaules il emporta deux sections d'une étuve, dont se servent les Chinois pour cuire les pains à la vapeur. Arrivé près du pont jeté sur le canal en face de Li-fa-kiao 力發橋, bourg de Jou-kao 如皋, il s'informa si le pont était solide. Tout le monde de sourire, on lui répondit que le pont avait fait ses preuves, qu'il était d'une solidité parfaite. Le bonze s'y engage, mais, arrivé au milieu, le pont chancelle et menace de s'écrouler. A ce moment Koan-yng parut au-dessus des eaux et soutint de la main l'arche principale, qui s'écroula de suite après le passage du bonze. Dans les jours qui suivirent, les habitants de Si-ki ne furent pas peu surpris en constatant la disparition de deux étages de leur tour de pagode. Seng-kia les avait emportées

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sur son épaule en partant pour Lang-chan. Pour cacher son larcin il les avait métamorphosées sous la forme de deux sections d'étuve, mais le pont avait fléchi sous un poids si lourd, et sans l'aide de Koan-yng, dont le bonze était l'avatar, il se serait écroulé sur ses bases avant le passage effectué. Ces deux étages, ajoute la légende, lui servirent pour la construction de la tour de Lang-chan.

Une seconde légende est racontée dans les Annales, liv. xx, p. 4. Vers la fin de la période Siuen-houo 宣和 (1119-26) un riche commerçant donna trente mille taëls pour restaurer et orner la tour de Ta-cheng à Se-tcheou; cette tour s'appelait le Phare du Monde.

Or, quelques années après, à l'époque Kien-yen (1127-29), ce marchand rentra au Hou-nan. Arrivé en face de Tche-tcheou, au milieu du fleuve parut une tour à treize étages, flottant sur l'eau, et se rapprochant du bateau. Les bateliers en le voyant furent effrayées et comme d'instinct invoquèrent Bouddha. La tour rapprochait toujours de leur bord; soudain un bonze sortit du pied de la tour, étendit la main en disant: "Voilà celui qui a libéralement bâtie cette tour. Maintenant le pays de Hoai-nan 淮南 passe par une crise terrible, je transporte ma tour vers la mer de l'Est." A peine ces mots furent-ils achevés, qu'un fort coup de vent emporta la tour, qui volait comme une flèche. Presqu'aussitôt après, on apprit que la tour de Se-tcheou avait été détruite par un incendie.

"Ridicule légende," ajoute le chroniqueur, "puisque depuis la période Tai-ping-hing-kouo (976-81) la tour de Lang-chan était debout et Ta-cheng y recevait les honneurs du culte. Il est donc évident que cette vision du marchand hounanais ne fut point le transfert de la tour de Se-tcheou à Lang-chan par le bonze Ta-cheng. Par ailleurs, Tong-tcheou et Lang-chan à cette époque dépendaient aussi du Hoai-nan."

Tout en traitant de fable la légende ci-dessus, notre auteur nous découvre sa pensée sur un point important, c'est que d'après lui, Ta-cheng était déjà honoré à Lang-chan an moment où le bonze Tche-hoan fut nommé supérieur de la

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bonzerie, période Tai-ping-hing-kouo, et que ce fut à cette époque que fut construite la tour Etai des nuages, dédiée depuis à Ta-cheng.*

Etait-ce une construction complète ou plutôt la restauration d'une tour, déjà existante, dut-on même démolir l'ancienne tour pour en élever une nouvelle sur un autre plan? Ce sont là des questions auxquelles il est difficile de répondre avec précision. Toujours est il qu'il reste ce point bien acquis, que tous les chroniqueurs, même ceux que paraissent révoquer en doute que la tour Etai des nuages fut bâtie en 669, concédent qu'elle date, au moins, de l'époque Tai-ping-hing-kouo.

III. Ruines et restaurations.

L'Etai des nuages, perché tout au sommet de la haute falaise, dut affronter toute la fureur des typhons, et paya cher quelquefois l'orgueil de sa prééminence et les poémes lyriques composés à sa louange par les célèbres lettrés Tchang Tche-mong 張志孟, Cheng Ming-tcheng 沈明臣, Ling Yun-tcheng 林雲程, Tchang Yuen-fang 張元方, etc. Dans leurs vers ils ont essayé de peindre le magnifique panorama qui se déroulait jadis aux yeux du spectateur placé au sommet de la tour. D'un côté le cours majestueux du Fleuve Bleu, un vrai bras de mer, sillonné par les bateaux de tout tonnage; de l'autre, les flots tumultueux de la grande mer, qui venaient battre les flancs déchiquetés de ces hauts rochers. "Là," disent-ils, "on se sent plus voisin des étoiles, on domine ces petites régions tumultueuses où l'espèce humaine, comme une fourmilière, se démène et s'agitte." A vrai dire, hélas! c'est l'orgueilleux Satan, qui, perché sur son trône et du haut de ce rocher, tient depuis dix siècles sous son joug tyrannique ces malheureuses populations païennes.

La tour de Lang-chan est massive, d'une robuste carrure, on semble avoir sacrifié l'élégance à la solidité. On dirait une machine de guerre, destinée à résister au choc de la tempête, plutôt qu'une œuvre d'architecture élevée pour flatter l'œil par la délicatesse de ses formes. Voici les principaux sinistres relevés dans les Annales pendant les quatre derniers

* Rappelons nous que ces *Annales supplémentaires* sont les seules à douter de la construction de cette tour en 669.

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siècles. En 1480 la tour fut brûlée avec les pagodes voisines et la maison des bonzes. En 1482 elle fut restaurée par le bonze Té-tsing 德清. En 1569, pendant la VIIe lune, un typhon renversa la tour et la pagode des Quatre grands rois. En 1574, le 14 de la VIIe lune, un cyclone s'abattit sur la contrée, souleva les vagues à une telle hauteur que la base de la montagne fut submergée. Dans les campagnes avoisinantes le nombre des victimes fut incalculable. La tour fut détruite, tous les ,toits des pagodes furent emportés. En 1588, le 26 de la VIe lune, un orage terrible éclata pendant la nuit, la foudre incendia la tour. En 1614 un tremblement de terre fit tomber un des angles de la tour. En 1627, le 21 de la lune, un coup de foudre détacha l'angle N. E. de la maçonnerie. Le 17 de la VIIIe lune de cette même année, la foudre renversa l'angle S. O. sur toute la hauteur des cinq étages. En 1716 la foudre causa de graves dégats à la charpente et les pierres subirent de grosses avaries. En 1741 l'Etai des nuages fut derechef frappé par la foudre.

Article VI.—*Les principaux temples de Lang-chan.*

A. Les pagodes de Koan-yng.

1° Kou-tse-hang-yuen 古慈航院, L'ancienne pagode de l'îlot de la Miséricordieuse. Ce fut la première construction de Lang-chan, sur le socle de la montagne à l'Est. Derrière on bâtit ensuite la grande pagode de Koan-ti, dieu de la guerre. La montagne du Loup était alors une île, circonstance merveilleusement propice pour y inaugurer le culte de Koan-yng, qu'on aime tant à représenter dans son îlot de Hiang-chan 香山 ou abordant à son rocher sur une feuille de lotus. *

Les Annales ne nous disent point si Koan-yng y fut honoré dans les premiers temps sous forme masculine ou sous la figure d'une femme. S'il est vrai que cette construction remonte à 669, l'artiste Ou Tao-tse 吳道子, qui vécut sous Tang Hiuen-tsong 唐玄宗 (713-56), n'avait point encore

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, p. 149, fig. 37.

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dessiné sa Koan-yng féminine, qui est à bon droit considérée comme un des premiers types du genre, sinon le premier, suivant le témoignage d'auteurs sérieux.*

Avant le règne de Hiuen-tsong nous ne trouvons aucune trace de Koan-yng féminine; il n'est donc pas invraisemblable de croire que sa statue, placée dans la première pagode de Lang-chan, fut un Koan-yng masculin. La biographie de Seng-kia, qui mourut en 710, n'est point faite pour nous dissuader qu'à cette époque Koan-yng était généralement considéré comme un homme et non comme une femme, car ce bonze, pour se donner du crédit auprès des populations, se posait comme une réincarnation de Koan-yng. Or il eût paru pour le moins extraordinaire, même aux yeux des moins clairvoyants, qu'un pou-sah féminin se réincarnât sous la forme d'un bonze; la forme masculine mettait certainement plus d'atouts dans son jeu, pour le succès de la partie.

Inutile de dire que son audacieuse prétention obtint la résultat le plus inespéré, puisque depuis au moins neuf cents ans il siège en maître sur les hauteurs de Lang-chan, le front ceint de la glorieuse auréole d'un Koan-yng réincarné. Les bonzes eux-mêmes semblent avoir été de cet avis, et au sommet de la tour dédiée à Ta-cheng on voit encore un Koan-yng masculin.

2° Koan-yng-ta-che yuen 觀音大士院 est bâtie sur les assises septentrionales du rocher, au bas de l'escarpement de la Lune de la mer, nommé aussi le rocher de Koan-yng, parce qu'une légende rapporte que ce fut au-dessous de ce rocher qu'aborda une statue de Koan-yng en pierre, flottant miraculeusement au-dessus des eaux, et plus tard réputée pour de nombreux prodiges. Invention mensongère, dont les bonzes sont coutumiers, pour exciter l'admiration des foules et en recueillir les fruits en espèces sonnantes.

3° Ta pei tien 大悲殿; le hall de la très compatissante; dedié à Koan-yng et bâti à l'Est de la pagode de Çakyamouni. On le nomme encore, le Pavillon de la très compatissante.

* *Recnerches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, p. 142 (Ou Tao-tse et sa célèbre Koan-yng féminine de Tchou-tcheou).

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Cette pagode disparut dans un incendie sous le règne de Yong-tcheng (1723-35). Ce nom semble indiquer que le culte d'une Koan-yng féminine est définitivement introduit sur la montagne du Loup. Malheureusement les Annales ne mentionnent point l'époque de la construction. Elle vient seulement, dans l'énumération des pagodes, après le temple élevé à l'esprit du Kiang et de la mer, au XVIe siècle. A cette époque le culte de Koan-yng sous figure de femme, était déjà presque universellement répandu.

4° Wang-hai Koan-yng-se 望海觀音祠, pagode de Koan-yng donnant vue sur la mer, bâtie sur le flanc oriental, audessus de la paroi taillée à pic par le frottement des vagues. Là se trouvait jadis le pavillon 'donnant vue sur la mer,' on y plaça une statue de Koan-yng 'aux habits blancs;'* le pavillon prit alors le nom de Wang-hai Koan-yng se.

Mr. Tchang Kien, académicien du Kiang-sou, promoteur des bonnes œuvres païennes et comme trait d'union entre la civilisation contemporaine et les idées antiques, a fait élever à cette place même, un kiosque d'architecture européenne, dans lequel il a placé une statue colossale de la Koan-yng 'aux habits blancs.'

5° Pé-i Koan-yng ngan 白衣觀音菴. La rotonde de Koan-yng 'a l'habit blanc' avait été élevée à l'Ouest de la bibliothèque de la bonzerie.

B. La pagode de Çakyamouni, Che-kia-tien 釋迦殿.

Cette pagode fut construite sous le règne de Tang Kao-tsong 唐高宗 pendant la période Tsong-tchang 總章 (668-70), c'est-à-dire en même temps que la pagode dédiée à Koan-yng. Du reste, même dans ce temple, nous verrons qu'elle occupe une grande place.

La pagode fut dévorée par un incendie durant la période Tcheng-hoa 成化, et rebâtie l'an 1482, de la même période. Deux autres restaurations de cet édifice sont spécialement notifiées dans les Annales, celle de 1602 et celle de 1742. De nos jours il est en parfait état de conservation, c'est la salle la plus monumentale de Lang-chan.

Le hall de Çakyamouni se trouve au bas de la montagne, un peu au S. O. Après avoir franchi la grand porte d'entrée

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, p. 145.

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et la salle de Quatre grands rois, on se trouve en face de la salle monumentale dite de Çakyamouni, vulgairement connue sous le nom de Ta-Fou-tien 大佛殿, Grand hall de Bouddha.

L'autel est double. Sur la face antérieure siègent les trois membres de la Triade bouddhique. Çakyamouni occupe le trône central, à ses côtés siègent les deux autres membres de la Triade, Wen-tchou 文殊 Manjusri, et Pou-hien 普賢 Samantabhadra. Les dix-huit Louo-han (bonzes thaumaturges) font la haie des deux côtés de la salle. Le général Wei-touo 韋馱, protecteur armé du bouddhisme, et Touo-ta Li t'ien-wang 托塔李天王, Li porte-tour, autrement dit Li-tsing 李靖, d'origine taoïste,* se tiennent debout de chaque côté de l'autel un peu en avant. Ce sont comme les officiers de la maison militaire de Bouddha.

Le revers de l'autel est une représentation du rocher de Pou-touo 普陀, dédié à Koan-yng. Autour d'elle se pressent une légion de génies et de bouddhas, qui du fond de leurs grottes ou du haut des airs forment sa cour et lui présentent leurs devoirs.

C. Le temple de Ta-cheng, 大聖 Ta-cheng-tien 大聖殿.

Le hall du Grand saint est situé sur le faite de la montagne du Loup, derrière la tour Etai des nuages.

Dans la biographie de ce bonze nous avons déjà expliqué clairement les raisons pour lesquelles son culte fut introduite à Lang-chan. L'îlot étant spécialement consacré à Koan-yng, et Seng-kia-ta-cheng étant une réincarnation de ce pou-sah, on trouva tout naturel de l'introniser sur son domaine. A proprement parler, le but du pélerinage resta toujours le même, on y honora toujours le même personnage, mais dans deux de ses existences successives, et sous deux noms divers.

Seng-kia vint-il en personne à Lang-chan, au cours de ses voyages dans les diverses provinces de Chine ?

Le plus anciennes notices du Chen-sien-tong-kien et du Cheou-chen-ki 搜神記 consignées dans les *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VII, p. 263-67, n'en font aucune mention. Après tout, ce n'est pas une raison suffisante pour

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. IX, p. 569.

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le nier, car tout n'est pas raconté dans ces biographies, et pendant son séjour de 53 ans en Chine il put passer par la bonzerie de Lang-chan. Toutefois nous n'avons pour indication que les légendes locales, transmises et enjolivées de génération en génération. Par exemple, les deux que nous avons racontées dans l'Article précédent, sur le transfert de la tour.

Une troisième légende est signalée dans les Annales, liv. 1, p. 1; elle se rapporte à l'origine même du nom donné à la montagne. Un loup blanc se cachait dans les fourrés sur les pentes abruptes de l'îlot; le bonze Seng-kia dompta cette bête féroce et la chassa de son repaire. En souvenir du prodige on donna à la montagne le noms de montagne du Loup, et même de montagne du Loup blanc 白狼山 Pé-lang-chan. Cette dernière dénomination est fréquemment employée dans les anciens titres officiels donnés aux officiers militaires chargés de la défense de cette position.

Quand même il serait prouvé plus tard que le bonze ne vint jamais à Lang-chan, ce qui ne me parait pas improbable, la vogue toujours grandissante de son culte s'explique à merveille, puisqu'en sa personne les populations superstitieuses croient honorer un avatar de Koan-yng, le pou-sah de la Miséricorde. Du reste, les honneurs dont il avait été comblé à la cour, son titre d'honneur de Maître du royaume, ses funérailles solennelles aux frais de l'Etat l'érection d'un stupa sur son tombeau à Ling-hoai-hien, en avaient fait un personnage célèbre.

A quelle époque fut construit le temple de Ta-cheng à Lang-chan?

Le seul document écrit que nous connaissions est le récit des *Annales supplémentaires*, liv. xx, p. 4, où il est dit que le culte de Ta-cheng commença à progresser à Lang-chan pendant la période Tai-ping-hing-kouo (976-81) sous l'administration du bonze Tche-hoan. Ce bonze s'étant posé en avatar de Ta-cheng, travaillait peut-être aussi pour son propre intérêt, espérant bien qu'en poussant au sommet des honneurs celui qui s'était réincarné en lui, il en recue illerait sûrement de la gloire. Il raisonnait juste, car dans la suite on lui bâtit une pagode, et il y fut honoré.

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Sous la dynastie des Song 宋 et sous celle des Yüen 元 le temple de Ta-cheng existait sûrement. Les Annales racontent qu'en 1482 le notable Wang Kang et le bonze Te-tsing 德清 relevèrent les ruines de cet édifice, qui venait d'être détruit par un incendie. De nouveau il fut restauré par Ma Kiong-tchang et remis dans son premier état de splendeur, "comme au temps de la dynastie des Song et de celles des Yüen." Ces dernières lignes, inserées aussi dans l'inscription gravée sur une stèle, prouvent que le temple existait sous ces mêmes dynasties.

De nouvelles restaurations sont encore mentionées aux années 1636 et 1654, puis une dernière fois sous Kang-hi en 1711.

Dans la pagode actuel, un escalier de pierre d'une trentaine de marches et d'une largeur de vingt-cinq pieds, donne accès au temple de Seng-kia, je serais plutôt tenté de dire au 'repaire,' car cette salle est une vraie bouche d'enfer, où l'air est empesté de l'odeur nauséabonde de l'encens chinois, et de la senteur fade de l'huile en combustion. Une lumière fumeuse s'échappe des bougies de graisse, plantées sur des chandeliers crasseux, et déchire de lueurs lugubres la demi-obscurité qui règne autour de l'autel où trône l'idole.

Elle est revêtue d'un manteau jaune sale, agrafé sur l'épaule gauche à la mode des bonzes, et assise au fond d'une niche obscure, le front ceint d'une couronne d'or. Voilà le tyran, devant lequel vingt à trente mille paysans et des centaines dė fiers lettrés se posant volontiers en libres penseurs, viennent chaque année se prosterner, la terreur dans l'âme, et battant du front le pavé de son bouge infect.

D. Temple de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer 江海神廟
L'esprit du Kiang et de la mer, qui a le pouvoir de soulever les vagues, est Yang-heou 陽侯, mais on donne plus communément cette mission à Ou-tse-siu 吳子胥, ministre de Fou-tchai 夫差, roi de Ou 吳, qui fit coudre son corps dans une outre de peau, qu'on jeta dans le Yang-tse-kiang. Pour se venger il soulève les flots du fleuve.*

Le temple en honneur de cette divinité fut construit en 1514 par décret impérial et en action de grâces, soi-disant, de la victoire remportée sur Lieou-tsi 劉七 et sa flotte, en 1512.

* *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. X, p. 788.

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Pendant la nuit du 18 de la VIIe lune, une tempête se déchaina, les bateaux de la flotille furent en partie brisés ou submergés, le parti ennemi fut anéanti.*

Il est probable que déjà avant 1514 il existait à Lang-chan une pagode provisoire de l'Esprit du Kiang et des mers, car dès l'année qui suivit cette victoire, au jour anniversaire, le préfet de Tong-tcheou s'y rendit pour lui offrir un sacrifice. Il s'agit dans le décret de 1514 de la grande pagode, encore aujourd'hui existante, qui se trouve devant la tour Etai des nuages. Brûlée en 1559, elle fut reconstruite deux ans après par le mandarin militaire Fou Hi-ki 傅希摯. †

Le préfet de Tong-tcheou se rendait la veille à Lang-chan et offrait le sacrifice d'action de grâces le 19 de la VIIe lune, au matin, dès l'aurore. Voici le menu de ce repas sacrifical. Un cerf, une chèvre, un lapin, deux poissons, des fruits, du vin, deux plats de légumes, des pains, du vermicelle et du riz. On ajoutait une pièce de soie en présent.

En 1516, sans doute pour la dédicace de la nouvelle pagode, cette cérémonie sacrificale fut accomplie avec une pompe extraordinaire, en présence de toutes les sommités de la province. ‡

Ce temple renfermait les deux statues du bouddha, Si-fang-tsie-in 西方接引 (un des noms d'Amitha), et de l'Esprit de la mer et du Kiang. Sur les petits autels latéraux étaient honorés Eul-lang 二郎 et Yen-koang pou-sah 眼光菩薩 Eul-lang était le fils de Li-ping 李冰, préfet au Se-tchoan, trois siècles avant J. C. On le représente accompagné du "chien céleste," et il est communément connu sous le nom de Yang-t'sien 楊戩. §

Yen-koang pou-sah est la déesse de la 'lumière oculaire', et une des acolytes de Pi-kia-yuen-kiun. On la représente tenant un œil sur un plateau. ‖

Une légende merveilleuse est insérée ici dans les Annales. Lors de la restauration de ce temple en 1615, on ne trouvait

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* Voir Article 7, Faits de guerre.

† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. V, p. 7.

‡ *Ibid.*, liv. VIII, p. 1.

§ *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. IX, pp 587-93.

‖ *Ibid.*, tom. X, pp. 737-41.

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point de matériaux convenables pour sculpter la statue de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer. Bientôt on vit une grosse pièce de bois flotter sur les eaux du fleuve, et aborder au bas de la montagne. C'était un bois très fin, dont on se servit pour l'ouvrage projecté.

Les Annales supplémentaires, liv. xx, pp. 7-8, nous donnent d'intéressants détails qui dévoilent les dessous de cartes de la fondation de cette fameuse pagode, et nous font voir que la piété et la reconnaissance n'y furent pour rien. Le Ministre de la guerre, nommé Tchang King 張綆, chargé de défendre l'embouchure de la Hoai, Hoai-keou 淮口, prétendait bien avoir sa bonne part de gloire pour la victoire de Lang-chan; de plus, le délégué impérial Lou Wan 陸完 étant son subordonné, il séchait de jalousie en pensant que son inférieur récolterait tous les honneurs du triomphe. Il ne put même retenir sa langue, et s'en ouvrit sans détour auprès de quelques amis. Ces propos furent rapportés à Lou Wan, qui dans son rapport ne souffla pas mot des prétendus mérites de Tchang King. Ce dernier, pour se venger, présenta un mémorial à l'empereur, l'informant avec respect que la victoire de Lang-chan était due *uniquement* à la protection de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer, qui avait soulevé les vagues au moment opportun, et que les troupes de Lou Wan n'y étaitent pour *rien*. En conséquence il pria l'empereur de faire élever à Lang-chan un temple commémoratif de ce prodige, et d'ordonner que des sacrifices fûssent offerts à cet esprit en action de grâces du prodige opéré. Ainsi fut fait, bientôt parut l'édit impérial autorisant cette construction. Son rival Lou Wan sut aussi, à sa façon, se venger des paroles désobligeantes de Tchang King. Dès 1513, une stèle commémorative de la victoire fut érigée sur la montagne du Loup, l'inscription lapidaire fut composée par le lettré Wang cheou-k'i 王守溪, compatriote et ami de Lou Wan; or, dans le récit de toute cette campagne il n'y a qu'un mot plutôt railleur à l'adresse de Tchang King.* Le jour de l'érection de la pierre on la

* La traduction de cette stèle se trouve, Article 7.

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trouva brisée en deux morceaux; malgré tout elle fut scellée dans la maçonnerie, et on voit encore la fissure.*

Donc le temple de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer doit son origine à la rivalité jalouse des deux généraux Lou Wan et Tchang King. Le premier était assistant du Ministère de la guerre, et député par l'empereur pour réprimer la rebellion. Le second était Ministre de la guerre, avec le haut commandement des troupes échelonnées à l'embouchure du fleuve Hoai dans la mer de Chine.

[*La suite au prochain numéro*].

* A n'en point douter c'était Tchang King qui avait trouvé moyen de la faire briser, espérant qu'elle ne serait pas érigée. Les Annales laissent au lecteur le plaisir de le deviner.

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GREGORY LOPEZ, BISHOP

BY

THE REV. A. C. MOULE

THE consecration on 2nd October, 1918, of the Venerable Archdeacon 沈再生 Shên Tsai-shêng to be assistant Bishop in Chekiang suggests that it may be of interest to print some account of his only known predecessor in the native Chinese episcopate.

There were, it is true, many Nestorian Bishops in China in the thirteenth century, but there is no evidence, I believe, that any of them were Chinese. One man, indeed, born in China, was not only a Bishop but for many years Patriarch of the Nestorians; but he was Uigur rather than Chinese by race.

The following history of Gregory Lopez, Bishop of Basilea in Africa and Vicar Apostolic of Nanking, is translated from the notice in Quétif and Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, tom. II, 1721, pp. 708, 709, under the year 1686.

"Brother Gregory Lopez, a native of China, born in the city of Fogan [福安 Fu-an in north-east Fukien], embraced the Christian faith when he was grown up. He had been taught and baptized by Brother Antonio a S. Maria, a well-known missionary of the Order of Minors, and was so greatly attracted by his teaching and goodness that he left his family

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and home and joined himself to the Franciscans, who were labouring in the word of God in that district. When the same missionaries travelled to Peking he went with them, and was no small help to them in preaching the Gospel, busily waiting on them and acting as catechist under their orders. There too he learnt from the first to suffer for Christ, for he was arrested with the missionaries and driven into exile. But this only made his courage greater and his faith more bright, and he joined the same company again and went with them to the city of Macao. And while on the voyage with them he was very nearly strangled for Christ's sake in Cochin-China, where they had been driven by a storm; but he escaped, God having a better fate in store for him, and came at last to Manila. There God moved him to do what no Chinese had so far attempted and to resolve to adopt the Religious and Regular life; and, that he might be fit to do so, he obtained leave to be admitted to our College of S. Thomas at Manila. He tried to learn Spanish and Latin, beginning at the very beginning, and came to know the former moderately well and a little of the latter; and for some years he attended lectures on philosophy. Since, however, he was diligent among them, and the Prior of our Province of the Philippines needed a man of first-rate trustiness to carry a sum of money which had been subscribed to our missionaries living in China, he, as one whom all held to be of approved faith and goodness, was chosen for the duty, and carried it out with diligence and the utmost faithfulness. He was kept in China by Brother John Garcia, a well-known missionary of our Order, and gave him much help in the ministry of the word, by teaching catechumens and neophytes, acting as his messenger, and collecting alms from his fellow-countrymen. And especially he worked immensely hard at the building of our Church at Ting Teu [perhaps 汀州 Ting chou], carrying very heavy loads of timber, stone, lime and sand, and arranging everything; a very Jack-of-all-trades, bricklayer, mason, carpenter, and even architect.

"He had already reached, if he had not passed, his thirtieth year, when at last he received from the Fathers in China what he had long sought and seemed to have earned

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by his most fervent loyalty. Having, that is to say, been presented by them with the habit of the Order, he went again to Manila to complete his novitiate. And when that was done, and he had studied theology for some time, and had been admitted, first of Chinese natives, to the priesthood, he was sent back by the Superiors to his own country in the year 1654 to be, as they thought, a great help to our preachers in that field. Not only did he not belie the hopes which had been formed of him, but even surpassed them, for it cannot be believed with what zeal he preached the Gospel for thirty years or more in different parts of that huge empire, how many thousands of heathen he brought to Christ, with what charity above all, when persecution arose in the year 1664 and he alone, being a native, was left at liberty when the other missionaries of every Order were put in prison, he visited their Christianities (as they call them) as well as his own, strengthened the faith of the wavering, brought back the apostates to the right way, and converted the unbelieving. The story of his zeal reached the foreign realms of Tonkin and Siam, and moved the French Bishops who were working there to write to the Pope that it would be of very great benefit to the Church if he, as being Chinese and for that reason sure to be more acceptable to his fellow-countrymen, were raised to the episcopate. And when their account of him was confirmed by the evidence of Dominic Fernandez Navarrete of our Order, who was then at Rome, Clement X appointed him Bishop of Basilea and Vicar Apostolic in Nanking over five provinces of China and the kingdom of Corea on the 4th of January 1674*. But since he was not one who thought highly of himself, or stretched himself

* It is curious to notice that Navarrete, who must have been writing his *History of China* in 1674, cannot have heard of Lopez' refusal of the bishopric before his book was published in 1676, since we read there "I was told the same by my Lord the Brother Gregory Lopez, Bishop of Basilea, who is now in charge of the Church in China, a member of our Order, and a native of that Empire." (Lo mesmo me afirmò el señor Don Fray Gregorio Lopez, Obispo Basilitano, a cuyo cargo està oy la Iglesia de China, Religioso nuestro, y naturel de aquel Imperio. *Tratados Historicos . . . de la monarchia de China*, Madrid, 1676.p.1.)

The five provinces were Peking (Chihli), Shansi, Shantung, Honan

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beyond his measure, he returned the Pontiff's letter as soon as he received it, declaring himself unequal to so onerous an honour. Innocent XI wished to overcome his natural modesty and issued a new bull dated the 12th of October, 1679, to which also the Master of the Order, Brother John Thomas de Roccaberti, added his consent, but only on condition that the Provincial of the Philippines should associate with him a wise and learned member of the Order whose advice he should follow, inasmuch as he [Lopez] was one whom he knew to be perfectly upright indeed in life and character and also an excellent and zealous missionary as long as he was guided by the Brothers, but less skilled in divinity and ecclesiastical questions than was fitting for one who was set over so great a flock in that infant Church. When the second letter of the Roman Pontiff reached him in China in December, 1681, some accident of human frailty befell him, for he seems to have estranged himself from his Brothers and their views, and to have refused to accept the condition imposed by the Master; and so when he came to Manila to receive consecration these fearless champions of our faith and worship are said to have opposed his consecration with all their might, until he fled to other [missionaries] for refuge. That the quarrel nevertheless was made up afterwards, may be gathered from the fact that he was at last consecrated, when he was already more than seventy years old, and returned to China, where he was in the year 1686, having associated with him as Vicar General, not a member of our Order, but the Franciscan Brother, John Francis a Leonissa. They say that he died at Nanking a few years later with a reputation for holiness.

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and Shensi, as may be learned from the papal Bull, which says "Nos . . . te . . . quem Ecclesiae Basilitan in Partibus Infidelium consistenti in Episcopum and Pastorem, auctoritate Apostolica præfecimus, . . . te Nanchini in Sina cum administratione provinciarum Pechini, Xantii, Xantung, Honan, Xensii and Coreæ Vicarium Apostolicum . . . dicta auctoritate, tenore præsentium, facimus, constituimus, & deputamus. . . . Datum Romæ apud S. Mariam Majorem sub Annulo Piscatoris die IV Januarii MDCLXXIV, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quarto." *Bullarium ordinis F. F. Prædicatorum*, tom. VI, Rome, 1735, p. 314. The later Bull of 1679 is not printed in the *Bullarium*.

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"The authorities for his life are: [Vincentius-Maria] Fontana, *Monumenta [Dominicana breviter in synopsin collecta, de fidis obsequiis ab ordine Prædicatorum sanctæ Dei Ecclesiae usque modo præstitis*, Romæ, Tinassii 1675 in fol. pp. 706], pp. 671, 693, 697; F. Baltazar de Santa Cruz, *Histor. Philipp.* tom. II, pp. 124, 239, 279, 280, 305, 306, [309,] 311, 312, [447,] 448; F. Domingo [Fernández] Navarrete, *Hist. Sinen.* tom. I, pp. 1a, 354a;* *Apologie des Dominicains [Missionaires de la Chine. Ou Réponse au Livre du Père le Tellier Jesuite.* . . Cologne, 1699] cap. 22 [pp. 363-382].†

* The *Histor. Phillip.* is *Tomo segundo de la historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japon y China del sagrado orden de Predicatores, escrito por el M. R. P. F. Baltasar de Santa Cruz catedratico de prima en la universidad, y colegio de Santo Tomas de Manila, Prior del convento del dicha ciudad retor del colegio provincial de la provincia, y comissario del santo officio. Y le faca a luz de orden de nuestro Rmo. P. maestro general F. Antonio Cloche, el M. R. P. F. Pedro martyr de Buenacasa prior del Real convento de Predicatores de Zaragoça, etc.* Cæsaraugustæ, Paschal Bueno, 1693, in fol. pp. 502. This long title is given in full as it shows that the author must have had first hand information about Gregory's life. The history is said to be carried down to the year 16?3 (Quétif, *Scriptores*, vol. II, p. 695), but as Gregory is spoken of as Bishop, the MS. cannot have been finished before 1674. There seems to be no mention of Gregory on pp. 305, 306. The *Hist. Sinen.* is the *Tratados Historicos* quoted in Note 1, above.

To the authorities named in the text may be added Giovanni Michele Cavalieri, *Galleria de' sommi pontefici, patriarchi, archivescovi e vescovi dell' ordine de' Predicatori*, 2 vols., Benevento, 1696, and Touron, *Histoire des hommes illustres de l'ordre de S. Dominique*, vol. V, 1749, pp. 587-599. Fontana and Cavalieri, who is apparently the principal authority for the latter part of Gregory's life, have unfortunately not been available.

† Noel Alexandre, the author of this anonymous book (Quétif, *Scriptores*, vol. II, p. 812), openly suggests (p. 380) that Gregory's Letters were coloured, if not actually forged, by the Jesuits, who were responsible for their Latin form, to suit their own ends in their great controversy with the Dominicans. He has, too, the following passage (p. 365) which adds a small point about Gregory's episcopal title: "Il fut élevé par Innocent XI de sainte mémoire à la dignité d'Evêque de Basilée, and de Vicaire Apostolique de plusieurs Provinces de la Chine, & il fut fait ensuite Evêque titulaire de Pekin. Il avoit près de soixante & dix ans lorsqu'il receut ses bulles." Le Tellier, writing perhaps in 1685 or 1686 (*Défense, etc.*, 2nd ed., 1688, p. 211), speaks of Gregory as "aujourd'huy Evesque et Vicaire Apostolique dans la partie Septentrionale de la Chine."

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"Gregory Lopez wrote:

1. *Tractatus de cultu Confucio et parentibus mortuis a Sinis exhibito.* He first wrote this in Chinese at the House of S. Thomas at Chiangcheu [perhaps 漳州 Chang-chou or 泉州 Ch'üan-chou] on 12th December, 1681, when he had already received the papal Bull about his promotion to be Bishop, and the submission to him of our missionaries had been discussed. And it seems that this pamphlet gave rise to the aforesaid quarrel. For as he had always until then agreed excellently with our men and had treated them not merely as his superiors but as his parents and teachers, it seemed an intolerable surprise to them that so soon after his appointment as Bishop he should transfer his allegiance to a Gospel other than that which he had received from them, and that the worship of Confucius and of the dead which they had always reckoned as superstitious idolatry should be declared innocent by one who was little more than a neophyte. After his consecration, however, he published a revised and enlarged edition, as he calls it, of the same treatise in Chinese at the Church of the Jesuit Fathers at Shanghai in the Province of Nanking on the 18th of August, 1686. And his Vicar General, Brother J. F. a Leonissa, who by his orders had corrected and revised it, translated it into twenty pages of Latin. This Brother, a Leonissa, was a famous missionary of the Order of Minors in China, Vicar Apostolic in the Province of Hu-kuang and Bishop of Beryta, who had indeed thought the worship in question harmless or at least tolerable; but afterwards, when all things had been more fully weighed, he condemned it.

"2. Four Latin letters, which are said to be written by Gregory, have been published: I.—*To Philip Couplet S. J. at Rome*, dated at Canton, 10 Nov., 1682; II.—*To Pope Innocent XI* from Manila, 2 June, 1684; III.—*To their Eminencies the Cardinals of the Congregation De Propaganda*, of the same date; IV.—*To the Master of the Dominican Order.* When he says in these letters that he had worked as a missionary in China for forty years, he counts the years no doubt when either with the Minorite Brothers or with ours he worked as a catechist before his ordination; for after he had joined our order it is absolutely certain from the *History*

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of the Philippines, tom. II, p. 279, that it was only in the year 1654 that he returned to China with our Brothers Raymond del Valle, Victor Riccio, Dominic Coronado, and Didace Rodriguez. And as to his contention in the letter to the Master of the Order that as a Chinaman he knew more about the language and rites of the Chinese than his Brothers could do; even if it is allowed it proves nothing. For he ought at the same time to have shown that he was more skilled than they were in Holy Scripture, tradition, the Canons, history, sacred and profane, and theology, and one who after a comparison of all the points involved would be able to see and decide more wisely than the others what should be tolerated and what forbidden. But that assuredly no one thought of him, so that at best he could claim to describe the Chinese rites, and so too his little effusion was regarded as of small weight. But these things in no way detract from his holiness and the uprightness of his life; no more than it has detracted from the fame and veneration of some of the early Bishops of the Church, Irenæus, Cyprian and others, that they held opinions different from the belief of the Church, as the author of the *Apology for the Dominicans* has rightly observed on p. 381 of that book. It goes without saying that, as he had had very little instruction in Latin, someone must have helped him with the style when he wrote these Latin letters."

To this account there is little to add. The *Histoire des hommes illustres* tells us that Gregory was admitted to the Dominican Crder in 1651, when he was more than thirty years old, and that he died at Nanking early in 1687. Huc, who devotes several pages (19-26, 150-155) in vol. III of his *Christianisme en Chine* to Gregory Lopez, tells us also that his native name was A-lu.

We may end, as Touron and after him Huc did, with a quotation from an un-named Franciscan Bishop, who gives too the exact day of Gregory's death at the age, as seems likely, of about seventy-three years. He says, "On the 27th of February, after a long illness borne with the utmost patience, the most illustrious Master Brother Gregory Lopez, Bishop of Basilea and Vicar Apostolic of Nanking, fell asleep

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most piously in the Lord, full rather of good works than of days. His missionary work, his conspicuous kindness to the whole of this mission, and his extreme zeal for his holy family of the Preachers in which he had long ago taken religious vows, cannot be described in a short space. The first Bishop of the Chinese race was one whose like in the general opinion many centuries will scarcely be able to produce, and who obtained from God greater benefits for his nation after his death than he imparted to it in life, and we ought to rejoice that he has been rewarded with heaven. And yet I cannot but be grieved that he was taken from us at a moment when this vineyard of the Lord especially needed his care."

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

BOOK II—SOCIAL

CHAPTER I.

THEATRICALS, ETC., 演戲

THE puppet shows or Punch and Judy shows are called *chou chou tzŭ* 肘肘子 because the puppets are held up in a man's arms (*chou*, arms). An ancient name for puppets was *k'uei lei* 傀儡. Another name is *pang* 棒. This kind of play is said to have been originated by T'ang Ming Huang (唐明皇) now deified as god of the theatre under the title T'ai tzŭ 太子 p'u sa. His image is worshipped in the *lao lang* temple 老郎廟 which is the temple of actors. In this temple and guildhall aged and infirm actors are housed and fed, and are buried at guild expense.

The puppets are made from the heads of coffins 猾頭 of newly beheaded or murdered persons. Such wood is believed to be very responsive 靈 *ling*. The spirit of the dead person is worshipped and called for daily, and after a time is supposed to enter the puppet and speak from the stage.

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In shadow plays, *têng ying hsi* 燈影戲, the figures are made of leather and the performance is generally held at night. The court-yard of a house is curtained round with white calico; within there is light, without it is dark, and the figures are manipulated so that the shadows fall on the screen for the spectators outside to view.

In the *pei tan* 被單 *hsi* or sheet play the actors screen off a small enclosure with black calico and display a small wooden puppet over the top of it. The puppets are worked by strings attached to legs, arms, tongues, etc. The showmen are trained ventriloquists, and make their puppets dance and kick about in most amusing fashion; the figures are called *shên t'ung-tzŭ* 神童子, because they are so smart and acrobatic, and they are probably procured in the same way as those of the Punch and Judy shows.

There are amateur theatrical companies composed of local actors or farm labourers with a gift for singing or acting, and called *têng pan-tzŭ* 燈班子. Many join such a troupe to have a gay time of running round the countryside; the rustics call these escapades *sao têng* 臊燈. Such companies only get about 5000 cash for a day's performance.

Street singing is termed *pan têng* 板凳 *hsi* (stool concert), or *wan yu hui* 玩友會 (friendly society), or *wei ku* 圍鼓, (round the drum).

The peepshow, *hsi hu* 西湖 *hsi* (west lake show) is a box with glaring pictures outside, and peepholes through which those who pay may look at the pictures inside, these being brought into view in turn by means of a handle.

Performers go from door to door getting a single cash at each for making a puppet dance up and down by the motion of a fan; *shan tzŭ* 扇子 *hsi*.

Others go from house to house with a monkey, a dog and a box of paraphernalia. Money for a performance having been paid down the performer directs the monkey which opens the box, dresses itself, and rides the dog or drives it hitched to a miniature plough.

Theatricals are given in each parish in front of the *Yang miao* 秧苗 *t'u ti* or local god of sprouting grain, in order to keep insects away from the growing crops.

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The open stage theatricals *ming t'ai ta pan-tzŭ* 明臺大班子 are almost always given on a stage called *wan nien t'ai* 萬年台 located in temples in front of the chief idol. They are got up for the purpose of pleasing the gods, and the expenses are always paid from temple funds; but the public is allowed to witness performances. The plays are nearly all historical. They belong to three periods: *ch'un ch'iu* 春秋 period plays, of the time of Confucius; *chan kuo* 戰國 *hsi* of the times of Mencius; *san kuo* 三國 *hsi* plays about the time of the Three Kingdoms. These last are called 'pure' plays, *ch'ing* 清 *hsi*, because there are no demons in them. Besides the historical plays there are others of a lower grade, such as the *fei fei tzŭ hsi*; this class is without proper beginning or end to the performances. There are also the lower grade music hall theatricals called *fêng hua hsüeh yüeh* 風花雪月 and *chien yin ku pa* 姦淫估霸.

Behind much that is unreal there is often a good deal of historical truth; for example, in the famous play *Mu lien ta hsi* or *Mu lien chiu mu* 目連救母. Mu lien lived near P'eng hsien 彭縣 in Ssŭ-ch'uan. It is said that his family residence is still to be seen. His father, Fu Yüan-wai 傅員外, had a literary degree and every comfort but he long was without a son. The wife was a strict vegetarian, and they both prayed continually for a son, till, when the husband was 60, a son was born, and named Mu-lien. Later, the mother broke her vegetarian vow, became profligate and came to a bad end; but still worse, when passing through the ten regions of purgatory she was struck by a spike and fell into the abyss. Mu-lien, on hearing of this, determined to rescue his mother. To this end he became a Buddhist priest, and by strict asceticism attained incorporation with the Buddha. Still thinking of his mother he made known the burden of his heart to Buddha and was sent by him to save her. He burst the gates of Hades with a *ch'an chang* 禪杖 meditation staff, and bore his mother out of purgatory in triumph, followed by a crowd of demons. The boatmen on the upper Yangtze declare that they are the incarnation of those demons, and the song they sing while rowing is said to sound very like a hungry demon's. They say that if they do not sing this song the boat will not move foward.

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This is a famous play, and when acted in full takes 40 or 50 days. All the details are acted, even to the throwing of the dart which struck the woman; and a coffin is always ready to receive the corpse if the throwing should be unskilful and cause death. If the actor survives, the coffin is sold and he receives the money.

It is a common belief that Mu-lien became Ti-tsang wang 地藏王, god of the lower world.

The actors in a dramatic company are as follows. *Shêng* 生, who acts the youthful scholars' parts. Lao 老 *shêng* acts the old and bearded scholar, and *hsü* 鬚 *shêng* the black-bearded scholar. *Wên* and *wu hsiao* 文 and 武小 *shêng* are respectively the civil and military student. *Tsou* 陬 takes the wise man's part.

The term *tan* 旦 is used for these who take women's parts; *lao* 老 *tan*, the old woman; *hsiao* 小 *tan*, the respectable woman; *chêng* 正 *tan*, the unmarried girl; and *hua* 花 *tan* the indecent woman, the singer of lewd songs, etc.

Mu 目 is the clown, also called *ta hua lien* 大花臉 first clown, with the whole face painted, and *êrh* 二 *hua lien* or second clown, with half the face painted. *San* 三 *hua lien* or *ch'ou* 丑 the third clown plays off against the *hua tan*, and has generally only one patch of colour, about the nose.

As to times, the early morning performance is *tsao san chih* 早三折; the chief performance of the day, between ten and two o'clock, is *kêng pên* 耿本 or *chên mu* 正目; that in the afternoon is *hsia pên* 下本, and an additional evening performance is *hua hsi* 花戲, while night theatricals from 7 to 9 o'clock are *yeh hsi*.

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CHAPTER II.

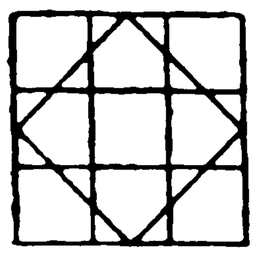
PASTIMES 戲玩, RIDDLES, ETC.

Under this heading will be found the recreations both of the old and the young. Games of chance have a great power over the Chinese mind, and the mania for gambling would seem almost as binding as the craving for opium, and its moral injury almost as certain.

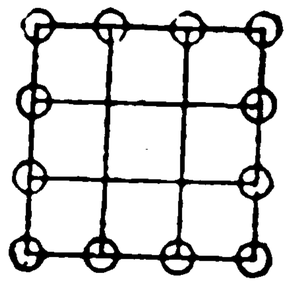
A children's game of chess, called the pig's foot chess, *chu t'i ch'a* 猪蹏叉 is played on a board like the following, which is something in shape like a pig's foot. The two rings indicate the two checkers.

Ox-horn chess, *niu chüeh ch'i,* 牛角棋, is played on a board somewhat after this shape. One person runs his checker up one side of the horn and the other up the other side. The motive is to avoid being cornered in the point of the horn.

A game of draughts, *chang san ch'i* 長三棋, played with six checkers on each side, has a board something like this.



Another game called slanting draughts, *hsieh* 斜 *san ch'i* is played with three checkers each on a board of this pattern.



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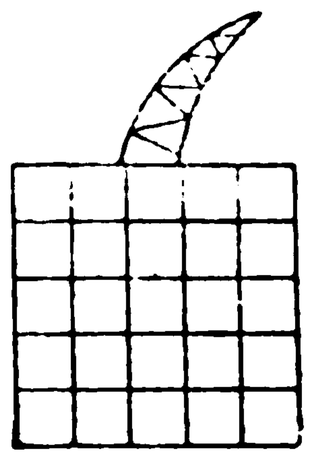

Another game, something like draughts, is called *wei lao ho shang* 圍老和尙. The board is of this pattern.

The idea is to avoid being driven back into the horn.

The most famous game of this class is *wei ch'i* 圍棋, played with 360 counters.

Common games of chance are pitch and toss, *pan ma ch'iao mei* 扮麻雀妹, in which the Chinese and Manchu characters on a cash are the 'heads and tails'; to play cards, *ta p'ai* 打牌, which are of paper, ivory or wood; to play dominoes, *ta ku* 骨 *p'ai*, a very old game in China; to throw dice, *chih shai-tzŭ* 擲骰子, using either 3 or 5 dice; to raffle, *yao pao* 搖寶, by means of dice; the wheel of fortune, *chuan t'ang ping* 轉糖餅, where sweets are won or stakes lost according as the wheel stops; guessing fingers (morra), *hua ch'üan*; and many others.

Scholars have a game of the "missing word" in a line of poetry, *shih pao* 詩寶. There is a game with cards each bearing the name of a province; the idea is to make poetry by arranging these characters: thus, 同福寧東江, 宜穎昌, 南河林廣浙, 臺貴陝雲章.

There are many games with cash, such as throwing cash at a coin either placed on the ground or fallen there in the rebound from a wall at which it has been cast, *pan ch'ien* 拌錢 and *chuang* 撞 *ch'ien*.

Or the cash is aimed at a small hole in the ground, *tiu wo* 丟窩, or it is thrown at the central one of some 16 bean-curd moulds, *tiu tou-fu hsiang* 丟豆腐箱.

A hollow in the ground is lined with brass cash, and players throw walnuts, winning each cash they hit, *ta hê t'ao* 打核桃.

A piece of sugar-cane is balanced on a knife. The knife is removed and a cut made at the falling cane. The person gets as much as he cuts off, if he splits it down the middle he gets the whole.

The Chinese have the well-known amusement of blind-folding one eye, then walking up to a sugarcane stuck in the ground and trying to drop a ring on to it. The winner gets the cane. This is called *kua kan chê* 掛甘蔗.

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A person is taken near a wall, then blindfolded, turned round several times, and told to walk to the wall; *mo chao pi* 摸照壁.

Blindman's buff, *ta hsia mo* 打瞎摸; hide and seek, *ts'ang mao mao* 藏貓貓 (the seeker being the *mao* or cat); marbles, *tan tan tan* 彈; turning cart wheels, or turning like a kestrel *ta yao-tzŭ fan shên* 打鷂子翻身; a kind of hockey *ta ch'ou niu* 打臭牛, 'to hit the stinking ox'; top-spinning, *ch'ai ti ko tzŭ* 扯地鴿子; swinging, *ta ts'ui* 打鞦; are all familiar pastimes.

Kiteflying, *fang fêng-chêng* 放風箏 in the second moon is done by grayheaded men as well as by children. The kites are in the shape of eagles, bats, etc., etc., and if one should fall on a house it is unlucky and no one dare claim it.

The shuttle-cock in the game *t'i chien-tzŭ* 踢毽子 is a brass cash with a few feathers attached; it is kept in the air by using the side of the foot for a battledore. Experts turn round once after each kick.

To turn to a different class of pastime: eagles are kept for catching birds and rabbits, *fang ying* 放鷹. The sport is so exciting that a proverb says: 'After seeing an eagle catch a rabbit the glory of an official career sinks into insignificance.'

Game is hunted with a kind of setter, *fang lieh ch'üan* 放獵犬 or *fang nien shan kou* 趁山狗. These dogs have long tapering noses and slight bodies.

The musk-deer is hunted, *shuan chang-tzŭ* 拴獐子 for the musk. A coolie carrying a small quantity of musk can easily be detected by the smell. The deer horns are sold for medicine and the skin for leather.

Jackdaws and various other birds are kept for fighting purposes *fang ch'üeh ta ts'ai* 放鵲打彩; which means gambling.

Practising with bow and arrows, *ts'ao kung chien* 操弓箭 is a sport now going out of use. So is the exercise of the heavy knife, *shua ta tao* 耍大刀. These knives weighed 80 to 140 catties, and even more.

Many pets are kept, such as the green parrot, *ying ko* 鸚哥; the Liao-tung or black parrot, *liao ko* 遼哥; the

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canary *pai yen* 白燕; the quail, *an shun* 鵪鶉; monkeys *hou tzŭ*, 猴子 which are said to be better than dogs as a protection against thieves; rabbits *t'u tzŭ* 兎子, generally in narrow-necked crocks sunk in the ground; pigeons *ko-tzŭ* 鴿子, some of the best carriers returning home from 1000 *li* or more; they are often sold, and as they always go home again good profit is made; white mice which drive little wheels in their cages; stove crickets, *tsao chi-tzŭ* 竈鷄子; and 'ocean insects,' *yang ch'ung* 洋蟲, which are said to cure tuberculosis. I do not know what these insects really are.

The Chinese are great bird-fanciers and pet-keepers, and domesticate many birds besides those above mentioned. Lotteries, smoking, snuffing, etc., are other amusements; it is a nation of smokers. Probably the dismal homes make the people love the pipe, and the crudeness of medical science makes them take to opium

Riddles and Ditties. 謎子, 歌兒 *mi tzŭ, ko êrh.*

青幽幽　黑洞洞　十個牯牛拉不動

Of a dark green, in a black cave, which ten oxen cannot move, What is it? (A well.)

千節節　萬節節　千年萬年不落葉

With a thousand joints, even ten thousand joints. For a thousand or ten thousand years it does not lose its leaves. (The bamboo.)

金筅筅　銀絲絲　一搥打開四姊妹

A golden and silver floss: one stroke of the hammer and it becomes four sisters. (A walnut.)

十姊妹　同路要　各人頭上頂片瓦

Ten little sisters went out for a walk,

On the crown of each a tile is fixed. (The fingers.)

頭戴紅頂子身穿白袍子走路很斯文說話像蠻子

On his head he wears a red button, his body is clothed with a white robe, his walk is like an elegant scholar's, but his talk is like a barbarian's. (The goose.)

各家窩頭一個潭一根白蛇在裏頭放要死要死又掇他一棒

In each family niche there is a pool, in which a pure

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white snake doth loll. When it is about to die, just strike it a bang. (The lamp.)

生喫得 熟喫得 放在地下又走得

It can be eaten raw, or eaten cooked; when put on the ground it can walk. (Water.)

黃牛給黑牛一頭睡 黃牛的舌頭舐黑牛的背

The yellow cow slept by the side of the black cow,

The yellow cow's tongue licked the black cow's back. (The kettle by the stove.)

The flea: (A louse's remonstance.)—

尖嘴黑殼 這戳那戳 戳出禍來你跑脫

With a peaked jaw and black coat, here a rive and there a bite; when the trouble has been stirred up you make a jump and clear out.

The louse. (The flea's retaliation.)—

六脚白米 自家走不得 要怪張怪李

You six-footed white rice, who cannot even walk by yourself. You are always blaming Chang or Li.

The Orange Blossom.

柑子樹兒開白花 團團圓圓姊妹家
天晴下雨請來要 唸個佛句當燒茶

The blossoms of the orange tree, whose petals white sweet sisters be,

In rain or in sunshine how welcome you'll be

Just sing a chant and I'll bring you your tea.

Heaven, Earth and Water.

天生綉綉 地生縵縵 水生骨頭

Heaven produces the variegated, Earth begets the unadorned, Water begets bones.

Natural Wisdom.

一個雀 雀飛上坡 一個雀 雀飛下坡 三歲孩
兒會唱歌 不是爹娘告訴我 是我自已聰明多

One little birdie flies up the hill, another little birdie flies down the hill; a three-year old child is able to sing, not what the parents teach it, but what natural wisdom prompts.

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The Twelve Months.—

正月十五湯圓子　二月驚蟄抱罩子　三月清明墳標子
四月芒種栽秧子　五月端陽喫糭子　六月六來扇扇子
七月半　燒箔子　八月中秋喫餅子　九月重陽酵糟子
十月初一穿襖子　冬月間烤烘籠子　臘月三十貼對子

On the 15th of the first moon we eat sweet dumplings.
In the second moon the insects stir and we feed silk worms.
In the third moon comes clear brightness and we put up grave-flags.
In the fourth moon is the busy season and we plant rice.
In the fifth moon comes the dragon festival and we eat rice dumplings.
In the sixth moon comes the great heat and we use our fans.
In the seventh moon there is a festival and we burn paper money.
In the eighth moon is the mid-autumn festival and we eat moon cakes.
In the ninth moon there comes a festival and we eat fermented rice.
In the tenth moon the cold comes and we put on our wadding.
In the eleventh moon it gets colder and we light our fire-baskets.
In the twelfth moon comes the time to put up New Year scrolls.

The digits.—

大指拇　二指弟　中三娘　王夥契　身小巴兒子出不得氣

The thumb is the elder brother, the forefinger is the younger, the middle finger is the aunt, the fourth the chief partner, but the youngest piggie is almost smothered to death.

The Bamboo grove.—

京竹桴　苦竹桴　對門對戶對親家　親家兒子會跑馬
親家女會剪花　大姊剪的靈芝草　二姊剪的牡丹花
三姊剪不來　丟下剪刀紡棉花　紡了三丈三大哥
二哥縫件夏布衫　三哥說我心不平　把我嫁在高山苦竹林
要柴燒柴又高　要水喫水又深　打涇花鞋不當緊
打涇羅裙一千針

The green bamboo and the bitter bamboo
Were intermarried relations living in opposite doors.
The sons on one side were brave cavaliers

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The daughters on the other were clever at flowers;
The eldest was good at the orchid bud,
The second was good at the peony rose,
But though the third did try she was not any good,
So she mounted the loom to weave cotton cloth,
And wove to the length of thirty-three feet.
Then the elder and second brothers both made them a gown.
But the third brother said My lot is unfair;
You've married me up the high hill in the bamboo grove.
If you want fuel to burn, that fuel is high,
If you want water to drink that well is deep;
To wet the flowered shoes is of little import,
But to wet the gauze skirts costs a thousand threads.

New Year good luck.—

新春大發財　二十四個元寶輥進來
輥進不輥出　金銀財寶堆滿屋.

May the New Year bring you the greatest of luck,
With the twenty-four pieces of silver rolling into your lap;
Rolling in but not rolling out, till
Gold, Silver and riches fill up the house.

(Round stones are sometimes heaped outside the house on the last day of the year, and carried inside on the first day of the New Year; hence this ditty).

新春新春　財發萬金　說好就好　添財進寶.
In the New Year, The New Year,
May your riches increase ten thousand fold;
When you say lucky may it be luck,
Adding to your riches and bringing in gold.—

The New Year scrolls of the New Year feast.—

新年對子新年節　門神對子兩邊貼
門神對子貼得高　金銀財寶幾大包
門神對子貼得矮　金銀財寶幾大塊

On both sides of the door are scrolls and gods;
If the scrolls and gods are put up high,
Gold, silver and riches will come in great array;
If the scrolls and gods are put up low,
Gold, silver and riches still continue to grow.

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The farm servant.—

清早起來就上山 At the dawn of day he goes up the hill,
搭耙鋤頭把地翻 Carrying a mattock to till the ground;
世人沒我長年苦 The farm servant's lot is bitter indeed,
臉朝黃土背朝天 With his back to the sky and face to the mud.

CRIES 口號 *k'ou hao.*

The cry used to call a pig when at large is *liu, liu, liu,* 嘍. A pig is also called a *liu*, and a man is cursed by being so called.

The call for chickens is *chu, chu, chu,* 祝. Formerly 祝雞翁 Chu chi wêng was a famous chicken fancier and breeder, and the chickens are called after him.

Liao, liao, liao, 嘹, is the call used to call the ducks from the pond. It is said to be an abbreviation of *lai-a,* 來啊.

Wa-êrh, wa-êrh, 娃兒, is the cry used to call in the goose. Some say it is *wo-êrh,* 鵝兒. Others think the call is an imitation of the bird's own cry.

The call to the dog when there is any scavenging to be done is *oh ngo, oh ngo,* 啊哦. In driving the dog away the common "hist, hist" is used.

The cry used to call the sheep is *mieh, mieh, mieh,* 咩. This is spoken in a low tone and is believed to be like the bleat of a sheep. Sometimes it is "*meh, meh,*" like the bleat of a lamb. The call used to frighten the sheep, *t'u êrh,* 吐爾, is also used to frighten birds from the grain, and is likened to the whizzing of a stone through the air at a great speed. When the cry is uttered a stone or a whip very often accompanies the sound. This *t'u êrh* is very freely called after foreigners, and is not a good omen. The connection is in the sound of the two characters, *yang* 羊 sheep, and *yang* 洋 of the sea, foreigner.

Sun êrh 猻兒 is the call used for a monkey. It means a small monkey.

Mi, mi, 咪, is the call used to bring the cat to eat its food.

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Wa, wa, 腞, is the call used to make mules and oxen stand still. The aboriginal tribes have names for each mule in the caravan.

Ch'a, ch'a, 𠱁, is the sound used when driving an ox or mule. Horses do not seem to be so addressed.

When ploughing the following are the cries used to the ox; *chuan ying* 轉英 turn round; *shang* 上 *ying* go on the sward, and *hsia* 下 *ying* go in the furrow; *ts'ai kou* 踩溝 go along the furrow.

Noises made by hawkers, etc., are as follows; the oilseller beats a small gong, *ch'iao tang tang* 敲鐺; the bean-curd seller strikes a hollow bamboo *pang pang* 梆; the condiment seller strikes a brass mirror *yün pan* 雲板; the tinker or scissor-grinder shakes clappers of iron *yao ching kuei* 搖驚閨 'to arouse the women-folk'; the castrater strikes a gong *ma lo* 馬鑼 of the same size as the *tang tang*, but with a stronger sound; the itinerant fortune-teller beats two pieces of bamboo together, *san ts'ai pan* 三才板; the pedlar rings a bell, *p'eng tang ku* 弸鐺鼓, and the vendor of sticking-plaster sounds a fish drum, *ta yü ku* 打漁鼓.

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CHAPTER III.

FOOTBINDING
THE QUEUE

The origin of the custom of footbinding is said by some to date from the Six States and to have been begun by an Imperial concubine P'an-fei 潘妃. This aspirant for imperial favour bound her feet with silken bands. By binding the toes together and the instep upwards, she made the foot somewhat like a bow; while the licentious Emperor made golden lotus flowers for her to tread upon. Hence women's feet are sometimes spoken of as *san ts'un chin lien* 三寸金蓮, three inches of golden lotus.

In Ssŭch'uan there are some places where the women have natural feet. These places are said to have been settled by people from Kuangtung province; and these feet are scornfully called *huo chüeh pan* 活脚板. Some feet have not been bound in childhood, and when older the pain would have been too great; hence the toes are simply turned in and the foot bound up a little: such are called *pan chüeh* 半脚.

When the instep is round and almost perpendicular like a horse's hoof it is called *yüan chüeh* 圓脚, round foot.

If the bandages are so manipulated as to make the heel to be part of the leg, wooden heels are put in to make up the deficiency between the false heel and the shoes; the woman thus only walking on the half of her foot. Such feet are termed *chia* 假, *chüeh* false feet.

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Those feet which have been bound from childhood have an ideal length of three inches, but many are much larger. This involves enormous suffering to the child, but small feet are a source of pride to all who possess them, and large feet a source of shame.

A foot that is long and narrow is much disliked and is called *huang kua* 黃瓜 *chüeh*, cucumber foot. The reasons assigned for the continuation of this custom are as follows:

(1) It *is* the custom and that is enough for most people.

(2) It is nice looking. These small feet are also called the *hsiang kou* 香鉤 or incense hook with which to hook the affections of the men; and the men generally desire that the feet should be so.

(3) It is impossible to find a husband unless the girl's feet are bound.

(4) It keeps the women from bad company and from remaining away from home.

In Ssŭch'uan some women make a speciality of both footbinding and hair dressing, others make a speciality of one only.

The Queue. 辮子 *pien tzŭ*

When the Ch'ing dynasty conquered the Chinese Empire the shaving of the head was made compulsory, the barber being sent forth with an official warrant to seize and shave all the refractory and rebellious; and the barber bears to this day the name of *tai chao* 待詔 or carry-passport man. Till quite recently the itinerant barber's stand consisted in a low stool for sitting on, and a high stool on which the hands could be rested: on the other side was a small boiler for heating water, and above was a short mast on which there were two iron hooks, from one of which a sword used to be suspended while on the other the head of the rebellious was hung after execution. From the top of this mast the flag used to be displayed.

Popular opinion has it that there were certain exceptions to the rule of head shaving; these were as follows: 男從女不從 *Nan ts'ung nü pu ts'ung*; the men had to conform but the women did not need to do so. Thus we have the Chinese

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women wearing the dress of the Ming dynasty while the men had to adopt the Manchu style of dressing, as well as the head-shaving. The living had to conform, but the funeral rites remained as before the occupation, 生從死不從, *shêng ts'ung, ssŭ pu ts'ung*. The people had to conform but not the priests; *min ts'ung chiao pu ts'ung* 民從教不從. Hence we have the clean-shaven Buddhist priest, and the coiled locks of the Taoist sect; this is believed to be the original Chinese mode of hair dressing. Moreover the style of garments now worn by the Taoist priests would appear to be the style of ancient China.

When the queue was forced upon the Chinese people it was hateful to them as a sign of subjection to a stronger branch of the Mongolian race. This loathing gradually gave place to pride, and the queue became a national badge, and a sign of loyalty to the reigning dynasty. Hence every rebellion against the Manchus has made the cutting off of the queue of first importance.

The queue, when worn properly, was used to indicate reverence for superiors, respect to equals, and decorum in worship. No inferior would dare to enter the presence of a superior with his queue hanging in front, or coiled round the head; and when worshipping at the temples its position was carefully noted. The following are a few of the kinds of queues spoken of by the Chinese and were indicative of character:

To leave the hair unplaited for three handwidths from the skull in order that the hair might fall loose on the neck; 鬆三把 *sung san pa*. This was for protection against sword cuts, and also in fights, when the queue was largely used to pull with. Its looseness kept the strain from falling on one part of the head.

The big queue made up of false hair and silk. Those who wear this are known as *wu êrh shên* 吾二神, and are those who have just entered a secret society. They are neither men nor boys.

The dandy of the secret society wears a queue that is dressed up with silk tassels, *têng lung t'iao pien tzŭ* 燈籠鞭辮子.

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The unkempt queue of the novice who has not entered the society is called *k'ung tzŭ* 空子 *pien tzŭ*.

A few hairs on the back of the head is called *yü mei sui* 御麥穗 *pien tzŭ* or a *hao-tzŭ wei pa* 耗子尾巴, a rat's tail.

A nice-looking queue of a youth with a long red cord attached to it is called *kua tao pa* 挂刀把 *pien tzŭ*, the sword-handle queue.

The cow's head, *niu t'ou* 牛頭 queue is worn by women of the aboriginal tribes to the west of Kuan Hsien.

A common proverb is *shên hsien yang chih-chia, hsin hsien yang t'ou-fa* 身閒養指甲, 心閒養頭髮; an idle body grows finger nails; an idle head grows hair.

The Kitan tribes, *ta-ta* 韃靼, probably the ancestors of the Mongols, have the following slang names for the queue:

The hairy lid, *mao kai-tzŭ* 毛蓋子; Tartar hair, *ta-ta mao*; the hairy tassel, *mao t'ou tzŭ* 毛頭子; the horse-bucket cover, *ma t'ung kai* 馬桶蓋; the magpie's nest, *ya ch'iao wo* 鴉鵲窩; the tadpole's tail, *ting ting wei* 丁丁尾.

[To be continued]

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HWAI-NAN TSZ, PHILOSOPHER & PRINCE

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

IT is not easy to write about ancient Chinese philosophers in such a way that persons unfamiliar with Far Eastern history will find their interest roused: it is singular, moreover, that the particular sage of whom we are now writing seems to have received scant examination at the hands of any non-Chinese: possibly, in fact probably, the Japanese may have their own editions and criticisms, as I have shewn they unmistakably have in the case of the philosopher Kwan-tsz (700-645 B.C.); but I have never seen one; nor am I aware that Legge, Chalmers, Faber, Chavannes, de Groot or other trustworthy sinologist has ever gone deeply into the matter, not to say given evidence of having read through the whole book.

Hwai-nan Tsz really means "the Philosopher of Hwai-nan," and the title of the man has in the usual way been transferred to the book he wrote, just as Lao Tsz (Laocius) and Mêng Tsz (Mencius) are used to express the traditional literary output of those two men as well as to signify the men themselves; or, as we ourselves say in a double sense, Milton, Shakespeare, Rabelais, Cæsar, and so on. The word Tsz, however, in this Chinese case is a later addition, for the

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writings we are now describing were at first, and for several generations simply called "Hwai-nan, in 21 chapters." "Hwai-nan" means "South of the [River] Hwai," and was the name of the subordinate kingdom granted by Liu Pang, founder of the splendid Han dynasty in 206 B.C. to his son Liu Ch'ang. When the first Han Emperor or founder died in 195 B.C. after all too short a reign, the usual oriental squabbles took place about the succession, which ended in a son by his "old sword"—*i.e.* the first wife of his humbler days—succeeding, under the tutelage, however, of his able but jealous and spiteful mother, who shortly afterwards murdered her deceased husband's favourite concubine with the concubine's son: this harrowing event practically led to the early decease in 188 B.C. of the young Emperor, who was then formally succeeded by his cruel mother reigning in her own name. Her reign was decidedly a good one, so far as the Chinese people in the main were concerned; for after half a century of revolution, tyranny, dynastic strivings, and general misery, China at last enjoyed a period of good organisation and almost perfect peace. But there was no such peace in Palace circles: the ultimate and disloyal aim of the vixen Empress was to substitute her own family of the Lü surname for her late husband's family of the Liu surname, and to replace the various satraps or provincial kings accordingly. Things got to such a corrupt pitch that the faithful Liu partisans at last organised a general massacre of the Empress' family of Lü, and called to the throne a son of the founder Liu Pang by a concubine: this prince was then ruling as provincial King of Tai—a newly organised half-Tartar state, north of modern Peking and westwards, to this day almost as much Mongol as Chinese.

This new Emperor, often qualified by foreign writers as the "Marcus Aurelius of China," really deserved the name; he is perhaps the unique instance during 2000 years of Chinese history of a supreme ruler who was "good to the bone." He was kind, democratic, simple in his habits, modest, a hater of cruelty and injustice, a reformer of the law, unrevengeful, merciful, personally unambitious: and in every way an almost

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perfect ruler: he never shewed any warlike or fighting tendency, or any thirst for "glory,"—whether we are to consider that last a virtue or a vice.

In order to understand the Palace intrigues which still went on during his reign, it must be explained that after the First Emperor of the short-lived Ts'in dynasty (221-207 B.C.) had shattered the old feudal system, conquered and amalgamated the greater part of China as we now view it, and effectively centralised the administrative system, the Han founder in broadly following the Ts'in lines still could conceive of nothing better or more original than distributing the old feudal kingdoms (independent under faineant religious "Emperors") amongst princes of his own family and one or two specially successful generals not of his ilk: the main difference was that instead of reigning dukes, marquesses, counts, viscounts, and barons, as under the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.), there were only Kings—nearly all of the Liu family: the single remaining hereditary title was that of count, but the counts were not territorial, and were all gathered about the imperial court, *à la suite* for any detached service. The founder's seventh son Liu Ch'ang was dissatisfied when he saw his half brother, fourth son by a concubine, called to the imperial throne; he assumed independent airs, and revolted; for this he would have justly forfeited his life; but his elder brother the kind-hearted Emperor had not the heart to punish him to the full: he was exiled and deprived of his kingly status; on his death he was even posthumously honoured, and his son Liu Ngan was promptly created King of Hwai-nan in his stead: this last-named is the Philosopher Hwai-nan Tsz of whom we are now writing.

It is a remarkable thing that when once the new dynasty was firmly established nearly all the prominent members of the Liu family were, if not themselves capable literary men, at least ardent collectors of the old literature and diligent restorers of such portions as had not been destroyed in 213 B.C. During fifty years of internecine war (255-206 B.C.) such literature as was recoverable a century later had been in the hands of a few recluses or "harmless drudges"; the hair

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pencil and a new system of writing had been discovered independently of them; or, rather, various abbreviated forms, suitable to rapid business and military urgencies, had imperceptibly developed, and the old "books" (slabs of wood or bamboo), even when discovered after a couple of centuries of hiding, were already barely decipherable. The Han founder himself set a bad example, for he had the greatest contempt for mere "writing fellows," and though the Ts'in dynasty laws commanding the destruction of all historical and political literature were soon ignored or relaxed, nothing active was done in Court circles until our Marcus Aurelius came to the throne. His sentiments were not pronounced, but were Taoist rather than Confucian, and his wife in particular, who was decidedly anti-Confucianist, owned a very rare book in the shape of what was afterwards called *Tao-têh King*, *i.e.*, the Book of Lao-tsz. In those times all serious learning and traditions, and therefore most books of acknowledged worth, were and always had been committed to memory, and as the form of script in vogue up to, say, 250 B.C., was quite obsolete for the purposes of daily life in 150 B.C., it stands to reason that all the classical and philosophical literature we possess now, after 2000 years of further vicissitudes, must have been revised during the first renaissance period of which we are now writing. For a parallel we may compare our comfortably-bound, well-revised Latin books with the awkward capitals, undivided words, innumerable contractions, etc., of the old Roman wax tablets and bronze inscriptions.

The second King of Hwai-nan, nephew of the Emperor "Marcus," so far from being suspected by his imperial master, was both a favourite and a personal friend; like his liege lord, he was of quiet studious habit, and had no predilection for war, hunting, or violent pleasures of any kind; it is even stated by his preface writer of about 205 A.D. that the Emperor directed him to revise and publish the celebrated *Li-sao* lament, composed in the rough and of course in obsolete script in 296 B.C. by a disappointed statesman of the Central China kingdom of Ts'u which had vied with Ts'in for centuries in the hope of gaining the prize of Empire. Marcus Aurelius, (*i.e.* Wên Ti, or Accomplished Emperor), was

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succeeded by his son, and then by his grandson, that son's son; this last was the celebrated Wu Ti ("Military Emperor"), under whom Western Asia was first properly discovered, the Scythians routed, and China, almost as we now see it, effectively organised. But meanwhile it had been ascertained that the semi-independent provincial "King" plan was a political failure, and the definite policy of the imperial court now lay in the direction of substituting for them viceroys or satraps removable at the Emperor's will, and responsible to Court, not only for high political action, but also for matters involving finance, army supply, inter-trade, and even local government; besides, the gigantic expenditure involved in the universal conquest of regions surrounding Old China rendered it desirable to place all vital supplies in China —salt, iron, grain, etc.,—under central or imperial commissaries.

The Emperor Wu Ti was, then, great-grandson of the founder, and the second King of Hwai-nan was grandson of the same founder, thus one generation senior to Wu Ti; he was, as his father had been before him, led to join a revolt of Kings discontented with the family succession scheme and the new centralising policy; he was out-manœuvred, and in 122 B.C. committed suicide by cutting his throat just as the punitive force approached.

It seems that his particular work of 21 chapters now under notice (for there were others) did not see public light until nearly a century after the suicide, when the celebrated Liu Hiang, another distinguished literatus of the imperial family, put the tablets in order. Hence we find that the historian Sz-ma Ts'ien, whose great historical work, the *Shī-ki*, appeared about 90 B.C., does not in any way allude to the literary labours of "the Hwai-nan King, [Liu] Ngan," whose political fate is discussed at length in chapter 118 of his monumental work. This does not necessarily mean that the great historian, who raked up all the authorities he could find, ancient or modern, in order to make his marvellous history as complete as possible, was ignorant of the existence of the Hwai-nan collection; far from it: having access to if not charge of all the imperial archives, he was probably

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acquainted with this quasi-imperial work too, but in view of the 122 B.C. event, did not dare even to allude to it, still less to make public use of it and quote it. It must not be forgotten that, about ten years before finishing his history, he himself had suffered in 98 B.C. the penalty of emasculation for indiscreetly obtruding his opinion upon the Emperor in a matter of public war policy; in the interval of 24 years between the suicide of the King of Hwai-nan in 122 B.C. and his own cruel punishment, it is not likely that he or any other courtier outside the intimate imperial family circle would have had the hardihood to praise the royal suicide, for of necessity to read him meant and still means to praise him. In Sz-ma Ts'ien's pathetic letter written in 91 B.C. to his friend Jên Ngan (translated as an appendix at the end of Professor Chavannes' Introduction to his first volume of Sz-ma Ts'ien's History), he explains distinctly how incapable he is of pleading to the Emperor for Jên Ngan; why after such bodily humiliation he had not seven years earlier committed suicide himself and how a man's soul might attain immortal glory independently of his base body's sufferings; he was so interested in creating his imperishable history,—the first real business-like history conceived in any part of the world, and probably the only one at that date with any pretensions to scientific accuracy,—that he resolved to endure personal ignominy to the last in order to complete the great historical task begun by his father before him, and to compensate the destruction of his bodily honour by achieving as a writer spiritual glory for ever.

So far from China's great historian Sz-ma Ts'ien having been ignorant of Hwai-nan Tsz's political philosophy, it seems quite possible, if not indeed probable, that he had carefully studied every line of it, and that this fact might even have contributed to his own downfall. His father Sz-ma T'an, who filled the office of astrologian-historian from 140 to 110 B.C. and conceived the idea of writing the great history, is distinctly mentioned as having advised the conquering, vain, and superstitious Emperor in 112 B.C. upon certain points connected with flamboyant imperial sacrifices; it is left clearly on record both by himself and his son, that he was

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pro-Taoist and rather anti-Confucian in his sentiments, and on his death in 110 B.C. his son, who had already travelled as a keen observer over the greater part of China Proper, undertook the task of completing the unfinished history. The Emperor's vanity was keenly wounded when his brilliant general Li Ling surrendered to the Scythian host in 99 B.C., and it was in consequence of Sz-ma Ts'ien's generous act in pleading before the Emperor for mercy to his friend or at least official acquaintance Li Ling, that in a fit of petulant passion the Emperor the following year ordered him to be emasculated. The undaunted Sz-ma Ts'ien as above stated now resolved upon the noble consolation of devoting the remainder of a ruined life to the completion of his great literary task. Like Hwai-nan Tsz, he ransacked the whole of the available literature recovered since the holocaust of 213 B.C.; but, unlike Hwai-nan Tsz, who had only drawn his *lessons*, whilst leaving specific dates and exact facts to the assumed general knowledge of his readers, Sz-ma Ts'ien left the moral lessons in the main alone, or else confined himself to a short homiletic summary at the end of each chapter, and devoted himself entirely to the task of piecing together *facts and dates* with the utmost possible exactitude. Moreover Hwai-nan Tsz timidly and carefully avoids all allusion whatever to the Han dynasty of which he himself was a member, whilst Sz-ma Ts'ien boldly plunges into the whole truth; indeed the missing chapters of Sz-ma Ts'ien's History—especially the one on Wu Ti's reign—make it extremely probable that the Li Ling affair was not more than the ostensible reason for his mutilation, and that much was said in the missing chapters—for instance about the Emperor's infatuated belief in wizards, which ultimately led to his destroying his own son and heir—the publication of which might be injurious to the dynasty.

The King of Hwai-nan is said to have gathered together at his court the men, to the number of several thousand, he could scrape together who were at all intimately acquainted with the rival Taoist and "Ju" doctrines. It is now usual, and not inaccurate, to translate the word *Ju* as "Confucianist"; but the word was already in use before Confucius was born,

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in the sense of "the literary," or "those whose doctrines were based upon the old principles of ceremonial propriety." As Hwai-nan Tsz accurately remarks in his 21st chapter, "the *Ju Learning* began when Confucius' disciples wore his mantle and revised his store of bamboo slips." In the same way the rival Taoist doctrines were in existence long before Laocius—the Apostle of *Tao*, just as Confucius is the Apostle of *Ju*,—concentrated upon one particular democratic form of *Tao*, which in its modern debased form has become ridiculous and a mere travesty. Eight men are specially named as having been in general charge of the hundreds or thousands engaged in ransacking all existing literature, or all available men's memories, in order to complete for Hwai-nan Tsz a summary in the best literary style. There was really no finished style in Confucius' time; such uncouth style as we find in the still more ancient (book of) Kwan-tsz, the boldest and most statesmanlike of all Chinese philosophers, simply means that his doctrines, (like those of the century or more later Confucius, at first conveyed to men's memories by word of mouth), were revised and put together in definite readable shape after the second reform of writing in the 3rd century B.C., and the later and gradual cheapening of writing materials had together enabled scribblers all over the Empire to indulge their ethical whims *ad libitum*: the first real style seems to have established itself when Tso K'iu-ming wrote his commentary upon the bald and utterly styleless Confucian "Springs and Autumns" *i.e.*, literally, "Annals." We see from Roman history how suddenly and quickly style had established itself in the same way and for the same reasons, when Cicero spoke and Cæsar wrote; in modern times Russian example shews us once more how in one short century poets and prose-writers of the highest original capacity can soar aloft from the welter of comparative ignorance and barbarism. Just as classical Latin attained its apogee and has never been excelled in later days, so at about the same date and during the same space of time Chinese philosophical literature attained a concentrated perfection that is rarely equalled in modern discursive times.

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The destruction of the literature ordered by the "First Emperor" in 213 B.C. took place at a time when political philosophy had been developed to a greater degree of perfection than polish of style, and his main object was, (not unlike that of the crack-brained Wilhelm II) to use his "destructive sword" with a view to rebuilding everything afresh on an organised and disciplined military basis. Sz-ma Ts'ien does not exactly speak of him with contempt; indeed he admits that his ambition had within it the possibility of success, and might well have succeeded had he shewn less personal pique, more humanity, tolerance and sympathy; whereas his immediate heir and successor threw away all chances and was quite beneath contempt.

The object of the second King of Hwai-nan, at his Chinese Weimar, so to speak, was to ransack all existing history and philosophy and extract every possible useful lesson therefrom. Kwan-tsz, Lao-tsz, Confucius, Yen-tsz, Chwang-tsz, Lieh-tsz, Wên-tsz, Sün-tsz, Yang-tsz, Shên-tsz, Lu-shï, (the real father of the bastard First Emperor) and many other authors are all brought under review; but Hwai-nan Tsz rarely names any of them, still more rarely acknowledges his quotation, and does not pretend to quote literally. Besides all these, he cites, of course, passages from the ancient classics, such as the Book of History, Book of Odes, Book of Changes, Classics of Ceremonial and Music, usually acknowledging the origin: also certain works such as the native histories of the semi-barbarous kingdoms of the south, two at fewest of which, like Roman-developed Gauls and Germanies *vis-à-vis* of Rome, had, several centuries before our era, attained a degree of administrative and even literary capacity (founded, of course, on Chinese initiative) almost equal to that of China of the Yellow River valley herself: absolutely no other literature was then known or even suspected by either Old or New China to exist elsewhere,— not even any rival system of writing. Scarcely the faintest allusion is anywhere made by Hwai-nan Tsz in his review of the past to the then newly founded Han dynasty: small wonder, considering that the Hwai-nan king's own father had lost his throne and died on his way to exile, whilst the

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jealous Emperor Wu Ti two generations later was whipping off royal and mediatised heads right and left on the smallest political provocation. It is as though Hwai-nan Tsz anticipated his own suicide. Throughout his book he assumes that his readers, when pondering his lessons, will have themselves read the works on which he browses and from which he cites or quotes; but, as just stated, as often as not failing to name his author, and indeed, often slightly modifying the original texts.

It is as though someone in the time of the Antonines should tell us in a running jumble but in faultless style, what Homer, Cyrus, Philip of Macedon, Cheops, Cæsar, Sylla, Mark Antony, Queen Boadicea and each of the German or Gallic heroes (or scoundrels) said or did on certain occasions, and draw lessons therefrom. The 21 chapters contain a complete survey of lessons derived from such history and tradition, and the object of the lessons seems to be in the main to suggest to the limited audience of studious men that, "after all, things might be much worse than they are in this "best of all worlds; it is better at any rate to live and let live "than to vegetate, mope and do nothing; than to bully the "less fortunate, neglect their wants and to live quite selfishly; "even the animals, who only differ from us in that they have "not yet discovered the art of speech and are consequently "subdued by us to our uses, have a certain equality of natural "right with ourselves, and cannot be put upon outrageously, "any more than nature in any other sphere can be forced." The weak points of Confucianism are frequently pointed out, and much more is said about the half-Confucian philosopher, Mêh Tih (Mêh-tsz or Meccius) than is easily found elsewhere—in fact the two sages are usually coupled as Ju together; but it is explained in one place how Mêh-tsz objected to Confucius, Yang-tsz to Mêh-tsz, and Mencius to Yang-tsz in turn. It is generally considered by posterity that the King of Hwai-nan was himself a Taoist pure and simple, and this is perhaps true to the extent that he quotes Laocius by specific name oftener than he quotes any other philosopher, and criticises him *personally* the least; but it must be remembered that his uncle and kind patron the "Antonine" Emperor Wên Ti

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was himself (perhaps in deference to his rude father's prejudices), if not a Taoist at all events far from being a Confucianist; whilst Wên Ti's wife, the Empress Tou, who owned a copy in ancient script, was a rabid patron of Laocius' book and decidedly a dangerous person to brusque. Moreover Hwai-nan Tsz uses the word *tao* quite freely in senses quite apart from Laocius, and even goes out of the way to show that the ancient *tao* of the earliest semi-mythical emperors was very remote from the *wu-wei* (inactivity) ideal of Laocius: he asks "were our ancient emperors, who evinced so much *activity* in the people's interests, then destitute of *tao*?" He thereupon proceeds to define the true meaning of Laocius' celebrated *wu-wei*, or "nothing doing" in our modern cant.

It cannot be pretended that Hwai-nan Tsz can be read with any comfort by any foreign student of Chinese who has not advanced to a certain independence and had ample practice in studying without a teacher: indeed, when he has advanced up to a certain point, he is as likely as not to know more than the average teacher, however good, can tell him; but there are certain quite simple matters in Chinese literature which are apt to puzzle the most industrious foreigner, just as "Love's last shift" became "La dernière chemise de l'Amour" to the bewildered but scholarly Frenchman. To say that the style of Hwai-nan Tsz is perfect and polished in the extreme, means nothing to a foreign student who has not read the old books wherewith to compare it. Kwan-tsz may contain more original matter, but Kwan-tsz was manifestly put together by several hands at dates wide apart, extending perhaps over 300 or 400 years, and much of it is rough, disconnected and incompletely or incorrectly copied. Some of Sz-ma Ts'ien's descriptive chapters—as for instance those on the Scythians—are smooth and charming reading, but his work as a whole is a mere compilation from all dates and styles; he tries to be, and generally is, scrupulously correct in matters of fact and date, but much of his pure ancient history is more reminiscent of the "Generations of Abraham" than of the livelier "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel." Life is too short for

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one man to go through every line of the old Chinese philosophers, even if the ultimate results were worth it; wholesale skipping of all unreadable or apparently impossible parts is therefore shamelessly recommended. The first six chapters of the twenty-one in Hwai-nan Tsz have probably "choked off" most of the few foreign students who have tried their hand: cosmogony, myth and astrology are all very well for those with these acquired tastes, but excessively barren and wearisome to the majority.

The particular charm of Hwai-nan Tsz lies in the chapters 7 to 20, for the last, No. 21, is simply a list of contents, and a very feeble and unsatisfying one at that. In accordance with what appears to have been the practice in those days, each chapter is called a *hün* or "teaching," which corresponds to our "subject;" thus Chapter 15 is called "The subject of Waging War," but in most cases the subject titles seem quite irrelevant to the matter of their respective *hün* or teaching, and the matter of the readable chapters is a pretty uniform *olla podrida* throughout, being a running comment, often gently cynical, upon traditions and historical facts every one capable of appreciating the wit is supposed to know by heart. It is as though John Locke or Francis Bacon should make a running commentary after this fashion—apropos of want of foresight:—"When Cæsar built his fleet to crush the British, he omitted to make allowance for the high tides and local storms, but Justinian, on the other hand, shewed a remarkable forethought in accommodating his laws to the comparatively new Christian sentiment of the period;" or again:—"There is such a thing as moral as well as bodily cowardice: for instance, Pontius Pilate could hardly have been styled morally brave, whilst on the other hand Richard the Second of England took his moral courage in both hands when he faced Wat Tyler's menacing crowd." If a student have read Sz-ma Ts'ien's general history only, he will still have a very fair chance of following the general trend of Hwai-nan Tsz's miscellaneous survey; but if, in addition, he be conversant with some of the older sources or citations from which Sz-ma Ts'ien himself drew, or if he can "look them up" in

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any great Chinese Thesaurus, he will find inexhaustible pleasure in identifying the particular point in each case. Considering that Hwai-nan Tsz wrote more than 2,000 years ago, it is marvellous to discover in reading him, how much of him is easily intelligible; how very few absolutely incomprehensible passages there are; and how two or three at first sight apparently inexplicable words, have really passed on unobserved through centuries into the colloquial of to-day. But the chief and outstanding feature is the polished refinement of style, in the sense that there is never any coarseness—Rabelaisian indecency is never found in any classical Chinese work,—no levity or *parti-pris*. The skilled official Chinese essayists of our own generation, such as Tso Tsung-t'ang, Chang Chi-tung and Li Hung-chang may have worded state papers with more precision, with more command over exact syntax and marshalling of facts, but they have never written with serener judgement on the philosophical merits.

Hwai-nan Tsz' motive may be conjectured to have been as follows: the whole of the historical, political and philosophical literature had been destroyed (so far as possible) by the "First Emperor" in 213 B.C. During the first few reigns of the Han dynasty, war, recuperation and reconstitution had amply occupied prominent mens' minds; but when the Founder's son by a concubine Han Wên Ti, the Marcus Aurelius of China, came to the throne, the "First Emperor's" law against concealing books had already fallen into desuetude, and indeed, (B.C. 191) had been formally repealed; the second King of Hwai-nan (our author) was his nephew, and shared his peaceful tastes: the Emperor himself naturally had no time for literary dalliance; but he facilitated and encouraged the inclinations of his nephew, who of course, at his own royal court, a sort of literary Weimar, had ample means for satisfying his curiosity as to what books the First Emperor of the short-lived Ts'in dynasty had been anxious to destroy; we are not told exactly how he managed it but, as already stated, several thousand men were employed, under eight actually named supervisors, to overhaul all recovered books, *i.e.* recovered from old men's memory or recovered from *caches* in the original bamboo, mutilated or otherwise. No doubt

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when the labours of these hundreds of "harmless drudges" had been redrafted in the modernised script, Hwai-nan Tsz himself revised and polished them up, taking special care that not a word should appear that directly or indirectly could give offence to the fierce conquering Emperor Wu Ti—grandson of Marcus Aurelius, and consequently junior cousin once removed to Hwai-nan Tsz.

Naturally, as Hwai-nan Tsz is usually ranked as a Taoist, most readers of this will be interested first of all to know what he really says of *tao*. That is quite a separate question from what he says of Laocius, most of whose utterances (fifty in number) are found in the 12th chapter, including the celebrated sentence "that *tao* which can be "put into words is not the universal *tao*:" this is cited twice, once in the 12th chapter as a specifically uttered aphorism of Laocius himself, and once again illustratively in the 13th chapter, but without allusion to Laocius. It also occurs in the shorter form *pu tao chï tao* in the first chapter, without allusion to Laocius. In the 11th chapter is Laocius' comparison (paragraph 60 of his book) of "governing a state properly" with "cooking a chicken properly," in connection with which the easy-going say "don't poke it about too much," whilst the uncompromising say "make sure that the salt and the sour are duly there." The opening parts of the 10th chapter again seem to employ much the same confused and vague phraseology touching the all-pervading nature of *tao* as that used three centuries earlier by Laocius. The 21st chapter, —that is, the contents list,—tells us that the 12th chapter on "the echoes of *tao*" deals especially with *tao* as illustrated by 考驗 (*k'ao-yen*) the doctrine or craft of Laocius and Chwang-tsz 老莊之術, (*Lao-chwang chï-shuh*) but this book (*i.e.* Hwai-nan Tsz) treats of nature, man and the *tao* of the ancient rulers (*ti-wang-chï-tao*) 帝王之道; and, in laying special stress on *tao*, it must be understood that *tao* embraces all circumstances and conditions, but naturally, the application of it rightly at all times can only be expected from the most highly gifted men 聖人 (*shêng-jên*), who spontaneously turn to *tao* just as the sunflower naturally does to the sun.

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The various meanings of *tao*, quite apart from Taoism as a religion and from Laocius' utterances, are very interesting. For instance in his 9th chapter Hwai-nan Tsz says, "Only to know the concrete objects in life, 萬物 (*wan wuh*) and not to know human nature (*jên-tao*) is scarcely practical sagacity 智 (*chï*); for instance a blind man may discourse on black and white, but he can never see and realise them." In chapter 18 we are told that Confucius, seeing the decay of the imperial Chou dynasty, endeavoured to inculcate the *tao* of the ancients 三代道 (*san-tai tao*). Again, in chapter 21, "Confucius wished to cultivate the *tao* of the "first good Chou Emperors "修成康之道 (*siu Ch'êng "K'ang chï tao*), and to transmit the teachings of their uncle, "one of the practical founders of the dynasty 述周公之訓 "*(shuh Chou Kung chï hün)*"; and then, reverting to the differences of opinion that developed between Confucius and the philosopher Mêh-tsz, he explains that the latter "turned his back upon the *tao* of the Chou dynasty, 背周道 *peh Chou tao*," and adopted the government system of the thousand years earlier Hia dynasty 用夏政 (*yung Hia cheng*). In chapter 13 we are told that what preserves a state is Tao-têh 道德, just as what ruins a family is unreasonableness, *li-sêh* 理塞. The next chapter maintains that a stupid wish with *tao* is better than a shrewd one without *tao*, and goes on to interpret what Laocius meant when he said of certain persons that "the tiger cannot find in them the where to plant his claws withal, the rhinoceros cannot find in them the where to lodge his horn withal": he was merely asserting by way of illustration that all things do as their nature prompts them to do: the drum does not expire with the sound it makes, and therefore may be said to possess sound; the mirror does not cease to exist with the reflection it causes, and in the same way may be said to possess images; but you must beat the drum to get the sound, just as you must blow into a wind instrument to extract music from it. Chapter 15 gives us instances from history where, owing to *tao* utterly failing, recourse must be had to arms—as though to a comb or a harrow—to restore order; as, for instance, in the cases of the two last Emperors respectively of the Hia and Shang dynasties, or

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the ruler of Tsin (573 B.C.) or the king of Sung (282 B.C.), who each lost life and dynastic rights owing to single acts of gross absence of right: the moral is that; if princes have no *tao*, the people yearn for relieving armies just as the parched husbandman yearns for rain: *tao* is alone in the matter of giving no visible sign or heraldic warning of its approach. The magpie, in dread of the wind, moves its nest to a lower branch; but lo! and behold, mischievous boys get at and smash the contents; so true is it that, whilst smart men may find safety in occasional digressions from *tao*, the simple-minded may come to grief through their excessively rigid adherence to *tao*. The conditions of ancient times were not like those of our days, and true *tao* found no scope when the "Five Protectors" (680-620) were tyrannizing over Old China under pretext of maintaining the traditional imperial rule (Chapter 11 had already made this last remark), and of forcing less powerful princes to abstain from tyranny. Confucius admitted that three of his own followers excelled him respectively in downright charity, logic and bravery; but, he said, he would not exchange his speciality of *tao* for superiority over them in these three points, because his own charity was qualified by relentlessness in some cases, just as his logic might perhaps yield to persuasion at critical times and his bravery to natural fear. This sentiment reappears in Chapter 20, when it is laid down that all things in moderation are based on *tao-têh*, whether words, music or pleasure: thus each one of the 25 chords of a harp or 30 spokes of a wheel does its humble share in producing sound and motion; Confucius is quoted as having said, "petty arts are apt to damage *tao*, just as petty quibbles damage reasoning and petty gains damage honour." In Chapter 19 Hwai-nan Tsz gives a careful definition of the famous expression *wu-wei* (don't do, or inactivity) as an indispensable part of *tao*; most people hold, he says, that it is merely the image or illustration of *tao's* successful acquirement (*tao-teh chï siang*) 道德之像, as it is soundless, motionless, incapable of being in any way hustled, etc., etc.; but *he* does not think so (*wu i-wei puh-jan*) 吾以爲不然: look, for instance, at the activity of the ancient Emperors; *they* did not sit still with their arms folded: all our rivers run east

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spontaneously and crops are produced each summer; but we have had to and still must keep the rivers in proper channels, and we must ourselves cultivate the crops; it is said of Confucius that he never knew what a black flue was, and of Mêh-tsz that his sitting mat was never warm: no! *wu-wei* 無爲 does not mean slothful inactivity, but an entire absence of self; naturalness according to circumstances and means at hand; and no perversion of the general interest 公道 (*kung-tao*); on the other hand Chao Chêng 趙政 (*i.e.*, the First Emperor, who destroyed literature) of Ts'in (Shen Si) by his final smashing of Tsin (Shan Si) in no way increased his *têh*, though he may have succeeded in exalting himself. In Chapter 14 Hwai-nan Tsz alludes to the bubble reputation gained by Kung-sun Lung 公孫龍 (Mayers' *Manual*, No. 288), the Taoist whose "gift of the gab" has made his "definitions" obscure to this day.

The subject of *tao* will be developed further under other heads of Hwai-nan Tsz if readers see fit to appreciate these papers, and one on Kwan-tsz' philosophy will, with the Editor's permission, be reprinted too by way of comparison.

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A CHINESE "TEMPLE OF THE CROSS"

BY

CHRISTOPHER IRVING

In the first number of THE NEW CHINA REVIEW (p. 89) Prof. E H. Parker drew attention to the existence of a "Temple of the Cross" (什字觀) outside the north gate of Lan-chou-fu, and suggested the possibility of this temple having formerly been a Christian church. In the third number of the REVIEW (p. 321) Mr. H. I. Harding mentions the existence of a temple with a similar name in the Fang-shan district (房山縣) of the province of Chihli. In his opinion the situation of the temple in a remote spot at the entrance to a narrow defile precludes the idea of its having been a Christian church, and he also rejects the "cross-roads" explanation as impossible in this case. Having no alternative theory to offer, he leaves the mystery of the name unsolved.

I am glad to be in a position to throw a little light on this problem as far as the last-named temple is concerned. In the course of a recent ramble among the mountains of the Fang-shan district, I was overtaken one day by a thunder-storm and was glad to find shelter for a night under the very hospitable (though by no means water-tight) roof of the "Temple of the Cross." It stands in a picturesque and secluded position near the foot of the San-p'ên hill, which

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belongs to a range of mountains known as Ta-fang-shan (大房山). The nearest village (less than a mile to the south-east) is Ch'ai-ch'ang (柴廠), which is the centre of a district said to be rich in coal. This explains why it is soon to become the terminus of the branch railway-line which at present runs from Liu-li-ho (on the Peking-Hankow line) to the village of Chou-k'ou-tien. Close by the temple flows a small stream which at the time of my visit was temporarily converted into a thundering mountain-torrent. The name of the hill, San-p'ên (三盆), is said to be derived from the fact that the stream contains three pools resembling bowls. The temple is within six or seven miles north-west of the city of Fang-shan. It is also within easy reach (by means of a tortuous mountain-path about two miles long) of the twelfth century tombs of the Chin (Golden Tartar) emperors; indeed it was my desire to visit those relics of a vanished dynasty that lured me to this region.

Until I reached the Temple of the Cross, and read the Chinese characters over the outside gateway, I had no idea that I was anywhere near a temple of this name; for the country-people, in recommending it to me as a convenient halting-place, had referred to it not as the *Shih-tzŭ* ("Cross") but as the *Shih-t'ou* ("Rock" or "Stone") temple. My subsequent discovery makes it clear that the latter term must be a popular corruption of the former.

The inscription over the gateway is unmistakable but it is quite new. The characters are 古刹十字禪林中華丁巳年九月: "The Ancient Monastery of the Meditation-Grove of the Cross, Ninth month of the *ting-ssŭ* year of the Republic"—*i. e.* 1917. I could not find the term *shih-tzŭ* ("cross") anywhere else in the temple-precincts, and it was not long before I discovered that the official designation of the temple was neither *Shih-tzŭ* nor *Shih-t'ou*, but something quite different from either. Nevertheless it is worth noting that the term *Shih-tzŭ* must be of ancient date—old enough, at least, to allow time for it to have become corrupted into *Shih-t'ou*.

The temple is small and unpretentious. If not soon repaired, its present condition suggests that it will probably

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become a ruin in the course of the next decade. It contains two halls of the usual Buddhist type, besides the ordinary side-buildings which are occupied by three or four resident monks. The first building to be entered is the Hall of the Heavenly Kings (天王殿). Behind it, separated by a courtyard, is the principal sanctuary, which contains three colossal images representing Sakyamuni Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, together with smaller images of the eighteen *lohan* and of Kuan-yin, P'u-hsien and Wên-shu. The three last are seated on the animals usually associated with these bodhisattvas in Buddhist symbology. There is also a small image of Bodhidharma, who is represented as crossing turbulent waters under the protection and guidance of spiritual agencies.

In all this there is nothing exceptional or in any way likely to attract the special notice of those who are familiar with the interiors of Chinese Buddhist temples. It is to the courtyard that we must go if we wish to learn anything of the temple's past history. This courtyard, pleasantly shaded by maidenhair-trees, lies between the two halls, both of which face the south. In front of the principal hall—that of Sakyamuni—is a broad stone terrace, raised rather more than two feet above the level of the courtyard; and in close proximity to the two front corners of the terrace stand (on tortoise-pedestals) two stone slabs bearing inscriptions. Both inscriptions refer to restorations of the temple carried out at two widely different dates, and both give the name of the temple as Ch'ung-shêng Yüan (崇聖院), which may be translated "The Temple of Reverence to the Holy," or "Reverence and Holiness." That this name is not devoid of interest will, I hope, be made clear by what I have to say later on.

The older of the two stone tablets is dated the tenth year of Yung Li of the Liao (Tartar) dynasty, which corresponds to 960 of our era. The inscription states that the temple was restored at that time mainly through the exertions of a monk named Hui Ch'êng (惠誠) whose lay-surname was Chang (張). The other tablet is dated the twenty-fifth year of Chih-chêng of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty, which cor-

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STONE IN CH'UNG-SHÊNG YÜAN

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responds to the year 1357. This inscription, without giving us any of the details that would have interested us, states that the temple can be dated back to the Chin (晉) and T'ang (唐) dynasties. If this tradition is to be trusted, the original foundation must have taken place not later than the beginning of the fifth century of our era. The Eastern Chin dynasty came to an end in 420, and the T'ang dynasty was not established till 618. We are perhaps to understand from the inscription that the religious traditions of the locality go back as far as the Chin dynasty but that the authentic and continuous history of the temple dates from the T'ang dynasty (618-906).

Our interest in these old tablets sinks into comparative insignificance when we catch sight of the two corner-stones of the adjoining terrace; for it is those corner stones that tell us, more plainly than words could do, why the "Temple of Reverence and Holiness" bears the alternative name of "Temple of the Cross."

The two stones are practically identical in shape, size and decoration; it will simplify matters, therefore, if I confine my description to that which is fitted into the south-west corner of the terrace, especially as it is this stone which appears in my photograph. The photograph, unfortunately, was taken under very adverse conditions of weather, and much of the detail will probably vanish in the reproduction. This will perhaps justify a somewhat fuller description than would be necessary if the photograph could be relied upon to do justice to its subject.

The stone is 2 feet 3 inches high and about 1 foot 11 inches broad. Looked at from a little distance (as for example from the position of the camera) it would appear to be almost a square block; but looked at from *above* we perceive that there is a deep rectangular recess in the side that faces the north. This recess is about 11 inches deep and 12 inches wide. So long as the stone remains in its present position, and therefore cannot be thoroughly examined, it would be futile to speculate as to the purpose served by this recess; nor is it possible to say whether there is any decoration on the concealed eastern face of the stone. The two visible surfaces—those of the south and west sides—are

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those with which we must at present rest satisfied: and they are certainly well worthy of attention.* The decoration on the western face is a floral one. On a slightly recessed panel, a vase of simple shape (broad at the mouth, slightly narrower at the bottom) stands on a small rectangular pedestal; and from the mouth of the vase protrude plants which, as far as I could judge, are intended to represent the lotus, chrysanthemum and plum-blossom. The decoration on the southern face is that which appears, or should appear, in the photographic illustration. On a panel similar to that on the western side is a relief carving of a cross supported by or standing upon the conventionalised petals of a lotus. The four limbs increase in breadth from the centre outwards, and in this respect the cross might be described either as Maltese or as *patée*. In strict heraldry, perhaps, neither name is quite applicable. It might be best described as almost identical with the cross of the Danish Order of the Dannebrog—in orther words, as a cross *patée* with the lower limb slightly longer than the other three. The whole cross is over a foot long. Small circles appear in the centre, at the points of junction, and at the extremities of the limbs. The circles in the centre may be intended to represent a flower, possibly a lotus, in full bloom.

The monks informed me that, according to the tradition handed down to them, the two stones were found under the floor of the *T'ien-wang-tien* (the Hall of the Heavenly Kings) during the restoration which (as stated on one of the stone tablets) took place in 1357, and were placed in their present positions merely because of their decorative carving. They seemed to be quite unaware that the stones might be of great interest from an archæological or religious point of view, and offered no theory as to their origin or meaning.

I am well aware that crosses have been used for decorative and other purposes in many non-Christian lands, and were so used many centuries before Christianity came into existence. The British Museum possesses a specimen of what

* In the case of the corresponding stone on the south-eastern side of the terrace, it is of course the *western* external face that is at present concealed, and the *eastern* and southern faces that are visible and decorated.

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we should call a Maltese cross which was worn by an Assyrian king of the ninth century B.C. Nevertheless I have little hesitation in saying that the crosses of the Ch'ung-shêng temple are not Buddhist, and I should be surprised to learn that they could be matched by anything in the native art of China. I am strongly inclined to believe that these crosses are Christian, *the more so as they bear a close resemblance to the Cross on the famous Nestorian monument at Hsi-an.* I inspected that monument some years ago, shortly after its removal to the "Forest of Tablets," and brought away a rubbing which reveals a cross in all essential respects similar to those of the Ch'ung-shêng temple. The reader will have no difficulty, however, in forming his own conclusions on the matter, for the Nestorian Cross has been reproduced in various modern publications.* The only appreciable differences between the Hsi-an cross and the crosses of the Ch'ung-shêng temple are that the former is smaller, that it is not quite so elaborately decorated in the centre, and that at the extremities of the limbs there are three circles or protuberances instead of one. I may be reminded that the introduction of the lotus motif into the Ch'ung-shên crosses is an indication of their Buddhist origin, but in reply to this I need only point out that the Nestorian cross itself is represented as arising out of a cloud *below which is a lotus-flower.* On this subject Mr. P. Y. Saeki (a Japanese Christian) has the following curious note. "Beneath the Cross—*i.e.*, supporting the Cross, there is the Cloud. . . . This is the characteristic symbol of Taoists as well as of Mohammedans in China. Beneath the Cloud there lies a Lotus-flower (蓮 華), the characteristic emblem of Buddhists.

* The drawing which surmounts the List of Illustrations in P. Y. Saeki's recent book *The Nestorian Monument in China* is inaccurate, for it represents the lower limb as *shorter* than the upper, whereas it should be longer. More correct drawings will be found in Father Louis Gaillard's *Croix et Swastika*, p. 141, and in later volumes of the same series (*Variétés Sinologiques*), in Williamson's *Journeys in North China*, vol. i, pp. 382-3, in Cordier's 1903 edition of Yule's *Marco Polo* (to face vol. ii, p. 28), and in F. H. Nichol's *In Hidden Shensi*, p. 264. The illustration in the last-named book is the facsimile of a rubbing.

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the south; and though we have no details as to how he spent his early youth, we know that he was precociously religious, loved nature and solitude, and took Buddhist vows at the early age of fifteen. It is probable that in the course of his solitary rambles he was often a guest at the Buddhist monasteries in his neighbourhood; and if the *Ch'ung-shêng* temple of Fang-shan was already in existence (we have seen that its traditions go back to a still earlier date) he can hardly have left it unvisited, especially as its lonely and romantic situation could not fail to appeal to one who was a lover of nature and by temperament an anchorite. All this is, of course, mere surmise; but it is a tempting theory that when Ching Sung, cherishing tender memories of his old home, found himself placed at the head of a new monastery in a distant province, he give it a name which would always, for him, have sacred associations and bring back the "long, long thoughts" of boyhood.*

The third *Ch'ung-shêng* temple is one which, especially when considered in connexion with our present subject, will probably be found to present features of far greater interest than can be claimed by its Kiangsu rival; ***for it is none other than that temple at Hsi-an which is specially associated with the history of the Nestorian Tablet.*** There are doubts about the place where the famous monument was excavated in 1625; but there is no reasonable doubt that from that date, and up to the time of its removal to the "Forest of Tablets" (碑林) twelve years ago, it stood in the grounds of the *Ch'ung-shêng* monastery (崇聖寺) beyond the western walls of Hsi-an city. Moreover, it is no less probable that this *Ch'ung shêng* monastery stands on or very close to the site of the temple or monastery which was occupied by the Nestorian Christians during their brief period of prosperity

* The life of Ching Sung is narrated in the Kuang Hsü (光緒) edition of the *Shun-t'ien-fu Chih* (順天府志), section 113, p. 11. It is there borrowed from the *Ku-an Ch'ên Chih* (固安陳志). The quotation in the foregoing footnote is from this narrative. A fuller account will be found in the *Hsü Kao Sêng Chüan* (續高僧傳), tenth *chüan* (Hardoon edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka, 35th *t'ao*, vol. iii. page 8)

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under the T'ang emperors. M. Pelliot believes that the temple marks, very nearly, the spot both of the first erection of the Tablet in 781 and of its accidental discovery in 1625.* Although the authorities on this point are far from unanimous, the evidence in favour of Pelliot's view is strong enough to warrant the provisional acceptance of the facts to which it points. The Rev. A. C. Moule remarks that "by a most curious coincidence the temple where the stone was erected in 1625 appears to be not far from the site of the first Christian church, which was built in 638." † I venture to add that it is an equally puzzling coincidence that two crosses similar in design to the Christian cross of Hsi-an should have been discovered in a temple in a different part of China which bears the same name as that of the Nestorian monument. ‡

It may not be out of place to mention that up to the time of its partial destruction at the hands of Mohammedan rebels in the nineteenth century, the *Ch'ung-shêng* temple was probably the finest building of the kind in or near the western capital.§ It was originally founded about the end of the sixth century by a son of the emperor Kao Tsu of the Sui dynasty (隋高祖), who gave it the name of *Chi-tu Ssŭ* (濟渡寺), which signifies "The Monastery of Salvation." After undergoing some vicissitudes, including changes of site and amalgamation with other temples, it received the name of *Ch'ung-shêng Ssŭ* (崇聖寺) in the year 677. This seems to have been its official name ever since, except for the period 1476-1775, when it was known as the *Ch'ung-jên Ssŭ* (崇仁寺). Although the official records contain no mention of the temple ever having passed under the temporary control of Christians, or of its having been associated in any way with

* *Encyclopædia Sinica*, s. v. "Nestorian Christians."

† *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (China Branch), 1910, p. 79.

‡ The *Ch'ang-an Hsien Chih* (長安縣志, *chüan* 22 p. 1) quotes an earlier Topography to the following effect. 案長安志皇城西第三街從北第三義寧坊波斯胡寺太宗爲大秦國胡僧立其地正鄰唐城西垣直今城西五里今大秦景教碑在崇聖寺中疑卽古波斯胡寺也.

§ 長安城諸寺不及也.....長安刹宇此爲最盛. (*Ch'ang-an Hsien Chih*, *chüan* 22, pp. 4-5.)

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the Nestorian propaganda, it is possible that it had friendly relations with the neighbouring Christian monastery. We know that, in the eighth century, at least one distinguished Nestorian priest collaborated with a Buddhist monk in translating Buddhist books; and there is good reason to believe that this was not the only instance of friendly co-operation between the two religions or their professors. It is also possible that when Nestorianism became extinct, or failed to recover from the persecution that had been aimed at all foreign religions (including both Buddhism and Christianity) in the ninth century, the Buddhist temple succeeded to the lands and buildings of its Christian rival. This would explain the presence of a Christian monument in the grounds of a Buddhist monastery, if it be true that the Nestorian Tablet was dug up in the place where it was erected in 1625.

It is to be hoped that steps will be taken by the missionary bodies or others to investigate further the history of the Fang-shan Temple of the Cross. I have reason to believe that the present magistrate of the district is himself interested in archæology, and would not place unreasonable difficulties in the way of those who proposed to carry out excavations. Anything that is going to be done should be done soon, because the temple is showing signs of dilapidation (I have already remarked that its roofs are not weather-proof), and the monks now in occupation are said to be taking initial steps towards a restoration. When the temple has been restored or rebuilt, it will be much more difficult than it would be at present to conduct investigations involving disturbance of the ground. To do the work thoroughly, it would of course be necessary to extend operations beyond the area enclosed within the present temple-walls; for although my visit took place during the height of the recent summer, when the surface of the surrounding area was covered with vegetation, there were indications that the buildings were formerly more extensive than those now existing. But the first thing to be done (and the judicious expenditure of a few dollars should effect this without difficulty) is to extricate the two carved

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stones from their present positions at the corners of the terrace, and to submit them to a more thorough examination than is possible so long as they remain partially concealed by masonry.

I may add that there is no reference to the temple or its monuments in the recently-published official list of the antiquities of this part of Chihli (京兆古物調查表). Whether it is mentioned in the Topography of the district of Fang-shan (房山縣志) I cannot say, as my efforts to borrow or purchase a copy of this work in the district-city were unsuccessful. I was informed that copies of the old edition are almost unobtainable and that a new edition is in course of preparation.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON

ACCORDING to the author of the *Sui Yüan Sui Pi* the Yellow Emperor's father 少典 married the lady 有蟜氏. The issue of this union was the Yellow Emperor Huang Ti, and Yen Ti. The former was born on the River 姬, hence he was surnamed *Chi*, and the latter being born on the River Chiang 姜, was surnamed *Chiang*. The Yellow Emperor is said to have had 25 sons, and only two of them, *viz.* 青陽 and 夷鼓, were of the same surname *Chi* 己; the sons of four of his wives (12 in number) were of different surnames, hence, in the same family 12 sons had no surnames! The legends relating to this sovereign are diverse as regards their origin and details. The 史記 and Annals of the Bamboo Books give altogether different details from those given by the author of the *Sui Yüan Sui Pi*. The *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* states that Huang Ti was miraculously conceived by his mother Fu Pao 附寶. Yen Ti or Shên Kung is not mentioned as being the brother of Huang Ti. The native chroniclers responsible for these paradoxes certainly cause no little confusion concerning these legendary beings. Giles' *Biographical Dictionary* and the *Chinese Reader's Manual* will suppy the curious with a choice selection of legends and fables concerning Huang Ti, Yen Ti, and a host of other mythical personages. I simply record other accepted

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versions generally believed by the people and as stated in the *Sui Yüan Sui Pi* (隨園隨筆). This is the first and only instance to my knowledge where any of the legendary emperors are credited with having had a natural father; nearly all of them are supposed to be the offspring of a miraculous conception.

* * *

Some remarks on the 'borrowed' uses of the two characters 府 and 道. The original meaning of *fu* was a library; 府藏書也. In the 趙禹傳 the sentence 文深可爲大府 proves this. During the period of the Three Kingdoms *fu*, according to the 諸葛亮傳, meant a *Yamên*, *i.e.* a place wherein to conduct official business, 開府治事; hence *fu* gradually came to be applied to an official, which latter meaning was not derived from 州 or 郡 as is generally supposed:—方漸漸有官名之意非州郡也.

* * *

During the T'ang dynasty *fu* was not applied to *Yamêns*. The first two Prefectures to receive the name of 府 were 京兆 and 河南. During the reign of the Empress Wu Hou the name of 幷州 was changed to 太原府; and T'ang Ming Huang changed the name of 蒲州 to 河中府. *Vide* 唐朝地理志. When the Sung Emperor Chên Tsung (A. D. 998) ascended the throne he changed the name of his native state 襄 to 襄陽府. And so with Jên Tsung (A. D. 1023) who was Duke of Ch'ing (慶國公). That is, 慶國 was altered to 慶州府. It was during the Yüan dynasty that the *status* of the *fu* 府, was made superior to a district. During the T'ang dynasty the empire was divided into 12 Circuits, *Tao* 道, hence the official ranks of *Tao-t'ai* 道台 and *fu* 府 date from the T'ang and the ranks of 糧道, 食事道 and 兵備道 date from the Ming dynasty.

* * *

The 頂 or 前馬 "outriders" who precede the official chair of a mandarin originated with the king of the 吳 state, who in order to "show his authority" compelled 句踐 king of 越, a much smaller kingdom, to precede him on horseback during his travels. *Vide* 國語書. The prince of Yüeh however, had his revenge. See Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, No. 982.

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According to the 儒林傳書 the complimentary address of the 監生 was originally 太學生, which form was first used in the 2nd year of 元朔 of the Han, 126 B.C.

* * *

The 文集 states that the first biography of a woman written in China was by 江淹 (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 345), who wrote the life of 宋太妃周氏. There must have been something specially interesting about this lady when a man of Chiang's calibre undertook to write her biography.

* * *

Two curious names for Imperial Bandmasters are 都都知 and 都都統, which titles were conferred on the two Court Libationers 王鐸 and 李可及 by the Emperor 僖宗 of the T'ang. *Cf.* Giles' Dict. No. 12,050.

* * *

According to the 漢書 the emperor's sisters were called 翁公主 and his aunts 大長公主. During the T'ang the Imperial princesses were known as 卿主 and 卿停公主. A party of princesses was called 翁主. A curious term.

* * *

During the 47th year of Ch'ien Lung (1783) and again in the 7th year of Chia Ch'ing (1803) Imperial edicts were promulgated prohibiting the people from erecting memorial tablets, presenting complimentary umbrellas, or petitioning for retention in office of "virtuous" officials—generally at the latters' request. This was owing to the extreme corruption and bribery then prevailing.

* * *

The term 智囊 or "Walking dictionary" was the sobriquet of one Kan Mao 甘茂 also known as Ch'u Li-tzŭ 樗里子, who lived about 585 B.C. He is said to have had a large tumour on his neck which gave him a repulsive appearance, but he had great mental endowments. It was thus used as an expression of ridicule and not of praise as at present.

* * *

Chu Hsi was apparently dissatisfied with the interpretation of 怨慕, explained as "dissatisfied and full of earnest desire."

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Giles' Dict. No. 13,716. Mêngtzŭ Bk. 5, Pt. 1, V. 1. "Shun went into the fields and cried out to heaven." "What did he cry out for?" Mêngtzŭ's reply was, 怨慕也, which Chu Hsi explains thus: 怨己不得其親而思慕也. "To grieve at the want of a parent's love, and yet long to requite it." Shun received exceptional ill treatment from his parents, yet he is the first of the twenty-four noted examples of filial piety.

* * *

Chinese official etiquette required that all subordinate officials before taking over their seals of office on being appointed to a new post had to send in their cards at daylight for three consecutive days. On the 4th day the higher officials 上司 returned cards to all such. The custom was introduced by one 岑參 of the T'ang, who was magistrate of 虢州 in ancient Honan. *Vide* 隨園隨筆.

* * *

The term 代倩 (Giles' *Dict.* No. 699) in ancient times referred to the employment of "substitutes" to prepare essays for candidates. Ts'ao Ts'ao, who suspected his son of employing such, examined him personally. The celebrated scholar Wên Fei-ch'ing 溫飛卿 of the T'ang was constantly employed as a substitute.

* * *

A curious term for "white geese settling on the water" is 浮尼. During the 45th year of Ch'ien Lung, 1781 A.D., O Kuei, (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 1583) was sent to inspect and regulate the dikes in Honan. While engaged on repairs it was observed that whenever geese settled on the water the dikes would collapse during the night. In the 桂海稗編 it is stated that during the rebellion headed by Huang Hsiu-yang of the Ming dynasty, whenever the army came across a flock of white geese their boats would capsize and all hands be lost. This was called 浮尼水怪. A black dog and five kinds of grain were used in sacrifice to propitiate them.

* * *

The Imperial document 檄文 "declaration of war" or ultimatum, was first used by 穆王 King of Chou, 1001 B.C.

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It was the name of the document issued to General 謀父 who was sent to chastise and terrify into submission the 狄 or Northern barbarians.

* * *

It is of interest to note that during the Sung dynasty the 赦書 or "Imperial pardon" was called 赦勅.

* * *

Another version of 三多 The Three kinds of Abundance to be wished for. In the 莊子天地篇 we find the following sentence, which is totally at variance with the generally accepted meaning as given in the *Ch'êng Yü K'ao*: 華封人祝堯使壽人富使壽人善使壽人多男. "The frontier officer of Hua wished Yao opulence, longevity and many sons." Yao, however, declined his compliments; 堯辭之曰多富多事多善多辱多男多累.

* * *

The Shih Ching 魯頌篇 sentence (Legge IV. p. 629) 新廟奕奕奚斯所作 "Very grand is our new (ancestral) temple, Hsi Ssŭ was its architect" is, according to the 重光殿賦 a fabrication. The true rendering should be "Hsi Ssŭ sung praises about the pavilion of the marquis of Lu: (僖公), 奚斯頌僖歌其路寢.

* * *

According to the 隨圖隨筆 the government tax on wine was first levied during the Han dynasty, and duty on tea during the T'ang.

* * *

The *nien hao* on cash dates from the 1st year of the emperor 孝建 of the Sung dynasty, A.D. 454.

* * *

The clay idols or gods representing Confucius were abolished and wooden tablets used instead, at the request of Chang Ts'ung, Giles *Biog. Dict.* No. 122. *Vide* the 張琮傳. The posthumous title of 曲阜令 was bestowed on the sage by the emperor Kuang Shun 廣順 of the Hou Chou 後周 dynasty, A.D. 951.

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Giles' No. 12,616 means to 'grind,' 'chip,' etc. The native lexicographers were apparently befogged as to the etymon of the character since they refer 磋 to 跐 and vice versa. The latter character, not in Giles, has the meaning of "intoxicated;" sound of No. 5470 and *k'ai* No. 5797, 嵦.

* * *

Giles does not give Chung Yu's (*Biog. Dict.* No. 522), other styles of Chi Tzŭ 季子, and Chi Lu 季路; nor the historical expression 季子之慈 under No. 944 in his dictionary, alluding to 子路's poverty.

* * *

| 差 No. 4304 also means to dismiss from official service.

* * *

Under No. 10,577 and 童 | the *demi-monde*.

* * *

Giles' No. 12,885, *yang wu* 仰屋, has also the meaning of "quandary," "wit's end," *e.g.* 司農仰屋, the Minister of Agriculture is at his wit's end owing to financial difficulties.

* * *

青詞 (Giles' No. 10,257) is the name of a 'joss-paper' made from the *caculos thunbergii*, stamped with vermilion characters, which was used in a form of worship in the imperial temples during the Sung dynasty.

* * *

With reference to 南陔 No. 5778. It is the name of one of the lost Odes. Whether the sentence 奉養南陔 has anything to do with the lost Ode is questionable. According to the 隨園隨筆 it refers to the funeral dirge played during the sacrifices performed by the son to his deceased parents. In ancient times during funeral ceremonies for parents a white cloth was spread in the hall on which was inscribed the four characters mentioned above. It was also used over archways at the entrance to the tomb. Not to be confused with 奉養高堂. 南陔 appears to refer to the *shêng* 笙, reedpipes and 奉養 to the sacrificial ceremonies.

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Hua li 花利, (not in Giles), means "pecuniary gain" profit, etc. No. 4120 also means to "walk slowly."

* * *

The following are all fancy names for the ink slab, (Giles, No. 13,145). 萬石君, 石卿侯, 龍鱗, 陶泓, 墨侯, 石盧中, 文池璧友; and the following for Chinese ink:—榆麋, 龍賓, 青松子, 青煙, 元香太, 元玉, 松烟, 元霜, 客卿, 松滋侯, 香雲, 青松使者.

* * *

Giles in his dictionary omits the character 遵, with sound and meaning of 攸 No. 13,388. *E.g.* 君子遵樂 "the superior man knows how to enjoy himself."

* * *

Giles omits to state that 桃李 is a metaphor for 壯年 and 桑榆 for 晚景; and omits under No. 4530 the important calendaric term | 歲 the *first* day of the year.

* * *

Under Liu Chi (Giles, Biog. Dict. No. 1276) mention should be made that in the 1st year of his reign the *nien-hao* was first adopted 漢武皇帝建元元年歲辛丑年號有之自此始也.

* * *

According to the 顏師古注, 綢君 (4163,) is is not a term for a wife, but it was the *name* of Tung Fang-so's wife. This of course, is at variance with the explanation given in the *Ch'êng Yü K'ao*. Lockhart's *Manual*, p. 116.

* * *

The same authority states that the "style" or appellation of Fan Ch'ung (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* 536) was 綢君.

* * *

Another name for the Han lin yüan 翰林院, is 木天, and 白蠟明經, 孫山外, synonyms of *lo ti* 落第. Giles, No. 10,955.

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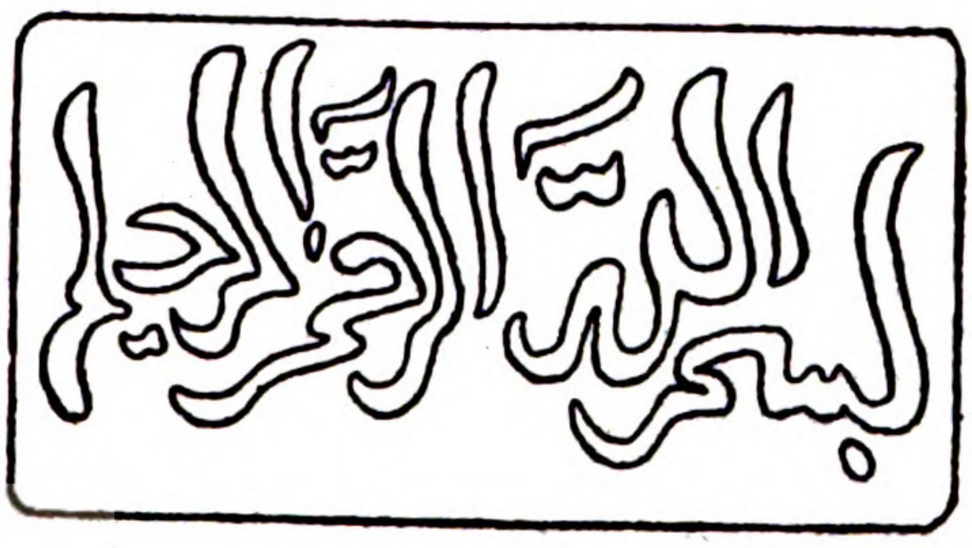
曹食 is equivalent to **染指**, "to interfere with" etc. The following mean to "imitate," follow a rule, etc., **效人**, **依樣**, **效顰**, **效樣**. *Yang chin* **養親** is equivalent to **反哺** *Cf.* Giles, No. 9457.

A correspondent writes:—

I should be grateful if, through the medium of THE NEW CHINA REVIEW, I could be supplied with translations of the two inscriptions reproduced below.

The round one is cast on the bottom, and the oblong one is engraved on the side of a brass incense-burner, which I purchased at Ningpo in 1913.



Sir E. Trelawny Backhouse kindly sends a note in reply to the Editor's query on p. 87. Among 27,000 *pên* **本** in all departments of Chinese literature presented by him to the Bodleian Library there are a dozen *pên* of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, but the numbers, etc., cannot be known till the catalogue is published. Sir Trelawny states that between 1567, when one of the copies was stored in the **皇史宬** (later in the Han-lin Academy), and 1900, nearly one half of the work had been purloined by hungry scholars, a volume or two at a time. After the Boxer siege it sppears that a number of the volumes were returned to the Chinese by the British. The original copy in the Palace had been destroyed by fire about 1559.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; Vol. L. 1919, Shanghai, $5.00.

THIS volume is not by any means one of the best the Society has issued, and we fear it will disappoint many of its readers.

In a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society a certain standard of science and scholarship must be maintained and there should be no complaint if the articles are not easy reading for the general public. But the science should be of various kinds. In the number before us nearly two-thirds are taken up by natural history papers, nearly one-third being occupied by a single paper on agriculture, botany and zoology. Little room is left therefore to deal with art, history, literature and the score of other branches of research in which so many students delight.

The first paper, *Thirty-thousand miles in China*, gives us hope at the beginning of learning something, since the miles were travelled in a magnetic survey, but after a few pages the writer remembers how many groups of five there are in Chinese matters—five relationships, five elements, five cereals, five fingers, etc., and he adopts the device of grouping his experiences in sets of five,—which seems to us to savour more of the Sunday-school than of science. So he describes to us, five great engineering feats in China, five great rivers, five

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experiences on the road, and so on. After all, the experiences are commonplace to all missionaries who live and travel inland, and to all travellers, except that we ourselves, having travelled thousands of miles in carts, mule-litters, etc., have always found carters and muleteers pleasant companions, patient and obedient, and we have never had to force them to their duty by appealing to officials.

The Land of Peach-bloom, in spite of its title is happily not one of the natural history papers. It is the old story, no doubt old in Homer's time, of Elysian fields, "where life is ever sweet, and sorrow is not, nor winter, nor any rain or storm, and the never-dying zephyrs blow soft and cool from off the ocean." The story of the man who somehow got there, but stupidly returned to the world to settle his affairs and never found the magic path again, is exquisitely told by William Morris, but this Chinese version is, of course, quaintly Chinese. The story dates from the fourth century A.D. and is very gracefully retold here.

Metaphorical Zoology gives us a number of Chinese sayings connected with animals, interwoven with the connecting remarks of the writer. As the proverbs are all given in italics, followed by the Chinese characters in brackets, it tires the eyes to read a page or two, and we think the collection would have been more useful grouped and printed in columns without comments.

The article by a Chinese writer on *Chemical Industries in Kwangtung* is misnamed. It deals with only that crude empirical chemistry which all early peoples have known, but these little works are not what are generally called to-day chemical industries; as the writer says, the making of wine in China is carried on now in practically the same way as four thousand years ago.

Two other titles excite interest, but the articles are disappointing: *Formosa* and *Notes on Kansu*. Each is a mere scrap of four pages. If the note on Formosa had appeared when the writer made his little trip it might have been informing; but his visit was made forty-five years ago, since which date many works of real value have been written about the island, and it seems almost comical for a learned journal

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to-day to be telling us the latitude and longitude of it. The writer took a little trip three days' journey inland, stayed two days with tame savages, then came back to port.

The *Notes on Kansu* only whet one's appetite for more information about that little-known province.

A useful article on the works of the learned Lo Chên yü, is the only thing of its kind in this volume. There are several other papers, but too many pages are taken up with scientific lists of birds, beasts and insects; some obituary notices follow and a very great number of reviews, varying very much in value both as to the books reviewed and the reviews themselves.

We are sorry to say the number of printer's errors we have noticed is far too great for any excuse; there are well over a hundred which strike the eye at first reading, and we strongly urge that this valuable journal, should have more careful proof-reading. The final corrections lie with the honorary editor, who already has, no doubt, labour and trouble enough in producing the volume, for which all readers owe him thanks; but it is a pity to see such valuable work so marred by mere misprints.

Further, though we do not greet this particular volume with the usual enthusiasm, it has its place in the long series of Journals, which is invaluable to students of China.

La Mandragore, par Berthold Laufer. (Extrait du *T'oung-pao*, Mars-Mai, 1917).

Malabathron, par Berthold Laufer. (Extrait du *Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin, 1918).

The United States is supposed to take an intense interest in things Chinese, but the interest seems almost entirely commercial and political and but slightly literary. We trust they know how to prize aright the erudition of such a scholar as they have in Dr. Laufer. In France it would certainly be highly honoured. After writing this our thought is confirmed by remembering that the two pamphlets before us are in French and are extracts from two French journals.

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The former study begins with the curious account, in Chinese and translated, of a mysterious plant called *ya pu lu*, exceedingly venomous, obtained by tying to it a dog which, on being beaten, pulls the plant from the earth. The dog inevitably dies, but the plant, after being buried for a year, can be used as medicine, its effect being to produce complete unconsciousness. This tradition is found in an author of the thirteenth century.

The name *ya pu lu* connects it at once with the Arabic-Persian *yabruh*, which is known to be the plant called in Greek *mandragoras*.

Dr. Laufer examines the various references in various languages to this famous plant with a view to deciding the origin both of the name and the tradition, besides seeking the identification of similar plants referred to in Chinese works.

In the second pamphlet the writer begins at the other end, with the references in Latin and Greek writers to an aromatic plant-leaf imported from India. A score of quotations are given us, classical, Arabic, Sanskrit, etc., after which we come to possible identifications in Chinese authors. There are a dozen illustrations from Chinese sources.

Both these articles show an immense amount of research and erudition and will be most welcome to many students.

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française; tome XIX, No. 1; Hanoi, 1919; 8 fr.

Some years ago M. Ch. B. Maybon gave a delightful lecture in Shanghai on the Angkor ruins. Those who remember it will be interested more than others in the latest number of the *Bulletin*. It deals with a group of ruins near Angkor, dating from the reign of Indravarman I (9th cent. A.D.); M. Henri Parmentier, the learned author, proposes to call the art 'primitive Khmer,' and the art of Angkor 'classic.'

The subject being somewhat outside of the interest of most of our readers we only call attention to it. The *Bulletin* often has articles of the greatest value to students of Chinese matters, and we note that we are promised *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang*, by Prof. H. Maspero.

The present number is embellished by 28 good plates.

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The New Map of China; Far Eastern Geographical Establishment, Shanghai. Special limited edition.

This map has been before the public for some years now, and is recognized as being more accurate, full and legible than anything else of its kind. The four sheets mounted together make a wall-map some six feet square which is a joy to contemplate and to consult.

The new edition is a special offer to missionaries and missionary institutions. An anonymous philanthropist has given Mex. $5,000 for the purpose, and the map, which is bi-lingual, can be had by mission boards, schools, etc., for $10 cash instead of Tls. 20. We have many missionary readers, and we can heartily recommend them to take advantage of this offer personally or for their educational work.

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THE NEW CHINA REVIEW.

VOL. I. DECEMBER, 1919. No. 6.

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The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS. not accepted for publication.

When accepted articles are printed, twenty-five copies will be sent to the writer.

Subscriptions are payable in advance and are as follows for the six numbers of 1919; Great Britain, 30s., *post free;* United States, G. $7.50, *post free;* China, Japan, etc., Mex. $9.60 *post free.*

In consequence of war restrictions, etc., no agencies have at present been appointed in Great Britain and America. Subscribers in Europe and U.S.A. should send orders and subscriptions (crossed cheques or P. O. O.) direct to the Editor.

In Shanghai Messrs. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Brewer & Co., Commercial Press, Chinese-American Publishing Co., Edward Evans & Sons, and the Mission Book Co., are selling Agents, copies may also be obtained from the Editor; and from Messrs. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., in Hongkong, Singapore and Yokohama.

Books for Review should be sent to the Editor as early as possible.

Editor: *Samuel Couling, Medhurst College,*
Shanghai, China.

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THE NEW

CHINA REVIEW

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV J. HUTSON

BOOK II—SOCIAL—Continued

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION FOR A FUTURE LIFE. 修來世 *hsiu lai shih.*

THIS is also spoken of as *yin kung* 陰功 or secret merit. Secret merit is supposed not to be spoken of, and is rarely practised by people under forty, but some, after they have sown their wild oats desire to accumulate merit to counteract their evil practices; as the saying runs 一善敗千惡; one good deed changes a thousand bad ones.

To set free living creatures bought for the purpose, *fang shêng* 放生, such as birds, fishes, tortoises, eels, etc., is reckoned great merit. So is the building of bridges by subscription. To repair the public roads near the home, when done out of free will is also believed to be very meritorious, but it is expected that travellers will contribute to this work, and has now come to be a respectable way of begging. This kind of work is also inflicted by law for light offences.

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To give away medicine and sticking-plaster to the poor is merit, but it is reckoned still greater merit to give away good prescriptions, as these are often a legacy of ancestors, and any person having a few good ones might start in business. Some people keep a tea pot or crock full of tea at their doors for people to drink out of during the hot weather. Others light a lamp at a dark and dangerous part of the road to keep people from falling into a ditch or over a precipice. They open a free ferry *k'ai i tu* 開義渡 for transporting travellers over streams and rivers, or give away rice gruel to the poor in times of distress; or rice and money to the poor at New Year times, or after a fire or flood.

They give free coffins for the poor and for unknown travellers who die by the way; or land for free burying grounds; these are found everywhere. This is reckoned very great merit.

An individual or a number contributing will open free schools. Others give away clothing, bedding and fire-baskets to the poor at the beginning of the cold weather. This is largely done by ladies who wish to prepare for leaving this world. Poor-houses for the aged and orphans are kept up both by government and by public subscription.

To open an orphanage is great merit. The infant children of poor parents are taken to this institution and are here reared; many of the slave girls of officials are procured from these places.

Institutions are opened also for the blind, deaf and maimed, *k'ai t'zŭ yu t'ang* 開慈幼堂; some for adults, some for children; and asylums for the shelter and support of widows. Such women get benefit from a Society's funds if they are well recommended, and on condition that they do not remarry. Some set up a tramp's refuge, *ch'i liu so* 棲流所 for men and women from a distance; shelter is provided free, but not food. Beggars' refuges for the local poor are supported.

The chief beggar carries a rod with which he administers correction to the disobedient, and he visits the farmers at harvest time and gets grain from them, and shopkeepers at feast times to get his wages for keeping the beggars in order.

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After a man takes to begging it is difficult to get him to leave it, but it is also difficult to find one who has been born a beggar, nearly everyone having come to this state through gambling or opium.

When these beggars die they get a free coffin. When put in the coffin a basin is put under each hand and foot, and a broom under the buttocks. The basins are said to be like the hoofs of a horse, and the broom like the tail of a horse. The idea is that in this life they have done little and got much from the country, and in the next they are willing to become horses to carry government despatches.

To collect printed paper, *shou tzŭ-chih* 收字紙, and burn it in places built for the purpose is to accumulate merit. It is merit to collect this paper, merit to deal in it, and also to buy and burn it. A receptacle for it is hung up in almost every house and school. Men go round the streets collecting the paper from these baskets. It is reckoned very bad taste to put a book in an unclean place or dispose of waste paper in a careless fashion, because writing has been handed down from the sages. The sentence "be careful of paper with characters" is written up everywhere.

To gather up the dry bones dug out in the public graveyard and deposit them in the dry-bone tower; to put earth on neglected graves—a coolie being engaged to put a load or two of earth on each grave; to give away books and tracts, exhorting people to good deeds and to attend to their idolatry:—such books as the *kan ying pi'en* 感應篇 or book of rewards and punishments are freely given; to invite a man to preach the Sacred Edict at the front door of the house for the benefit of the public; to burn paper clothing and paper money to the orphan spirits in the graveyard; to light lanterns at the New Year and other times to guide the spirits home; these are all works of merit.

To go on a pilgrimage for the worship of Buddha, *chao shan pai Fo* 朝山拜佛, is merit. These pilgrimages are nearly all to sacred mountains, and occupy weeks, months or years. Some pilgrims go three steps then kneel down and worship, some five steps and make a bow, others crawl

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through the villages and cities on their knees. The Buddhist devotees are divided into two kinds *ta* and *êrh chü shih*, 大 and 二居士, men and women respectively. These latter are called *tao yu* 道友 or friends of the doctrine.

Another way is to *sung ching pai ch'an* 誦經拜懺 chant the classic of "regret for the past." It is said that chanting is a Buddhist idea, while the doctrine of repentance has its roots in Taoism. These classics and repentance odes are very plentiful. Fasting, *ch'ih chai* 喫齋 or *ch'ih su* 素, is meritorious. It means the abstaining from wine, garlic, and meats, whether for a whole lifetime or at stated times and on stated days. A person who is afraid that his family may not do enough chanting, etc., for him after he is dead has a special lot done while he is alive, and sent on ahead to await him in the next world; also lots of paper and incense are burned and deposited in the treasury of Hades. This is called *chi k'u tao ch'ang* 寄庫道場.

Some seek merit by issuing tracts about the protection of life, exhorting people not to throw lime in the paddy fields, because it kills the insects there; to refrain from treading on any living thing; they even exhort people to allow vermin to live on the clothing and person; also to abstain from breaking off tender twigs on trees and bushes; because there is life in them. These ideas are from the Buddhist pantheism.

People abstain from treading on anyone's shadow. To do so is to treat them lightly and it is also very unlucky. To strike a person's shadow in a vital part is reckoned to be almost as serious as to strike the person himself.

It is merit to abstain from food on a mother's birthday, because she suffered so much at one's birth. The Mohammedans fast from dawn to dusk on that day. It is great merit to go to the *nan hai p'u to* 南海普陀. This is one of the most sacred places of Buddhism, or the place where the goddess of mercy is said to have made her appearance after becoming a celestial. A Taoist idea is for a person to sit erect with legs crossed, the eye fixed on the nose, lips closed, tongue straight, and to swallow the saliva; the thoughts must be kept pure and sleep kept away; the old nature is thus cast off by the top of the head and the aspirant becomes an

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immortal. This is called *lien tan hsüan kung* 煉丹玄功. The body is said to have ten openings, but the one on the top of the head needs to be opened in this way before it is effectual.

* * *

EXHORTATION 說書 *shuo shu.*

To explain the Sacred Edict, 講聖諭 *chiang shêng yü.* The Sacred Edict originally had six chapters composed by the emperor Shun-chih 順治, but it was enlarged and edited by his successor K'ang-hsi, and now contains sixteen chapters. Before the exhorter begins his works a tablet has to be erected on which are engraved the two characters Shêng yü. Candles are lighted on either side and in front, paper and incense are also burned before the tablet; the exhorter then bows three times, and knocks his head nine times to the ground before he begins to talk. The custom is to pay 100 cash for each chapter explained, and three chapters are generally gone over each evening. This money is generally paid by rich people in order to accumulate merit; not uncommonly a rich farmer or wealthy merchant invites an exhorter to his house for this purpose. At its beginning this practice may have been better than it now is; unfortunately the wicked lives of many of these men does much to nullify their words; and their exhortation is no longer confined to the doctrines contained in the Sacred Edict, but is largely made up of old wives' fables, and local and provincial scandals.

Many preachers of the Sacred Edict also use the method of exhortation by proverbs, *chiang kê yen* 講格言. There is a slight resemblance to, and connection with, the Sacred Edict, but most of the incidents are taken from the law courts, or scandals in business and private circles.

Men walk through the streets and sing ballads of a national or amorous character, *ch'ang shan shu* 唱善書. The idea is generally to procure travelling expenses for themselves or others to some distant place.

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Discussions are held 講評書 *chiang p'ing shu*, generally in a tea shop or open courtyard, when some ancient character's merits and demerits are discussed, with a good deal of sarcasm and dramatic contortion; the speech is often lewd and the characters of many of the speakers are of the lowest; in fact many are libertines, with some wit and humour to cloak their wickedness.

A news vendor who carries a stool and books round with him is called 上馬冊冊 *shang ma ts'ê ts'ê*; he stands on the stool and sells his literature, which has a bearing on current events; his sign is a pair of chopsticks.

A news vendor of the yellow press is called 下馬 *hsia ma ts'ê ts'ê*. He travels round and carries a flag of yellow or sometimes white paper on which are written the latest sensations. He visits the towns and markets, and to this kind of individual many false rumours are to be traced. He stands on the ground as compared with the former who stands on a stool.

On the birthday of the goddess of mercy Kuan-yin or other festival there are often mixed gatherings in the temples to hear the Buddhist doctrines preached. The crowds are often of the lowest type.

* * *

PURCHASE OF PROPERTY 田地買賣 *t'ien ti mai mai.*

THE middleman to find a purchaser first writes a *t'o yo* 託約 as an evidence of willingness to sell the property. In this deed the size of the house or the extent of the land offered for sale, and also the price wanted, must be stated. If the owner is at all an unreliable person he will probably be made to write a *yün yo* 允約 or a deed of willingness to sell, which he will have to sign in the presence of witnesses, lest he should turn round and blame the middlemen and get them into trouble.

The price should be fixed in the presence of the seller, purchaser and middlemen, 三面定價 *san mien ting chia*, but it is more commonly settled in the tea shop by the middlemen alone. After the price has been agreed upon,

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which is generally about half what was originally asked for, a small sum of money is paid down as an earnest and an agreement to that effect drawn up, *li ting yo* 立定約.

To draw up the permanent agreement, from which there is no departure, is called *li ta* 大 *yo*; in this agreement are included such details as *shang t'ien tsao tso chih chien* 上天造作之件 all that heaven produces connected with the land, such as trees, flowers, shrubs, fishes and wild animals; also *jên kung* 人工 *tsao tso chih chien*, all that man has made belonging to the building, etc.

It is very important that the kind of money to be used should be fixed. The middlemen see the amount in full paid over to the seller of the property, who takes the money with his own hands.

To give taxes according to the old standard under the changed name is *shui tsai yüan liang* 稅載原糧.

The buyer is allowed to take over the tenants and farm the land, *chiao tien kuo ching* 交佃過耕. The tenants have generally to be present when the money is paid over and their deposit on the land or houses deducted from the price which remains in the hands of the purchaser. A small feast is prepared for the middleman when the signature is being attached to the deeds. The seller at this juncture makes a fuss, and pretends not to be able to agree to the conditions and price, and ready money has very often to be added before this important signature can be procured. I have known many hours to be spent in wrangling over a bit of work which takes half a minute to complete.

Yo chieh hsia pai, 約界下碑 is to go round the boundaries of the property along with the middlemen and neighbouring landlords, who have to be invited to a feast; their presence is equivalent to their recognition of their new neighbour. The seller of property never comes to the feast, but a table will be sent to the home of the family. It is reckoned a loss of face to have to sell the family inheritance, and an occasion for pity too.

Ch'ê shên li wo 撤神離窩, to take down the family altar and leave the nest; as long as the idols are not removed the old landlord does not reckon to have left.

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In cases where it is necessary for two parties to have a copy of the agreement the two papers are written together and then divided. On the side of each is written the two characters 合同 *ho t'ung*. These two papers must be produced and fitted together in order to verify their genuineness. To give over the new title deeds to the new owner is *chiao hsin ch'i* 交新契; if the old deeds (*lao* 老 *ch'i*) are not produced and given up it must be so stated in the new agreement, and that hereafter they are only waste paper.

Any family division of inheritance agreements *fên kuan* 分關 are handed over to the new owner. A *fên kuan* is rather a shaky deed on which to risk a purchase; as the old agreement is sure to be in some person's hands, and that is the test of ownership. To take over the tenants who may be on the property is called *huan tien* 換佃. The main part of the price is generally put in a cash shop till certain things are done, and the buyer and seller in company with the witnesses then go to see the money given over.

To settle the percentage to be paid to creditors when the mortgages on the property are higher than the sale price is called *t'an tang chia* 攤當價. The payment of the middlemen, *hsieh chung* 謝中 is done by the seller; the usual rate being 2 per cent.; the purchaser also gives a present of a few taels to each person engaged. The title deeds are stamped on payment of the stamp duties, *kuo shui* 過稅. The cost before the revolution was about 20 per cent. Title deeds that are not stamped are no good in law.

* * *

MORTGAGES 典當 *tien tang*.

To mortgage to the utmost value of the property, when the mortgagee has the right to farm the land, is *ying tang kuo ching* 硬當過耕. This is equivalent to a sale, but the mortgagee "saves his face" by not selling; or he is allowed to find tenants to farm the land; this is almost the same as the other. When the former owner reserves the right to

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farm the land himself it is called *ti tang tzŭ ching* 地當自耕. This is reckoned a dangerous speculation, especially if the mortgagee is an unscrupulous man.

To change the rental into a mortgage; to add the deposit on property till it amounts to a mortgage is *chiu tien chia tang* 就佃加當.

To make the mortgage into a purchase by adding a little money (very probably more than the property is worth) is *chiu tang chia tang* 就當加當. To make the deposit of rental so heavy that it is really a mortgage, no rental or a nominal one is paid to the owner, but he saves his face by saying it is a rental. This is termed *ming tien an tang* 明佃暗當. Sometimes a property is mortgaged then rented back to live in, *tang ch'u tien hui* 當出佃回. The necessity of moving the family idols is thus avoided, but it is a method that causes much trouble afterwards.

To mortgage a second time owing to the original owner being unable to redeem the property is *chuan tang* 轉當.

Ting ta 頂打 or *ting tang* is a kind of mortgage which is more stringent than the ordinary kind, and is almost equivalent to a purchase, without it being so stated. These are more difficult to manage than a pure mortgage; a rental has to be paid, but it is almost impossible to turn the mortgagee out. The neighbours need to be notified of these proceedings to make them binding upon them. This of course means a feast.

* * *

BEGGARS 乞丐 *ch'i kai.*

Some terms for beggars are:—

叫化子 *chiao hua tzŭ*; 討口子 *t'ao k'ou tzŭ*; 濫仗客 *lan chang k'ê.*

Few beggars are born in that class, but nearly all have come to beggary through laziness, gambling, opium, wine or calamity. Those who are poor through no fault of their own are pitiable, but the others are contemptible. These pests waylay the traveller and extort money; gather in crowds at funeral and marriage feasts; bellow for hours behind a gentleman's door with half-a-dozen dogs howling round them, or

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walk along the street with a stick wagging behind and the dogs hanging on to it. It is a fully organized profession, with its officers and king; a race which is difficult to reclaim; the saying runs 討得三天口官都不想做; 'After begging for three days they do not desire even an official position.' They won't work and don't desire to be lifted up, and are known as 方上的弟兄, or brethren of the four quarters, that is, they go everywhere to get a living. The king of the beggars is called *ta yao pa* 大么爸. He rises to this position by ability and public recognition and is generally negotiated with at feast times in order that beggars may not come and lie at the doors of the houses.

The beggars' resort or refuge is called 乞丐所 *ch'i kai so*, or 棲流所 *ch'i liu so*, or 孤老院 *ku lao yüan*. In order to get admission an official permit is required, and a record of entries is kept in the yamen. Some have official rice and winter clothing granted to them besides. In these refuges all kinds may be found, such as the widow, the aged and the orphan. In districts where no such place is provided they congregate in temple doorways, under bridges and arches. They collect all the rubbish of the country-side and eat such things as dead dogs, cats, and rats. Unwashed, uncombed and clothed in filthy rags they seem to reach the utmost limit of human degradation.

The place where the beggars' branch of the secret society meets is called 什仿堂 *shih fang t'ang*. It may be arranged for at any place, but the connection with the society is very real and wide-spread.

The beggars have a superstitious dread of the following words:—

不給 *pu chi*, don't give; 狗咬 *kou yao*, the dog bites, 斷路 *tuan lu*, block the road; 短食 *tuan shih*, short of food.

The noise made by the beggars with their clappers at the door is called 打蓮花鬧 *ta lien hua nao*. This noise is also commonly made by the vagrant priests, who use a 彈板 *tan pan* to thrum on with the fingers. *Wo t'ao shan ch'ih* 惡討善喫, gotten by wickedness, eaten with good manners, this is what is said of beggars' manners.

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The beggars call the rice and wine given to them at feasts or New Year time *fa-ts'ai fan* and *fu-kuei chiu* 發財飯 and 富貴酒. It is a kind of good wish for the prosperity of the giver. 'New Year rice' is given to beggars on the first day of New Year; beside this some give New Year money, meat, dumplings, etc. If beggars are diligent at the New Year they can beg enough to keep them for a month or two.

After persons have given money or food to a beggar, the latter says that he has succeeded in instructing his son 訓子 *hsün tzŭ*. Such spectacles as are displayed in most Chinese streets, the displaying of maimed limbs, frost-bitten feet, knocking the head on the paving stones with a thud, candles and incense stuck in hands and shoulders, and anything which works on the feelings of the people are included by beggars under this heading of 'instructing their children.'

Ao men niu 遨悶牛, to follow the stupid ox, is said by beggars who pursue people on the roads asking for alms. To pursue a person on the road and repeatedly waylay him for money or to exact money from the person by blackmail, is called by the beggars, 'chasing the dog.'

A beggar will beset wealthy families and stay for hours at the door bellowing for food. The first time he gets food that day he says that it was his 'big son' 大的兒 *ta ti êrh* who gave it him; the second time it is the 'second son,' and so on. These things make the beggars hated by many people, and a class which is loathsome to behold becomes also repugnant to the kindest of hearts.

* * *

ROBBERS 盜賊 *tao tsei*.

These are divided into several classes, the following being a few of them:

Flying thieves, 飛賊 *fei tsei*. These enter the house by going over the roof with a pole; their sandals being made of human hair. In the day time they pretend to be sleepy, lazy fellows, but when they go to steal they can fly over the beam or walk on the partition' 飛梁走壁 *fei liang tsou pi*.

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This kind of thief can get at the silver no matter where it is placed; and only takes silver and gold. He leaves the other things for a lower caste thief. It is generally believed that he has some dealings with evil spirits. When he goes out for a depredation it is spoken of as 出馬, or to take out the horses.

Shang fang tzŭ 上房子, to go on the roof. This class of thief enters by the roof and leaves by the door. At the door he has an assistant waiting to whom he hands his booty, who in turn gives it over to the carrier who runs with it.

Shun shou 順手, to take what lies to hand. This is done by people who in their own town are reckoned to be good and responsible citizens, but go from home to do business of this kind. The proverb has it that 黃鷹不打窩下食, 好賊不偷自家人, 'the eagle will not take the food of its own nest, and the thief will not steal from his own household.'

The local head of thieves gets a large share of the booty 坐地分肥 *tso ti fên fei.* When a thief comes to any district he makes arrangements with the local head of the thieves, who then becomes surety for him. When robbers are about to commit a robbery they always have a person acquainted with the house, called a *hsien tzŭ k'ê* 線子客 or spy. Hence the proverb which says *tsei wu chüeh t'ou pu ch'u* 賊無脚偷不出; 'a thief who has no footing cannot steal.'

Their first work is to count their men, to each of whom a cash-string is given, (these strings are counted on their return; if they are short one string they know that one man is wanting, and they may possibly go back to release him; unless they have reason to think that he is dead.) Oil is then spilt over a pile of cash paper, which is burned as an offering to the spirits, asking for success in their adventure. Brown paper is then soaked in oil and rosin, and made into small torches, which are lighted and stuck on the front of each person's hat. The men's faces are all blackened or made up with hideous colours. Each man has his work allotted. Some carry the battering ram or *niu êrh tzŭ* 牛兒子 for smashing open the door. Others carry hatchets and weapons for self-protection. Some are detailed to watch the

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four sides of the house, and give warning if help is arriving. The cry of *chang shui* 漲水 'the flood is rising,' is a sign that the neighbours have risen to protect the family. After the robbery is completed, there is what is known as *tien chiang pai hua* 點將擺花 count the men and display the booty. Any dead are carried away with them if possible, and disposed of in the most convenient way, for fear of leaving any trace of the origin of the band. The head of the gang gets 40 per cent. and the remaining 60 per cent. goes to the men who have done the work. The division is made after all expenses of the raid have been deducted.

Robbery by piercing a wall requires an instrument known as the *ao tao* 拗刀 or *ch'iao tao* 撬刀, a crowbar. After a hole has been pierced through the wall, a bamboo with a handful of straw tied on the end of it is pushed inside to see if the way is clear; all being well the thief crawls in feet first, for fear of getting a bang on the head, and so as to be able to to crawl quickly out again in case of alarm.

When a character of this sort reaches a strange place he will draw a picture on a blank wall, such as a head with a moustache on one side of the mouth only. Other particular classes of thieves draw the picture of a single hand or foot. The picture of a head without any hands means that the thief is in need of an assistant. When the local thieves see these they draw another figure of the same kind close to it giving secret directions as to where he will find a lodging and companions. The day-light thief is called a 爬兒 *pa êrh*, the night worker 黑腦殼 *hei nao-k'o*, black head. Pickpockets are known as *p'a ko êrh* 抓哥兒, *lao chua* 老扯 or *shua êrh* 刷兒. *hung p'an p'an* 紅盤盤, *hung lao piao* 紅老表 red-haired cousin, etc. The burglar who opens partitions 割壁 *ko pi*, carries a pair of strong scissors, and thus bamboo and lime partitions are easily taken out. Once inside the house he soon tears open the doors and prepares a way of escape. Even the dogs seem to have a wholesome fear of this class and dare not bark till after they have gone. A troublesome dog is poisoned by giving it human hair chopped very fine and rolled inside meat or fish. This seems to be fatal, as the animal can neither digest the dose nor vomit it.

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The art of the horse, pig and ox stealer is called *t'ai mên* 抬門, lifting the door. He carries, besides his fuse and other weapons, a tube of water which is poured into the wooden hinges of the door to keep them from squeaking. When a pig is the object of theft it is given *hua chiao* 花椒 or red pepper; this benumbs its mouth so that it cannot squeal, and is thus more easily carried out of the place. When an ox is stolen, as soon as it is outside the door, a man takes hold of each horn and another takes the tail; the man behind pricks the ox with a goad, making it run furiously and heedless of all obstacles away from the house. Horses are taken off in a similar manner. In stealing ducks or chickens the necks are seized and tied; while cats are put in a sack.

Thieves are naturally very superstitious. Many of them carry on their person the wooden image of a dog with an iron band round its nose, to keep it from barking or biting, as dogs are their chief fear and natural enemy. They are very much afraid of any combination of words having *fan* 飯 and *fa* 髮 in them. Even to eat rice is known by them as *ch'ao fên tzŭ* 撈粉子. Their chief object is to avoid detection; one might almost say that the only sin is the loss of face on being caught. They also have a superstitious dread of the following words: *ti chu* 抵注 to get up against; *ch'uang tao* 撞倒 to knock against, and *k'ung shou* 空手 empty-handed: a thief if he enters a house will do all in his power to carry something away with him, however small, as it is most unlucky for him to leave empty-handed; *ma tzŭ*, 馬子, an enemy: the master of the house is the natural enemy of the thief; *liang* 亮, light: their works being evil they hate the light. Each clique has a particular call by which it is known; some mew like a cat, others blow a bamboo whistle; others have a call like *wu hu*, while others have a song. Any householder hearing these sounds close by gives a warning to his household, and calls out for the thief to come in and he will give him a "light for his pipe;" with the mention of light the thief very often departs. In entering a tea shop they call for water, not for boiling water or hot water as other people do, as these expressions are used by them to indicate that trouble is coming. They also hate the words *pu shun shou* 不順手,

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that is, it won't come to hand. They also fear *pu tui t'ou* 不對頭, or unsuitable. The number four is never used by them as it is the same sound as 'trouble.' So on the 3rd and 4th of each month, also on the 14th and 24th they cease their depredations. Owing to the light of the moon, little or no work of their kind is done from the 3rd to the 16th of each moon, but with the exception of the 24th they go on almost unceasingly from that time to the end of the month. The thief also dreads the character *ch'ieh* 截, to to cut off, fearing that his head will be sliced off.

In carrying on his depredations whatever comes into his hand is reckoned to be his rightful property; but if a thief has got no stolen property in his possession it is impossible to impeach him; the saying runs 盜賊無贓硬如鐵樁 'a thief with no stolen property is hard as an iron bar,' and he will no brook any aspersion on his character. The saying also runs 拿賊要拿贓拿姦要拿雙 'catching a thief, catch his stolen property; catching adulterers, catch the pair.' No greater insult can be thrown at any family than to say that they are *nan tao nü ch'ang* 男盜女娼, the males thieves and the women harlots.

This class of men much resent another person putting their feet on the end of a stool while they are still sitting on it; the fear being that they will be locked up and made to sit down. They also resent anyone taking hold of the pipe while they are smoking, or taking hold of their queue while they are walking. They also fear any one standing on the bed to dress, or tilting any article on its side to get anything out, or lifting up the basin with the vegetables in it to pour some gravy over their rice.

[To be continued]

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A BUDDHIST APOLOGETIC

BY

HARRISON K. WRIGHT, M.A.

THE study of comparative religions, whether at first hand or in books, has its chief practical value in China in the knowledge it affords of the meaning and the power of Confucianism and Buddhism. The former system is indigenous, the latter is called "foreign," and it may be for that reason that more attention has been paid by students to the set of beliefs professed by the upper classes and the learned men, and called the state religion. It is not probable that a single course of study of Chinese omits entirely the text-books of the Confucian religion, but the writer has yet to learn of a course which includes any Buddhist work in Chinese. It may be urged that the Confucian books are studied for the knowledge they afford of the written language, of which they have been in a large sense formative. But it is open to question whether those courses of study may not be justly judged one-sided and inadequate which include much from the Chinese classics and nothing on Buddhism from the Buddhist stand-point. No religion which has obtained such a place in a nation as Buddhism has obtained in China can justly be called "foreign" to that country. That which determines the proper alien character of a religion is not its

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birthplace. And although the Buddhist classics in China are almost all of them translations, this drawback is surely not great enough to debar them from a place in preparatory studies. In short, we have put too much time upon studies purely Confucian, and not enough on those which will help us to understand Chinese Buddhism. This is especially true in view of the fact that Buddhism has an extraordinary hold on the common people. It is well that we learn to understand them by studying them part of the time from their own point of view, not the point of view of an outsider, whether he be an opponent or a poetic sympathizer like Sir Edwin Arnold.

The chief hindrance to such study in the case of Buddhism is the existence of numerous technical terms, which the average Chinese scholar cannot explain at all lucidly, and usually does not understand. But a few days spent in mastering the principal headings in Eitel's *Hand-Book of Chinese Buddhism* will largely overcome the difficulty. It will be better to pursue this method than to begin reading the text one has chosen, looking up the technical terms as they occur; and the more so because in the second edition of Eitel's excellent work the Chinese index has been unfortunately omitted, an omission which adds much to the labor of the student, and which it is hoped will be remedied in some future edition; but inasmuch as the existence of this work in any shape is the only thing that makes an understanding of the Buddhist classics possible to any but special students of Chinese Buddhism (the writer made a faithful test of Giles and found him totally inadequate), we should not grumble very loudly.

But to pass from the practical benefits to be derived from this study to the personal interest we may find in it, the first thing we note is the series of remarkable similarities between Buddhism and Christianity. The causes for them need not detain us here; but we may remark that they are not outward only; they are something more than similarities of ritual and government. Whatever the conclusion at which the individual student arrives on this vexed but interesting question, let him make sure that he begins with a mind unprejudiced, and with a determination that on the one hand he

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will weigh the evidence himself, and on the other that if he states his conclusions for others to hear or read, he will at the same time *state the evidence on which he has formed his conclusions*. The failure to do this is the chief defect in some of the most useful studies of Buddhism which we possess. Let us at least admit that it is possible that some of the likenesses may be independent in their origin. Outwardly these likenesses extend to the strangest details. For example, the systems of kalpas in Buddhism are not inaptly paralleled by the diagrams in some Christian treatises on Eschatology. Inwardly the likenesses take such forms as doctrines of justification by faith, etc.; and in both these cases there is at least reasonable doubt for the beginner as to whether any mutual dependence exists.

It has been the existence of these similarities between the two religions that has interested many in the study of Buddhism. But a far more important cause of interest is the fact that both religions are missionary, and both have been defensively stated. Confucianism is exclusive and self-sufficient, neither missionary nor (until recently) apologetic in its activity. But Buddhism has propagated itself with wonderful success, and it has been stated defensively. Doubtless its early history can show a Justin Martyr, an Origen, a Tertullian, an Augustine. It is not possible to deal with the whole history of Buddhist apologetics in this paper, and I am concerned with modern methods and material chiefly. The particular writer considered is, in some sense, the Butler or the Paley of Buddhism. He is a Chinese bonze who lived during the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hsi. His purpose in writing was to give a brief account of Buddhist doctrine, defensively stated, and also a key to those expressions in Buddhist classics which seemed to him to be in need of explanation that they might be understanded of the common people. But as he had not had a modern theological education, we must not be surprised to find him constantly mixing dogma with apologia and often thinking that reiterated assertion constitutes proof. It is in the sections in which he compares and contrasts Buddhism with Confucianism and Taoism that we shall find him most

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interesting and instructive. The idea of an appeal to a universal human reason does not seem to have once entered his head, but on the other hand he uses with much skill two principles, not of logic, but of psychology, in arguing his case. The first has been spoken of, *i.e.* repetition lends weight to a statement; the second is the *argumentum ad hominem.*

With these facts in mind we now proceed to give in order and with some detail the argument of the bonze. His book is entitled *Wan Fa Kuei Hsin Lu* 萬法歸心錄 and has ten divisions, which are described in his preface as follows: "We herewith set up ten verbal likenesses of reality, to testify to and give clear revelation of the one Mind, and to scatter (this knowledge) abroad amongst those who have souls. The first is a warning examination of worldly errors, designed to turn men from evil back to good. The second is a discussion of doctrine with a Confucianist, a sweeping away of (heretic, or) foreign blasphemies. The third is a disputation about errors with a Taoist, showing that we should not seek outside ourselves. The fourth is about instant realization (conviction, conversion) and the preservation of testimony (stedfastness in the faith), going directly up to the Buddhist land. The fifth teaches the distinctions in vehicles (means of salvation), and minutely reveals the one Mind. The sixth shows that Mind alone is the Pure Land; the Buddhist ideal is not realized from without. The seventh gives the Buddhist division of five schools, all arriving at a single principle. The eighth tells how the ten evil spirits have disordered righteousness, and develops the doctrine and warns to watchfulness. In the ninth are quotations from Buddhist classics brought in as testimonies to break up doubts and make a sure foundation for belief. The tenth exhorts to goodness and to the printing and distributing of books in return for the Buddhist grace one has received."

Some idea of the meaning of the title of the work may be gathered from this outline of the argument. It might be variously translated, but bearing in mind the fact that *Fa* is used in the Buddhist sense of outward forms of existence which make up in their principle the second person of the Buddhist trinity, we may use the following translation for our

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purposes: "Notes on the Reference of All Law to the Mind." This title is seen to be an attempt, after the Chinese scholastic manner, to state a gigantic *multum* in a very small *parvo*. It is a useful title, but any attempt to give it a too exact meaning would defeat the purpose the author had in composing it.

The first three sections are the ones which concern us especially. Of these, the first is directed at the man of the world, the one who feels little concern about religious observances, and has a tranquil mind about the future. For this man the terrors of transmigration and the fate of flesh-eaters are painted in vivid colors. At some points it seems to be a man of straw that is being set up, but on the whole the effort to represent the mind and thought of the worldling is faithful and successful. The form of the composition is that of a dialogue between a worldling and a bonze. The bonze offers no proof of his principal assertions, but relies on the earnestness, assurance and constancy with which they are made, to carry conviction. Perhaps his feeling is that the worldling will not attempt to question the truth of his statement, and that his duty is not to convince, but to convict, to arouse the conscience after the manner of an evangelist, with "Flee from the wrath to come." The worldling urges that if a man's heart be right, vegetarianism is of no importance. The bonze retorts, "How can your heart be right when you kill and eat your fellow creatures?" From this the conversation passes to other virtues, and as the worldling urges his own excellence in this or that department of conduct, the bonze exposes his insufficiency of virtue. Stealing a man's property, he urges, is not the only thievery; false testimony, persecution, treachery, gambling, and the like, all belong in this category. He warns against laboring over much for the treasures of this world, which are so easily lost; he praises with fervor the celibate life, as the one in which a man most easily conquers his desires; speaks against sins of the tongue in a manner worthy of the Apostle James, and against the use of wine with a fervency worthy of modern temperance reformers. He urges patience in provocation, and exhorts his listener not to harbor even a faint anger

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against any person. He gives in detail a list of the "thirty-six sins," and proceeds to urge the eternal value of acquiring merit in this life, as contrasted with the temporary advantage of wealth. This naturally leads to a discussion of the Buddhist doctrine of retribution, of rewards and punishments, of cause and effect, and here the bonze uses much care and skill. Stir your mind and thoughts, he says, and try whether they be in accordance with the mind of heaven. You will surely have to answer for every evil deed; however slight, you cannot get away from the consequence of a single one. The inequalities which are observed among men here, result from their acts in a previous existence. To the objection that "a conscience is not rice; if it could be put in a pot and cooked, it might be honored and accorded with," the the answer is, "These fools make one laugh. If you actually have a conscience, and deceive in neither open nor secret matters, and silently agree with the mind of Heaven, then God (Shên) will befriend and men will be pleased with you; the things that have to do with good fortune will crowd round you and of necessity you will have excellent prosperity. . . . If you think that wounding virtue brings wealth, and injury to the heart brings riches, and revile conscience as useless because it will not go into the pot, do you not know that Heaven's law (in you) is already darkened, and within the darkness God is wrathful and the spirits angry? They will subtract from your happiness and take years from your life; you will be poor, vile, wretched, miserable, and even your descendants will be inferior, and all manner of strange things will happen to you. The Wên-ch'ang (文昌) book says, 'Upon the man who cultivates his person and stimulates his acts, Heaven will send down a hundred good fortunes. From the man who overturns principles and destroys virtue, God will remove his five blessings.' That is to show that there is happiness for the good and sorrow for the disorderly as a sure law. If you are willing to exchange evil for good, and not deceive, or hide things from yourself, of a certainty the Buddhist heaven will secretry protect you, and blessing and and long life will be added to you." Then the worldling speaks of sin and of the difficulty of repentance, and the

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monk says, "There is no higher good than repentance, upon consciousness of sin. Sins are various, as of the heart, the body, the mouth, and the like. From time to time, one should rouse himself and examine himself strictly whether his acts are what they should be or not; if they be good, continue them; if evil then quickly change them. To change from evil and follow after good is like a healing perspiration in sickness. The evil and the good in man's heart all come from thinking. When the thoughts are stirred, perception is aroused. Were there no perception, and should such a state continue for a long time, one's heart would of a certainty become righteous." It is at this point that we reach the anti-climax, for the next recommendation is that a liberal use of "A-mi-t'o-fo"* should be used by the aspiring candidate for Buddhahood, and thus the section closes. The effort, as we have seen, has been evangelistic, even more than it has been apologetic; in some sense all apologias are so, but not all of them use the evangelistic method. The general level of the tone is worthy, and the probable reason that it falls short of the Confucian maxim (not always consistently held by Confucian writers) that virtue is its own reward, and that we should do right because it is right, is that the bonze judges such ideals too lofty for the man he is addressing; thus the best that can be said of the spirit of the argument is that with the best intentions in the world, it is *ad hominem;* a fault, if it be one, that has been committed over and over and over again by Christian apologists. Finally, the fervency of his effort to preach the gospel he believes and which he is sure will save the man that accepts it, is a reminder that unselfish desire to enlighten darkened understandings is far from being the monopoly of any single religion.

The class of men first addressed is doubtless the most numerous, and if all human souls be equally important in the last analysis, then this is the most important class. As to whether his effort has been commensurate with the greatness of his task, not all will agree; but in spite of the earnestness manifested in this first section, it will appear that

*阿彌陀佛 Amita Buddha.

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he has put more of himself into the second, which deals with Confucianism. This is one of the longest sections in the book, and occupies nearly as much space as that devoted to the worldling and the Taoist combined. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about it is the unusual learning which it displays. The bonze appears to be better acquainted with Confucianism than the average degree scholar, and that he should at the same time be a Buddhist priest raises him to a rare eminence.

Naturally the first objection which he has to confute is the charge against Buddhism that it is *unfilial*, the most heinous of crimes in the eyes of a good Confucianist. That "the teaching of Buddha is to take no account of father or prince" seems a rather well-founded statement, yet it is easily refuted by a reference to the life of Gautama himself. His life of self-sacrifice, it is declared, was undertaken chiefly and first of all that he might serve his father, by finding the way of salvation for him as well as for the rest of mankind. Could anything have been more filial? Numerous quotations from the Buddhist classics are made in further support of this claim, and finally the Buddhist proverb, "In your house are two Buddhas," explained as referring to parents, is cited as proof of the contention. Moreover it is said that people in general are naturally and incurably lovers of their parents; would it have been at all possible for a religion which denied this natural and proper sentiment and the practice thereof, to have spread so far and have attained such a hold on the common people? As for the claim that Buddha teaches to disregard one's prince, it is admitted that nothing is said by him about government, yet Buddhism is "a guide such as will make the people good, cause them to dispel disorder and return to righteousness, cause the stupid all to be good and obedient, and command the wise to understand principles and cultivate their minds."

But, argues the Confucianist, filial piety demands that one do not leave his parents, as a bonze must. That, answers the priest scornfully, is "the dwarfed filial piety of the world." He adduces the three-fold saying (Anal. II: 5) that "parents, when alive, should be served according to propriety;

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when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and they should be sacrificed to according to propriety." Now you Confucianists, says the bonze, observe only the first two of these injunctions with any real thoroughness. What about the unnumbered ancestors whom your pious merit can deliver from the pains of hell? What have you done for them? "When one son leaves home (as a bonze), nine ancestors ascend to Heaven," says the sūtra. Let us note here that no proof is offered; one cannot conjecture just what the learned bonze would have said in reply to a demand to prove his hell; as before, he rests his case on a weight of reiterated assertion. Probably he was right in the judgment he seems to have made so far as the audience addressed was concerned; he need not trouble himself to prove this point. Assuredly it is as true in China as it has been in the West that calm assertion in these matters is the best course and the most effective.

But, urges the Confucianist, this is to cut off posterity, chiefest of the three unfilial sins. In reply, the bonze, who would otherwise be driven into a corner, takes the bull by the horns, and flatly opposes the Buddhist to the Confucian practical ideal. This notion of the necessity of having posterity, he says, is fundamentally wrong. The *summum bonum* in life is to get oneself and others out of the round of transmigration; therefore, to help the continuance of the round by bringing children into the world is the saddest of follies. This, concludes the bonze, is the truly great filial piety, which concerns itself with the proper salvation of parents, and not with the idle notion of providing posterity to serve them. I have stated his argument in terms somewhat plainer than he himself uses; probably he did not want to offend Confucianists needlessly, and moreover his aim is to prove that for substance of doctrine Confucianism agrees with Buddhism. It assuredly required real courage for the bonze to differ with Confucianism so flatly on this truly vital point. Let us note again that no proof of this contention that salvation comes by the devotion of one's self to a "religious" life, is offered. We have said that we cannot tell just what method the bonze would have used if

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he had been asked to prove his dogmas, but we can see clearly that in the end he would have been driven to the very course which the Christian apologists followed for centuries, and are in many cases following to-day,—he would have been compelled to rest upon statements made by the founder of his religion, and to have appealed to miracles worked by that founder for the authenticating of those statements; or else he would have offered some form of the "inner light" argument.

Now comes the first charge against the sincerity of the Buddhists; those priests who say they separate themselves from the world are to be seen moving about in it. The reply is almost literally like the injunction of Jesus in this matter; these monks are indeed in the world, but they are not of it. This in spite of the fact that there are many unworthy bonzes who cast a shadow on the reputation of their order.

The next objection is one of heresy. Confucius (Anal. II: 16) said that the study of false doctrines was injurious; was not this a reference to Taoism and Buddhism? No, says the bonze, that could not be, for on the one hand Confucius spoke words in praise of Lao-tzŭ, and on the other he never heard of Buddhism. It is a mistake for later Confucianists to controvert the doctrines of Passivity (or Contemplation 寂) and Non-existence (滅), in the name of the Master, for he held those doctrines himself (*e.g.* Anal. IX: 7), but they have been misinterpreted in modern times. In short, Confucianism and Buddhism are not opposed in spirit, although there may be oppositions of the letter, as in the case before mentioned.

Foiled at this point, the Confucianist turns to attack another Buddhist dogma, that of retribution, possibly choosing it as one that could not be defended by quotations from Confucius. He is short-sighted however, for now the bonze goes to the Book of Changes for his proof texts, and clinches the argument even more firmly than before. The Confucianist proves too much (and here the man of straw appears) when he scouts the idea of existence after death for the purposes of retribution, for the bonze pertinently asks, If there is no personal existence after death, what is the meaning of ancestor-worship? Then he follows with quotations from the

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Book of Changes, and from other Confucian writers in proof of retribution and of the existence of a hell for punishments. That is to say, those who deny these dogmas of Buddhism are under obligation to deny the trustworthiness of the most ancient Chinese classics. The doctrine is no mere bugaboo invented by Gautama to frighten unrepentant sinners.

The Confucianist now comes to particular cases. There was a famous Chinese Emperor who was a devout Buddhist, yet his kingdom was destroyed. The doctrine of retribution ought to work both ways. But this is readily answered by pointing out that the Emperor was only receiving the reward of misdeeds in a previous existence: the reward for merit in this life will come in the next existence. Furthermore the emperor in question was weak in character, and his piety was chiefly outward. There was a like Confucian fool who attempted to repel invaders by reading the Classic of Filial Piety to them, and he met the like fate.

The Confucianist then makes a theological diversion. If retribution is sure, why is it admitted not to work invariably? The bonze is not completely convincing in his reply, but gets round the difficulty by pleading the law of exceptions. Undesigned secret virtue, he says, may sometimes nullify a deserved retribution for past sin, but one can never be sure. He seems to put these instances in a class of uncovenanted mercies, but his statement is quite vague and unsatisfactory.

The Confucianist now challenges the bonze to answer various writers who have specifically opposed Buddhism. The first charge is that Buddhism is "the great curse of China".* The reply is that the Chinese, high and low alike, cling to Buddhism and receive it gladly. They know what is good for them, and if the doctrine were such a curse, they would assuredly get rid of it speedily. The Confucianist, being again a man of straw, has nothing to answer to this. Next there are personal charges brought against Gautama by the same author, but these are readily confuted by references to

*歐陽修 the great Sung dynasty scholar; Giles, *Biog. Dict.* No. 1592.

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his self-sacrifice and blameless life. Then comes a quotation* to the effect that Buddhism is a foreign religion and that its introduction into China has resulted in a general shortening of life. The answer is that it is no more foreign than were some of the Chinese emperors, and as for length of life, how came it that the favorite disciple of Confucius died so young? "Han-yü reviles Buddha; by your reasoning, he should live forever! Such closing-the-ears-stealing-the-bell-clapper-talk cannot but cause laughter wherever there are wise men."

An interesting scholastic objection is introduced here, which the bonze is able to refute by a quotation from Mencius extremely well suited to the case, and which may be made to take a very Buddhist aspect (See Mencius, Book VI, second half, II: 5).

After a recurrence to the old objection to the bonzes as failing to live up to their professions, the protagonist of Confucianism launches upon a series of practical objections to Buddhism. You are continually saying, he asserts, that Confucianism and Buddhism are the same in essentials; well, the former was on the ground first and it is a really national religion. Why add Buddhism? The reply is, that with regard to this oneness in the body of doctrine of the three teachings, Buddhism reveals the higher nature, Taoism rears the higher nature, whereas Confucianism merely examines exhaustively the higher nature. It is this difference which makes the addition of Buddhism wise and necessary. No, replies the Confucianist, there are other and more important differences. "My sect studies first and speaks afterwards, widely reading many books, in order to examine exhaustively the doctrine of the higher and lower natures (性情). The Buddhist first instructs to sit passively, to examine phrases contemplatively that one may realize the doctrine of the mind and of the nature; this is very greatly different from Confucianism." The answer is, "That which enters from without is not to be counted a treasure. That which is produced from within may be called true wisdom. When

* From 歐陽 修; Giles, *op. cit.* No. 632. Ou-yang was not specially known as an opponent of Buddhism, as Han Yü was.

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Confucius was alive there was only Yen Hui who understood him intuitively. All the study and observation of the rest arose through outside aid. So study and intuition are separated as far as heaven and earth." And he follows with the example of two noted Confucianists who adopted the intuitive method in their instruction. If it be objected that this is a method too lofty for use, the reply is that it is the one which Confucius praised in his favorite disciple. But, says the Confucianist, trying another tack, our teaching demands that a man begin with deeds and that he learn the principles of life from his living. By obtaining principles in the midst of activities, one's strength of character becomes great. Surely then, he who sits passively and realizes doctrine will be of small strength. The bonze answers, "Theoretically your words are correct, but where your doctrine is ripe, it is over-ripe, and where it is green, it is too green. If you demand that the student be faithful to principles and act not perversely according to his judgment in each situation, you will not find one in ten thousand who can attain the desired perfection of character by your method. But if one adopts extreme passivity and exercises thought thoroughly in those matters in which he has no experience, he gains strength to enter active life. If one sits passively and attains by nourishing, then the doctrine when it comes will be extremely clear, as with the above-mentioned Confucianists, who loved excellently contemplative examination. How can men by mere activity enter into principles, and unite themselves to a doctrine of 'all-pervading unity'?" What shall we say to this plea for Buddhism as the proper preparatory school for active life? We know as a matter of fact that the effect of Buddhism has largely been to unfit its devotees for practical life, and that the manner of life which it has held up as the one to be desired and practised above all others is the one that withdraws from the world and its cares and toils, represses the desires, and seeks personal salvation. That ideal is the one with which the book closes, and it appears more consistently than any other throughout the book. Yet it is an undeniable fact that Gautama went about doing good, and that it is quite possible for a skilful writer to show that

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the Buddhist system is not more contradictory when the conclusions given above are drawn from it than it is with any other set of conclusions. The recommendation to separate from the world and live a solitary or a conventual life is a concession to the weakness of the flesh. If a man could so command his soul as to lead the contemplative life within himself and yet engage in activities for the good of other men, it could hardly be denied that he was a consistent Buddhist. In fine, while we may suspect that the reasoning of the bonze in this instance is not wholly sincere, we have to admit that it would be quite possible for a consistent Buddhist to write a a tract under the title, "Confucius and Buddha, Friends, not Enemies."

The objection to the principles of intuitive knowledge and of cause and effect (dharma) are reintroduced at this point, and refuted as before by examples specifically Confucian.

The Confucianist now brings a challenge on the cosmological side, and in reply the monk takes the Confucian cosmogony and by a use of the allegorical method reads the Buddhist cosmogony out of it. We seem to be perusing a page from some mediæval Scholastic, so similar are the reasonings.

Hitherto the bonze has stood on the defensive, but now he feels that the time has come for his supreme effort and he proceeds to carry the war into the enemy's camp. Not only are the chief doctrines of Buddhism consistent with Confucianism and embedded in Confucian literature and practice, he says, but the strongholds of Confucianism, the doctrines of the Great Learning and of the Doctrine of the Mean are susceptible of a Buddhist interpretation without in any degree straining their meaning, but on the other hand making them the more easily understood; so much so, indeed, that Confucius may be regarded as the true forerunner in China of Gautama. The explanation is a detailed one and much too long to give here as a whole; but a specimen of the method will serve to reveal the whole treatment. The opening words of the Doctrine of the Mean are as follows; "What Heaven has conferred is called the NATURE; an accordance with this nature is called the PATH (of duty); the regulation of

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this path is called INSTRUCTION."* The Buddhist explanation of this passage runs as follows; "The Confucian law of Mind is the Doctrine of the Mean, not bending to one side, not depending on anything else, not crossing nor stopping. The commentary of Chu Hsi makes man's nature like Heaven's decree, a command to men and creatures; to each is given his principle. He does not know what the original Nature is, and merely says it is like Heaven's decree which comes to men and creatures. But he has taken the sage doctrine of Confucius and in the commentaries asserted a law outside the mind. Does he then really know man's original Nature? Its constitution is like the primal emptiness, without inner or outer parts; it neither comes nor goes; all because in the beginning of things there was not care for the Nature itself; suddenly there rose up motion of the Mind. Therefore it received a womb-prison. Originally one in excellent clearness it became divided into six uses, following after affairs, and pursuing a lower nature, and floating down the current of life and death, and not able to return to its origin; so former sages pointed out a road, and brought forth Heaven's decree which is the substance of the Nature; Heaven's Decree, Heaven's Mind, Heaven's Way, Heaven's Principle, are different names for things of the same substance, which, summing the matter up, is the principle of Man's Nature (and of the universal Nature in the constitution of things). The work entitled *Ancient Virtue* says, 'That which in Heaven is a decree, in man is his Nature.' Therefore Heaven's decree is pointed out as his Nature. Thus all men have originally one spirit and an excellently clear, true Nature, paying its vow according to duty; this is as the Principle originally ordered that it should be. When in the body there is harmony and no falling into partiality or dependence and in daily use principle is obeyed without obstruction, then it is said, 'an accordance with Nature is called the PATH (of duty).' But because from the time of conferring life there has been besmirching and hindering, and the original principle has been overturned and has taken on a disordered appearance,

* Legge's translation.

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and there has been failure to realize the constitution of the Nature, the sage worthies established instruction to induce men to come back to their Natures, realize principles and preserve their witnessing, turn away from the false and return to the true, that they might get back to the original principle of Heaven's decree. Therefore is it said, 'the regulation of this path is called INSTRUCTION.' Instruction is regulating the Path, the Path is originally one's Nature, the constitution of Nature takes its source from Heaven. The Sage rejoices in Heaven and understands its decrees. This is the doctrine of the Mean."* It will be seen from this prolix but eminently Confucian discourse how well the bonze is prepared for the task he has set himself, and how skilfully he accomplishes it. His aim was to give a Buddhist coloring to the somewhat colorless lucubrations of the Confucian classic, and he has done just that. The rest of this section of his book is

* The text of this passage is a good specimen of the author's style and should be interesting to all who read Chinese. It is as follows:

釋曰。孔門心法。中庸之理。不偏不倚。不邪不住。朱熹註解。性猶天命。令與人物。各賦其理。未知本性。是何物件。猶天命令。豈知本性。體若將孔聖之理。註成心外有法。出太虛。無內無外。非來非去。皆因最初不守自性。忽起動心。故受胎獄。本一精明。分成六用。隨境逐情。流蕩生死。衆生不能返源。先聖指條徑路。拈出天命。即是性體。天命天心。天道天理。名異體同。總是性理。古德云。在天謂命。在人謂性。故所以示云天命之謂性。自如人本具一靈。妙明眞性。任運應酬。理本當然。體中用和。不落偏倚。日用中事理無礙。故曰率性之謂道。皆因受生以來。顚倒亂想。不悟性體。聖賢設教。化人復性。悟理修証。返妄歸眞。以復本來天命之理。所以謂修道之謂教。教者修乎道。道者本乎性。性體源乎天。聖人樂天知命。乃中庸之道也。

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quite on a par with that we have quoted. It may bore us to read it, but a Chinese friend to whom I submitted the book was so enthusiastic over this and similar passages that I felt satisfied that the effort of the bonze might be considered successful. The friend in question is an unusually taciturn degree man, without any belief, as far as could be discovered, in the ordinary Chinese superstitions; but so well did the Buddhist explanation satisfy him that he grew almost talkative over it. For ourselves, we cannot say much more about the commentary than that it rests on no foundation other than that of reputed miraculous revelation (or supernatural demonstration of some kind).* As always, the bonze had not progressed further in his ideas of what could reasonably be expected in an apologia than the demands of his age; and the demands of some two hundred years ago in Cathay appear to have been much what they were in Europe at the same date.

The bonze now has the situation in his own hands, and the questions which the Confucianist asks from this time on are no longer challenges of the Buddhist position, but evidences of a desire to understand Buddhist principles better. The replies partake more of the dogmatic character, and have the air of instructions to a novitiate. With most of the pronouncements we are already familiar, and we need not linger over them; they are worth recommending, however, to the student of Buddhism, for the numerous sidelights on the system which they afford. Almost unconsciously one feels better acquainted with the inner thought of Buddhism as one ponders over these utterances, for they reveal the mind of their writer, often unintentionally, in a marvellous degree. Where they fail to convince is in their incompleteness. The bonze has committed the special fault of special pleaders; he

* H. Fielding Hall, in his book, "The Soul of a People," (pp. 19-20) says, that while much myth has gathered around the life of the Buddha, it is "like dust upon an ancient statue," "for to the supernatural Buddhism owes nothing at all . . . Miracle is never used as evidence of the truth of any dogma or of any doctrine." This is a sweeping statement, but if true of Buddhism in Burma, it is not true for China. Do the Burmese have, or feel the need for any apologia for Buddhism? If not, the failure to use miracles as proofs is accounted for.

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had shut his eyes to a large part of the evidence. He explains in a Buddhist sense, and most aptly, a great number of well-known passages from the Chinese classics, but has passed by those passages which he would find it difficult or impossible to explain in a Buddhist sense. For example, as an illustration of the claim that Buddhism and Confucianism are alike in the matter of the doctrine of "empty-mindedness" and "contemplation", he quotes from the Analects, IX:7, where Confucius says, "Have I knowledge? I am not knowing." This is very good, for to a Chinese an argument on this basis has great weight and is almost sure to carry conviction. But why does he not quote the whole passage? He has taken half of Confucius' words on that occasion, and for the plain reason that the other half would not at all suit his contention. The words are, "But if a mean person, who appears quite empty-like, ask anything of me, I set it forth from one end to the other and exhaust it." It would be a problem indeed for our redoubtable bonze to explain by what rule of Buddhism a person who appeared empty-like could be instructed, especially by one who was not himself knowing. He might have compassed it to his own and our satisfaction, but that he did not do it, and cut the quotation in two, appears insincere.

At the close of this section come an earnest impassioned appeal, partly hortatory, partly didactic. "You should put away outer learning and unite yourself merely with that which was before the four laws (of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom) had manifested themselves; with what the appearance of things was then, between motion and rest. You should unceasingly search to find out the doctrine, what it is, keep merely to one thought without any double-mindedness; not using wide measurement, nor explanation, nor waiting for realization, nor thinking things out; not falling into mere outer quietness, nor casting oneself into a condition of idleness. One should simply examine deeply into that which was before manifestation, day by day longer, month by month deeper, simply one thing, not two, not employing reason nor carnal ideas. When the time comes the principle will manifest itself . . . the Mind is opened and

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manifests clearly Original Nature. After that you will give instruction to learners and lead the people to the point of regulating your household and ruling the land. All will be through the excellent use of your Mind and Nature." Fair promises these. What fruit they have borne we can learn by observing the effect of Buddhism on the life of the people, and the practice of Buddhism in a sacred centre like Putu.

In concluding our comment on this section, we need not attempt any general review, for each sub-section has been passed on in order. But it may be as well to point out here again the great fault of the whole; that is, the fact that the argument is too much *ad hominem*. The effort is clearly not to discover truth, but to win the case. And this false method betrays him at times, for where it suits him, he has appealed to Confucius and Mencius as against their later disciples in order to vindicate Buddhism, but at other times he accepts the later disciples as true Confucianists, refutes them and thus thinks the whole system refuted and Buddhism vindicated. We have also had occasion to point out one use of the Classics, which did not seem to be quite sincere. But we have to admit that on the whole, his use of his remarkably broad learning is sound and careful. It need hardly be said that this learning, or ready access to the sources of it, must be an essential part of the equipment of any Christian apologist. It would be interesting to compare this effort with those which have been made in the name of Christianity. The fact that the effort is really a far more modest one than most of those made by writers in the Christian Church will inevitably blur its effect. It attempts in a comparatively short space to cover not only apologetics, but comparative religions and Buddhist dogmatics and in addition gives many practical directions and exhortations to those who contemplate entering on the Buddhist life.

We now take up the section on Taoism. In its more modern form, this religion is magic gone mad. Though not historically dependent on Buddhism, it bears somewhat the same spiritual relation to it that Christian Science bears to the faith of evangelical Protestantism. In the presence of palpable absurdities the bonze has no course open to him but

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that of dignified ridicule. In particular, there are two characteristics of the reply which Christian apologists would do well to note: (1) the bonze offers something in place of what he takes away, his method is constructive as well as destructive; (2) he takes the trouble to understand his opponent and to answer him in kind; he *speaks the language*, and adopts the outer form of his opponent's methods. For this reason a great deal of his reply is to us obscure. No matter; he was not writing for the critics, but to win his man, and what he has done may well make us thoughtful. Of course we have no statistics as the actual effect of this book on Taoist readers. But the laws of the mind which have been discovered by our experience had undoubtedly been apprehended in some large measure by this bonze, through his experience, and at least his methods are worth pondering. First come several pages of the ridicule of Taoist thaumaturgy in which the bonze incidentally shows that he is as well acquainted with the Taoist literature and beliefs as he is with those of the Confucian school. He denies that the slight outer resemblance of Taoism to Buddhism in any way relates the two systems, unless the Lesser Vehicle (Hínayána School) of Buddhism is meant. Moreover not even in the Lesser Vehicle is there anything about those means for prolonging life which bulk so large in the Taoist system. The Taoist cites the example of a reputed Buddhist book which deals favorably with this article of faith, and the bonze in reply, by an admirable use of critical methods proves that the work in question cannot have been Buddhist in origin. We have to admit, however, that the substitutes for Taoist beliefs which the bonze offers at this point, do not differ much in absurdity from that for which they are offered as substitute. And as has been said, the writer wanders here into regions whither it is difficult to follow him. No Jew with a weakness for apocalyptic composition ever passed through mental regions more fanciful or more weird than those over which our bonze feels obliged to go in his argument against Taoism; but all with the excellent purpose of saying that which should win his reader. He very properly argued that for the man who had been won by Taoist magical fancies, even though he had

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been cured of them by laughter, the only substitute that would be acceptable and would induce him to continue to be a religious man must be clothed in the same mystic language as was that system to which he had given his first love. The meaning is obscure and difficult even for a Chinese scholar and the references such as can be understood of none but men of recondite learning. Indeed it is doubtful whether the bonze *wanted* to be understood. Perhaps the very bewilderment which his language might produce would subdue the heart of a convert from Taoism and introduce him to the sound and careful instruction in the tenets of Buddhism which comes as the natural second step. For ourselves we have to say that he carries his method to logical lengths that would be impossible for us. With all the necessity for understanding and speaking the language of the man you would convert, you must never be insincere, and to that charge the bonze has again laid himself open. He is far too much of an actor, not to use the Greek word for the man who puts on a mask, and which has a yet harsher meaning for us. For instance, his discussion of the Nature with the Confucianist, though decidedly metaphysical at points, was yet understandable. When he takes up the same point with the Taoist, he speaks as follows: "The Greater Vehicle in Buddhist teaching reveals the Nature as inactive, crystal-clear like the Great Unreality, its body the same as the way (Tao), neither female nor male, not going out or coming in, not before if led, not behind if drawn, not above if lifted up, not below if pressed down, from ancient times always clear, up till now not hidden, though without form or likeness, yet able to rise up and scatter reward. Should it then reveal but one body? It can produce a thousand, hundred hundred thousand bodies, and send up to heaven beings countless as the grains of sand. All creatures by it are rehabilitated, ten thousand virtues are adorned and dignified. Men of shallow relations, who hug doubts,—how can they believe and receive it?" Or take this disquisition: "The two meanings of the 'principle-life' are very distinctly separated; it is both in and out of bonds; in bonds, the passions are the life; out of bonds, the unconditioned (or unreal) is the life; the movement of passions

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in bonds would destroy life; to destroy the passions is to preserve the life. Out of bonds union with the unconditioned is the supreme life, and accomplishes a return to life. The Confucianist speaks of the decree of Heaven, the Buddhist of the region (or boundary) of the Law, which is the teaching of the Greater Vehicle and may be called the principle of the Doctrine of the Mean. Cultivating your testimony by trusting in this is called the 'principle-life.' If you trust in the 'breath-life' and do not realize the 'principle-life,' when you have accomplished abstraction, at the most it is not the greater doctrine." And much more after the same manner. The specimens given are fair ones, and not the most striking examples of the defect we have noticed. The only regret there is left to express is that our bonze could not attend some of the early Councils of the Christian church. His gifts would have been appreciated, even though he might not have met with that sort of personal recognition which has caused the Roman Catholic church to canonize Buddha.*

After passing through a lengthy maze of the kind we have indicated, the upshot of the Taoist contention appears to be that it is a mistake to regulate the Nature and not the Life. The Buddhist reply is that even if one by taking thought can add a few hundred or thousand years to this life what about the life to come? And he proceeds to paint in terms of lurid hell-fire the fate of the foolish wicked. The Taoist mentions a rumour which may have been common among his co-religionists, that Buddha and Lao-tzŭ were the same person. With the same admirable use of historical criticism of which he had already given an example, and which many scholars are apt in employing when another set of religious beliefs than their own will be adversely affected, the bonze names the kings who intervened between the death of the one and the birth of the other, and when the Taoist presses the point on other grounds, the bonze notifies him delicately and somewhat

* His day is the 27th of November. For a statement of the facts which led to his inclusion in the saints' calendar under the name "St. Josaphat," and references to the sources which substantiate the statement, see White, "*A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*," vol. ii, pp. 381-384.

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testily that if this persistency in absurd and offensive arguments does not cease, why, he will be compelled to stop, (not his ears), but his nose! This threat withers the Taoist, and he proceeds to ask for instruction as his Confucian brother had done. Whereupon the bonze refers him to the *Tao Tê ching*, and he proceeds to explain that work for his hearer's benefit. These are they, he says in effect, which testify of Buddhism. He now becomes at least more intelligible, and presumably his explanation of the Taoist classic would be as readily received by a Taoist as was the other explanation by the Confucianist. Exact knowledge on this point I do not possess. But it is significant that while it was possible to laugh at the silly conceits of later Taoists, it was not possible to treat the chief Taoist classic in that fashion,—an explanation had to be found for it. "Harmonization" of this kind is not a peculiarity of Buddhism. Wherever men conclude that two things are both true, they have to believe at the same time that the two are not contradictory, and so the search for a method of harmony has begun. The difference between Buddhists and Christians on this point is that the latter do not care to undertake harmony unless the individual apologist believes both sides to be true, whereas in this case it looks as though the bonze were indifferent to the truth of books or facts in the system he attacked, and sought a harmony not for his own peace of mind, but merely in order to persuade his reader.

And here an interesting question may be raised. What would the bonze have done with Christianity had he undertaken to answer it? Doubtless he would have attempted to read Buddhism into the Christian Scriptures and particularly into the Gospel by John, and the Johannine Epistles and parts of Paul. He would have declared that Christ and Buddha were friends. He would have pointed to the fact that Christian apologists have declared that Confucius was in a true sense the forerunner of Christ in China. He would have claimed that his hell was more awful, and his heaven more desirable; that is, supposing he were still addressing a Chinese audience; for he is skilled in the means of winning his own countrymen. Were he a missionary to the West,

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we can only suppose that his methods would be much like those of the representatives of Hindu religions who have labored not unsuccessfully in Europe and America, and one of whose sects has an Englishwoman for its leader. The great difficulty which a Buddhist would have in opposing Christianity would be the fact that the central doctrine of the latter system, the law of love, stands for something which it is the first effort of the Buddhist to rid himself of. Yet apologists for Buddhism have arisen who were not daunted by this difficulty. They have adapted themselves to the times and have ignored the older forms of the Buddhist exhortations to get rid of desires. The most remarkable example of this with which I am familiar is the article of Prof. Anesaki in the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1905. All who are interested in this subject should read the article *in extenso*; only a few quotations can be given here, "One who sees Buddha, sees Dharma, the Logos, unmade, unchangeable, and the source of immortality. If there were any difference between the Christian concept of God and the Buddhist Dharma, the fundamental and essential identity of the beliefs of both in the incarnate Divinity could not be left out of account. . . . Just as at the fountain heads of these two streams there appeared the Truth in flesh, the Faith in person, the realization of this harmony in love and faith needs an incarnate person, representative of humanity. The person may be a powerful individual or a nation. If the appearance of Christ or Buddha has not been in vain, if the two streams of civilization have been more than ephemeral, then we shall not hope in vain for the *second advent* of Christ or the appearance of the future *Buddha Maitreya*. . . . As to Christian morality, I find nothing to add to Christ's saying, "None is good save one, even God." "To express my personal conviction in short, it is enough to say: Where there is the faith in Buddha, there may grow the faith in Christ."

Strangely enough this apologia of Prof. Anesaki is disappointing because it ends by practically admitting the superior character of the Christian religion; a consummation devoutly to be desired for the individual, but highly dis-

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appointing in the defense of another system. As for China, her Buddhism has long been atrophied. Had Buddhism won the mind of China as Christianity won the mind of Europe, and instituted a system of education, it would surely have developed into something nobler than the mummery with which we are here acquainted, and her devotees would be nearer the kingdom than we find them. Christianity does indeed claim kinship with both Buddhism and Confucianism in so far as either of them gives expression to eternal and absolute spiritual truth; where Christians part company with the bonze is in the fact they do not think it necessary to square their cosmogony with his, and are not afraid to oppose deep-rooted convictions if persuaded that they are wrong. They believe in the God-given power of the mind to recognize true doctrine in the end. It may be well at this point to note that the bonze under consideration was adopting a method that had long ago been used against Buddhism. Dr. Faber, in his *Mind of Mencius* (p. 14) says, "It (the Book of Changes) first brought Taoism into harmony with Confucianism. The same experiment was tried later on by the Sung philosophers, who first introduced their ideas derived from Buddhism into the obscurity of the diagrams of the Book of Changes, and then proved out of it that Confucianism had long been the truth of Buddhistic doctrine. It would at that time have been easy to withstand the error, but a good many Buddhistic ideas were in this way transferred to orthodox Confucianism." Perhaps this is the explanation of the ease with which the bonze was able to give a Buddhist meaning to Confucian doctrines! But in any case we repeat that the fatal necessity which he felt laid on him to prove that Confucianism was the material side of Buddhism does not exist for Christians. To him those doctrines formed a system believed always, everywhere and by all—in China,—and it remained to show that they testified of Buddha. The Christian apologetic must proceed with other suppositions and on other lines.

The remainder of the work, as it does not deal with the defensive statement of Buddhism, we pass over. The consideration of the general topic may be fitly closed with a remark on the matter of translation. The fact that in a text

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of this kind so much is imbedded that it was not possible for a Confucian scholar to explain satisfactorily, warns us that in preparing literature and in teaching we must be on our guard in the matter of both terms and concepts; and yet it is more important to remember that mistakes here need not be fatal. For instance, the term translated "merit" was coined by the Buddhists, adopted by the Roman Catholics and from them imported into Protestant phraseology. Yet in each case the term has acquired a different content and is fairly well understood. It became evident to me while reading the work that even when a scholar was unable to give a very coherent explanation yet the doctrines were couched in terms that had taken hold on his imagination. And whatever the inadequacies of the Buddhist apology may be, the real failure of their apologetic is not in books but in the personal decay which the state of Buddhism in China to-day spells in clear characters. De Groot has shown that this is due in part to persecution by the state, and others have shown that there are still many noble men and women who are devout Buddhists. These are exceptions, according to my observation, especially as regards the clergy; and from the general condition of Buddhism in China to-day, I see little hope of its finding a worthy place in that future which religious freedom will assure the nation.

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LE GRAND PELERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

PAR

HENRI DORÉ S. J.

[*Suite*]

Article VII.—*Pagodes diverses, pavillons et kiosques.*

A. Pagodes.

1° Les deux pagodes de Koan-ti 關帝, dieu de la guerre. Pour les différencier les gens du peuple les nomment, la petite pagode de Koan-ti et la grande pagode de Koan-ti.

La petite pagode est située à l'Ouest du stupa en pierre; c'est une transformation de l'ancienne pagode de Wen-tchang 文昌, dieu de la littérature, exécutée de 1628 à 1644. La grande pagode, au pied de la montagne à l'Est, fut bâtie en 1576.

La onzième année de Kang-hi, 1672, le général Tartare Ngo-man 諾邁 lui légua ses propriétés pour subvenir aux frais du culte.

2° La pagode de Wang-ling-koan 王靈官.* Cette pagode fut érigée devant le pavillon Tsoei-king-leou 萃景樓;

* Wang-ling-koan est un des 26 maréchaux célestes honorés par les tao-che. Son culte eut grand succès à la cour de Yong-lo 1403-1425. Trés souvent on le trouve comme gardien de pagode, surtout dans les pagodes taoïstes. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. IX, p. 594.

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(du site ràvissant), au sommet de la montée, là où était le temple de Tou-ti 土地.

3° La pagode de la Roue de la loi. "Tourner la roue de la loi," telle est l'expression technique pour exprimer la prédication de la doctrine bouddhique. C'est une allusion à la roue de la métempsycose, doctrine fondamentale du bouddhisme.

Cette pagode renferme une grande roue symbolique, qui n'est pas le moindre attrait pour les gens du peuple. Elle se trouve non loin de la pagode de Çakyamouni, à l'Ouest. C'est bien la place qui lui convient, car ce fut Çakyamouni qui le premier 'tourna la roue de la loi' dans le Parc des cerfs, près Bénarés. Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, III Partie, Vie de Çakyamouni, (Parc des cerfs).

4° La pagode des Maharadjas, King-kang-tien 金剛殿. Cette salle renferme les statues énormes des quatre grands rois (Maharadjas) que les Indous font habiter sur les versants du mont Su-Méru. (Cf. *Recherches, etc.*, tom. VII, pp. 226-33.) Leur pagode est bâtie tout au bas de la montagne, devant la pagode de Çakyamouni.

Au temps où Lang-chan était considéré comme un poste militaire de haute importance, les officiers inspecteurs des troupes se réunissaient dans cette salle; aussi l'a-t-on surnommée Ta-koan-ting-yué-ping 大觀亭閱兵, le grand salon pour la revue militaire. Elle existait bien sûr au XVIe siècle, car il est fait mention d'un cyclone qui la renversa en 1569.

5° La pagode du grand Yu 禹. L'empereur Yu, fondateur de la dynastie des Hia 夏, 2205 av. J.C. (Cf. *Recherches, etc.*, tom. VI, p. 24.) Cette pagode est située à l'Est du stupa du bonze Louo-ngan Hoei Wen 雷菴慧溫. Une statue de l'empereur Yu placée dans cette pagode fut prise par ignorance pour la statue de Wang-ling-koan; peu à peu on prit l'habitude d'appeler ce temple, Pagode de Wang-ling-koan; son nom véritable est Yu-wang-se.

6° La pagode des Trois immortels. Cette pagode sise à l'Ouest de la précédente a souvent changé de vocable. Primitivement on y vénérait Tchang-sien 張仙 et Liu-tong-pin 呂洞賓; c'est-à-dire Eul Lang, dont nous venons de

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parler, et l'un des Huit immortels spécialement honoré par les lettrés. (Cf. *Recherches, etc.*, tom. IX, pp. 587-93, 499-501.)

Sous les Ming, pendant la période T'chong-tchen 崇禎. 1628-44, on mit la pagode sous le vocable de Koan-ti, dieu de la guerre, et on ajouta sa statue à celles des deux anciennes titulaires. Le peuple, peu soucieux de s'informer du nom de ces divinités, commença à les appeler Les trois immortels, et continua à leur rendre un culte, croyant s'adresser réellement aux deux immortels Yu-tchen-jen, Yen-tchen-jen, et à l'immortelle de Long-chou 龍舒*

Nous avons là deux exemples frappants de l'indifférence des gens du peuple pour s'enquérir des antécédents des divinités auxquelles ils offrent leurs hommages. Facilement ils honorent un homme pour une femme, suivent la routine, font leurs prostrations devant la statue, brûlent de l'encens, et s'en vont sans même se poser la question, "Ce qu'on raconte sur cette statue, est-ce vrai, est-ce faux?" Dans plusieurs cas les païens paraissent fonder leur confiance sur telle statue (*ut sic*), plutôt que sur le dieu qu'elle représente; cette statue est 'ling' 靈 disent-ils. C'est-à-dire dans leur pensée, qu'elle fait des prodiges. C'est telle statue et non pas telle autre du même dieu, qui se trouve souvent dans un temple à côté.

Cette insouciance du vulgaire nous aide à comprendre comment les bonzes ont eu l'incroyable audace de changer le sexe de leur Koan-yng: ils connaissaient leur milieu.

7° Pé-hou-se 白虎祠, la pagode du Tigre blanc. C'est une divinité stellaire, honorée par les tao-che; d'ordinaire elle fait pendant au génie T'sing-long 青龍, le dragon vert. Cf. *Recherches, etc.*, tom. IX, p. 586.

C'est une statue à effet, on represénte un tigre blanc entre les jambes du colosse. Les bonzes la placent aussi quelquefois dans leurs pagodes, nous en avons ici la preuve.

8° Tou-ti-se 土地祠, la pagode du Tou-ti-lao-yé 土地老爺 ou esprit protecteur d'une portion de territoire, sorte de garde champêtre céleste.†

A Lang-chan, pas plus qu'ailleurs, on ne parut soucieux de respecter sa dignité; on l'a éconduit sans scrupule. Son

* Voir ces biographies donnees dans les Articles précédents.

† *Recherches, etc.*, tom. XI, p. 894.

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ancienne pagode se trouvait au sommet de la montagne devant le pavillon du Site ravissant; elle a été démolie et remplacée par la pagode de Wang-ling-koan. Quant au pauvre dépossédé, il a été relégué dans un pagodin à l'Ouest.

9° Kin-kong-se 金公祠; le temple du maréchal Kin, construit à l'Est du pavillon Officiel à mi-côte; il est dédié au maréchal Kin Yng 金應, dont nous avons donné la notice.

10° Che-kong-se 施公祠, le temple du général Che, commandant de Lang-chan. Il est bâti sur l'ancienne habitation du bonze Tche-hoan, qu'on fait passer communément pour le fondateur de la bonzerie de cette montagne. Il remonte à Kang-hi, et se trouve à l'Est de la pagode de Çakyamouni.

11° Tchoen-ti-ngan 準提菴. Cette pagode, bâtie à mi-côte, est dédié à Tchoen-ti, divinité bouddhique, représentée avec huit mains et trois têtes, dont l'une d'elles est une tête de porc. Cf. *Recherches, etc.*, tom. VII, pp. 197-203.

Cette pagode fut élevée sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne maison dite des 'tournesols et des bambous,' sur le flanc de la montagne.

12° La pagode de la Réunion des bonzes; dans l'enclos du temple dédié au maréchal Kin.

13° La pagode de la Félicité de l'illumination, un peu au-dessous de la précédente, à l'Est de l'escalier en pierre disposé sur la flanc de la montagne.

14° La pagode de la Grotte de la Mer se trouvait au-dessous de la bibliothèque de la bonzerie, un peu à l'Ouest. Depuis longtemps cet édifice est tombé en ruines.

15° La pagode du Noviciat des bonzes, à l'Ouest de la grande pagode de Çakyamouni.

16° La pagode de l'Afflux du fleuve: nom symbolique, faisant allusion à l'arrivée continuelle des bonzes. Elle était située au-dessus de la pagode du Tigre blanc. Elle est maintenant détruite.

17° La pagode de la Fortune prospère; c'est un autre nom de la grande pagode de Koan-ti.

B Pavillons et kiosques.

1° Tsoei-king-leou 萃景樓, le pavillon à étage du Site ravissant, ou du Coup d'œil féerique. Posté sur une

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esplanade, environ dix degrés au-dessous du temple de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer, il domine le cours du Kiang, jadis il donnait vue sur la haute mer. Cette dernière s'est retirée, il est vrai, mais dans l'immense plaine d'alluvion les verdoyantes moissons, ondulées sous le souffle du vent, rappellent encore les flots moutonneux de la plaine liquide.

Dans la dernière moitié du Xe siècle, au début des Song, c'était un pavillon à trois étages; les premières années des Ming il fut transformé en porte d'entrée de la pagode; puis en 1539 on recula la porte d'entrée, le pavillon fut restauré et l'esplanade fut entourée d'une balustrade. Les vingt premières pages du 6me livre des Annales ne sont qu'un recueil des plus belles poésies, que les lettrés célèbres ont composées pour chanter les charmes de cette délicieuse vision.

2° Le pavillon à étage de la Bibliothèque. Les livres bouddhiques de la bonzerie sont conservés à l'étage de cette construction située derrière la pagode Çakyamouni.

3° Le pavillon des Nuages irisés à mi-côte du Ciel. Il fut rebâti par l'ordre impérial sous le règne de Kang-hi, comme en fait foi l'édit gravé sur une stèle de pierre.

4° Le pavillon Officiel à mi-côte; on le nommait jadis le Kiosque à mi-pente.

5° Le pavillon Perché sur les nuages. Il fut bâti à l'époque des Song; il est tombé en ruines sous les Ming, et il n'en reste plus que le souvenir, qu'on a perpetué en donnant son nom au pavillon de la bibliothèque. Le stupa du bonze Hoei-wen, le plus ancien supérieur connu de la bonzerie de Lang-chan, se trouvait un peu au-dessous de ce pavillon.

6° Le kiosque Où on enlève les habits; c'est-à-dire où on prend le frais; sur le versant S.E., une dizaine de degrés au-dessous de l'esplanade de la Belle vue.

7° Le kiosque du Trio, situé une dizaine de marches au-dessous du temple de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer. Pendant le règne de Song Tai-tsou, durant la période Kien-long 建隆 (960-63), le juge criminel Soei-K'ieou 薛球, le préfet Tchoang Che-yen 臧師顏, et le (pou-ting) chef de police Ou Tien-tchang 吳天常, choisissaient ce kiosque comme lieu de réunion et aimaient à s'y rassembler. Pour ce motif on l'avait surnommé le kiosque du Trio.

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C'est sur les ruines de ce kiosque qu'on éleva plus tard le pavillon du Site ravissant.

Rappelons seulement comme vieux souvenirs du passé quelques autres pavillons ou kiosques maintenant disparus: (a) les deux kiosques renfermant l'édit impérial ordonnant la construction du temple de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer, après la victoire du maréchal Lieou sur les bandes de Lieou-tsi en 1512, et l'érection d'une stèle. En 1748 ces pierres déjà endommagées furent disposées dans le pavillon des Nuages irisés à mi-côte du ciel. (b) Le Belvedère du Kiang. (c) Le kiosque du Lavement des pieds. (d) Le kiosque de La cessation de la pensée. (e) Le kiosque de l'Echelle rouge.

Quelques mandarins en retraite ou en disgrâce vinrent se fixer à Lang-chan où ils ouvrirent école en amateurs, s'entretenant de sujets littéraires avec quelques amis privilegiés.

On cite dans ce genre, (a) L'école du Champ de la tortue; (b) l'école du Nid de la pluie et des nuages.

Il ne reste plus trace de ces installations de caprice; les bonzeries ne sont plus les sanctuaires de la science. La presque totalité des bonzes sont des ignorants et des paresseux, qui ne pensent guère plus profondément que le fond de leur bol à riz.

Article VIII.—*Les fastes militaires de Lang-chan.*

I La défaite de Lieou-Tsi 劉七. Lieou-Lou 劉六, son frère Lieou Tsi, et leurs affidés Tsi Yen-ming 齊彥明, Yang Hou 揚虎, avaient mis à feu et à sang les provinces du Ho-nan, du Chan-tong, et les pays de Pei-hien 沛縣. et Siu-tcheou 徐州 du Kiang-nan. L'empereur Ou-tsong commanda à Lou Wan 陸完, premier assistant au Ministère de la guerre, de prendre le commandement des troupes et d'enrayer le fléau. Plusieurs batailles tournèrent à l'avantage des impérialistes, Lieou Lou y perdit même la vie; il se noya en fuyant vers le Hou-nan. Liu Tsi et Tsi Yen-ming équipèrent une flotte, vinrent attaquer Tchen-kiang 鎮江 et Kiang-yng 江陰; puis le 18 de la VIIe lune au soir, l'an 1512, ils abordèrent à Lang-chan. Leur intention était d'attaquer la ville de Tong-tcheou le lende main de grand matin. Mais voici qu'au milieu de la nuit s'élève une tempête

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terrible, les bateaux roulés par les vagues et chassés par un vent furieux s'entre heurtent, se brisent, la flotte entière est pratiquement détruite. Ce sinistre est relaté dans un autre passage des Annales* où il est dit que toute la zone avoisinante fut balayée par un ras de marée. Le général Lieou Hoei 劉暉, intendant de Lou Wan, bénéficie du désarroi de l'ennemi et le poursuit vivement. Se voyant serres de près, les rebelles se retranchent solidement dans les pagodes au sommet de la montagne et font pleuvoir une pluie de pierres et de projectiles sur les assaillants. A plusieurs reprises les impériaux essaient de mettre le feu à la porte d'entrée de l'enceinte ennemie, toujours ils sont repoussés avec insuccès. Alors le général Lieou Hoei fit vœu de restaurer les pagodes si la victoire se déclarait pour ses drapeaux. Peu après on parvint à mettre le feu à la grande porte d'entrée, ses troupes se ruèrent dans le retranchement, qui fut emporté de vive force.

Les défenseurs sont poursuivis sans pitié, blessés, tués ou précipités dans le vide du haut de rocher. Lieou Tsi parvint à s'évader; il prit le large sur une barque et périt noyé, dans le Kiang. Tsi Yen-ming fut rencontré par un détachement de soldats et massacré.

Après le récit de cette victoire, la protection du pou-sah Ta-cheng, son pouvoir sur les d. gons du Kiang et de la mer, sont consignés en détail sur la stèle érigée dès 1513, pour la reconstruction de la porte brulée l'année précédente. "On ne sait pas le nom du bouddha Ta-cheng, on sait seulement d'après les archives qu'il était un avatar de Koan-yng et que bien souvent il fit des prodiges. Par exemple, il subjugua le mauvais génie de Koei-chan 龜山,† il éloigna les soldats de Chao-ling 少林, puis en 1119 mit fin aux désastres de l'inondation de Pien-king 汴京.‡ Ces faits, qui ne se trouvent point narrés dans les ouvrages des lettrés, nous ont été transmis par la tradition. De nouveau, sous nos yeux, il vient de protéger l'Etat, se faisant le rempart assuré des provinces du Sud-Est, et le bienfaiteur insigne des populations. N'est ce-pas là vraiement la réalisation de ce que nous disent les

* Liv. VIII, p. 4.
† Montagne de Chan-tong, Yen-tcheou-fou 兗州府.
‡ La capitale au Ho-nan.

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archives, attestant qu'il a le pouvoir de faire tomber la pluie, d'écarter les calamités et de conjurer tous les malheurs? Pour ces motifs nous devons de génération en génération entretenir sa pagode et lui offrir nos hommages sur cette montagne, pour qu'il daigne nous continuer sa bienveillante protection dans une large mesure."

Nous lisons sur une stèle les paroles suivantes: "A la porte d'entrée du Kiang dans la mer, aux confins de l'océan et du grand fleuve, une montagne se dresse,* et sur cette montagne on a élevé un temple à Ta-cheng; sur ces hauts lieux il commande en maître; la houleuse patrie des baleines, le palais des nagas,† l'antre des dragons, rien n'échappe à son empire. L'année Sing-wei 辛未, au printemps (de 1511) de grands troubles survinrent au Nord, le sol était jonché de cadavres humains, les armées impériales furent appelées et la paix revint; du Nord au Sud tout rentra dans l'ordre. A qui le devons-nous, sinon à l'esprit‡ protecteur du peuple et au ciel, qui a écrasé ces brigands? L'ouragan s'est déchainé avec furie, le ciel et la terre en furent comme bouleversés, la terreur s'empara de ces pillards. Nos armées se jetèrent avec un élan irrésistible sur ces bandes dévastatrices, les exterminèrent dans une charge qui rappelle la bataille de Tche-pi 赤壁.§ La violence du vent et les innombrables légions ont fait renaître les douceurs de la paix dans tout le Chan-tong, le Ho-nan et le pays de Ou. A qui en sommes-nous redevables? Quels sont nos protecteurs? Qui nous a rendu la paix? N'est-ce pas un bienfait de l'esprit protecteur? Que cette porte monumentale, qui de beaucoup dépasse l'ancienne en splendeur, demeure à jamais comme un monument de nos hommages sacrificaux."‖

La stèle précédente fait allusion à un des principaux prodiges attribués au bonze Ta-cheng, à propos de l'inondation de la capitale. Voici le fait.

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* C'est-à-dire Lang-chan.

† Les nagas des Indiens, (Dragons).

‡ Ta-Cheng, devenu génie ou chen.

§ Allusion à cette bataille mémorable, au temps des Trois Royaumes.

‖ *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. XI, pp. 5-9; liv. XX, p. 6.

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En 1119, pendant l'été, la capitale était sur le point d'être détruite par une inondation. Soudain on vit dans les airs, au-dessus du palais, un bonze, les habits tout mouillés et fouettés par le vent; quelqu'un sortit de la nue, son front était ceint d'un turban blanc, il se prosterna aux pieds du bonze, comme pour le supplier d'être admis au nombre de ses disciples. Tous de dire que c'était le dragon de la pluie, qui venait faire sa soumission àu Ta-cheng, souverain de Lang-chan, où se trouve l'antre du dragon. (Annales, liv. XX, p. 4).

D'après la teneur de l'édit de l'empereur Ou-tsong, au lendemain du combat de Lang-chan, Lou Wan fit ériger sur la montagne une stèle commémorative, sur laquelle on avait gravé le récit louangeur de la série de ses victoires pendant la campagne contre Lieou Tsi et ses bandes. Son rival Tchang King, outré de colère, aurait, dit-on, payé des émissaires pour briser la pierre avant son érection. De fait, le jour venu, on la trouva brisée en deux morceaux. Elle fut telle quelle cimentée dans la maçonnerie, et resta comme un double monument de la jalousie de Tchang King et du triomphe final du délégué impérial Lou Wan. Cette pierre est depuis de longues années dans un état de délabrement qui ne permet plus de lire l'inscription, mais le texte authentique a été soigneusement inséré dans les *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. XI, pp. 3-7. En voici le narré:*

"Depuis que les Ming avait reçu le mandat du ciel, neuf saints s'étaient succédé sur le trône; des hauteurs du ciel jusqu'aux profondeurs de la mer débordait la vie et régnait l'abondance; ni famine ni sédition n'étaient venues troubler ces 150 années de prosperité, quand soudain éclatèrent des troubles, fomentés par les rebelles. L'empereur irrité convoqua ses armées pour les exterminer, et après une campagne de deux ans tout rentra dans l'ordre."

"Au début de la période Tcheng-té 正德 (1506-20) le chef des eunuques (Lieou King) mit le désordre parmi les officiers de la cour, le peuple injustement pressure souleva. Ce méchant homme fut mis à mort, (1510, a la VIIIe lune) mais les troubles avaient commencé. Lieou Lou et son frère Lieou Tsi, de Pa-tcheou 霸州, (Choen-tien-fou au Tche-li) se

* Les mots entre parenthèse sont des explicatifs hors texte.

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concertèrent avec Tsi Yen-ming et Yang Hou, puis levèrent l'étendard de la révolte, soulevèrent les populations des pays de Tsi 齊, (Ling-tche-hien 臨淄縣, Chan-tong), Lou, 魯 (Kiu-fou-hien 曲阜縣, Chan-tong), Tchao 趙, (Koang-ping-fou 廣平府, Tche-li) Wei 魏, (Kai-fong-fou 開封府, Ho-nan), Siu 徐, (Siu-tchou-fou 徐州府, Kiang-sou), Pei 沛, (Pei-hien 沛縣, Kiang-sou). Les armées rebelles, drapeau en tête et au son du tambour, emportent les villes d'assaut, ouvrent les portes des prisons, volent, pillent, promènent l'incendie et meurtre par tout le pays, violent les femmes et jonchent les routes de cadavres, à tel point que sur un parcours de 1000 *li* les campagnes étaient désertes. Tout homme valide, sans distinction de condition, mandarins, princes même, tous sont enrolés de force sous leur bannière."

"L'empereur députa d'abord Tchang Wei 張偉, comte de Hoei-ngan 惠安, et le censeur Ma Tchong-si 馬中錫, mais ils échouèrent. Après avoir attendu longtemps et vainement le succès il fallait les rappeler. Tchang Wei fut dégradé, et Ma Tchong-si mourut en prison.

"L'empereur jeta alors les yeux sur Lou Wan, premier assistant du Ministère de la guerre et censeur; il lui donna le commandement général de toutes les troupes envoyées contre les rebelles. La sixième année (de Tcheng-té, 1511) à la VIII lune, il arriva à Tchouo-tcheou 涿州 (Pao-ngan-tcheou 保安州, Tche-li); là, il apprit que Lieou Lou, Lieou Tsi et Tsi Yen-ming se disposaient à attaquer la ville. Lou Wan, sans attendre leur arrivée, fit avancer ses troupes et rencontra les rebelles à Ping-keou 平口, (du Pa-tcheou 霸州). Hiu Tai 許泰 et Ki (Kio) Yong 却永, deux de ses officiers, engagèrent le combat et mirent l'ennemi en déroute. Après cette victoire les impériaux s'avancent jusqu'à Feou 阜, (Feou-tcheng-hien 阜城縣, Ho-kien-fou 河間府, Tche-li) et King-tcheou 景州 (id.), où ils remportent de nouveaux succès. Ce fut alors que Yang Hou rassembla toutes les forces disponibles et vint livrer bataille aux soldats de l'empire, bien inférieurs en nombre. Un moment la crainte faillit tout compromettre, mais un chef militaire, nommé Fong Tcheng 馮禎 arriva avec des renforts; Hiu Tai et Ki Yong se joignent aux nouveaux venus, tombent sur l'ennemi, le culbutent à Song-men-tien 宋門店, au King-tcheou 景州 (Ho-kien-fou).

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"Le peuple, qui depuis longtemps jouissait de la paix, n'était plus accoutumé aux vexations de ces époques de trouble, aussi les populations entières prises de terreur prenaient la fuite, ou se joignaient aux rebelles. Mais bientôt ceux qui avaient embrassé leur parti s'aperçurent que la victoire désertait leurs drapeaux, ils passèrent du côté de Lou Wan, toujours disposé à les recevoir pour leur sauver la vie. Lou Wan fit partout réparer les remparts des villes, pour empêcher l'ennemi d'y pénétrer et de se ravitailler. Yang Hou battu se sauva au Sud avec les restes de son armée.

"A la IX lune Lieou Lou, Lieou Tsi et Tsi Yen-ming vinrent mettre le siège devant Tsao-tcheou 曹州, (Chan-tong) mais leur armée fut en partie massacrée à la bataille de Pei-tse-yen 斐子巖. L'empereur envoya un autre corps d'armée au Ho-nan et battit les révoltés à Tang-yng 湯陰, (Tchang-té-fou 彰德府). L'ennemi fut encore défait à Teng-hien 滕縣, Yen-tcheou-fou 兗州府, Chan-tong). La VIIe année (de Tcheng-té, 1512) les rebelles se concentrèrent dans les environs de Hia-pi 下邳 au Nord de la Hoai (Pi-tcheou 邳州, Kiang-sou) et tentèrent un coup de main contre la ville. L'intendant général, Tchang-King, censeur et ministre de la guerre, se porta au secours de la ville, quatre brigands furent tués en assiégeant la porte du Nord,* les autres prirent la fuite, poursuivis par un de ses officiers nommé Li King 李璟. L'ennemi se sauva vers Teng-tcheou 登州 et Lai-tcheou 萊州, (Chan-tong) mais ils furent rejoints et dispersés à Song-tsien-pouo 嵩淺坡; la plupart restèrent sur le champ de bataille. Lieou Lou, Lieou Tsi et Tsi Yen-ming se sauvèrent avec une petite troupe d'élite forts de 300 cavaliers; ils passèrent par Pa-tcheou 霸州, gagnèrent Ling-tsing-tcheou 臨清州, (Tong-tchang-fou 東昌府, Chan-tong) entrèrent au Ho-nan et de là pénétrèrent au Hou-koang. Lieou Lou se noya, Lieou Tsi et Tsi Yen-ming montèrent sur des barques, descendirent le fleuve vers Tcheng-kiang, et arrivèrent à Lang-chan. De nouveau ils remontèrent le Kiang vers Nan-king et Ngan-king 安[illegible]; sans cesse poursuivis par Lou Wan, ils remontèrent au Nord.

* C'est une méchanceté à l'adresse de Tchang King.

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"Lou Wan se dit," A bout de moyens, ils reviendront sûrement au Kiang-nan et au Tché-kiang." Aussitôt il prit ses mesures et divisa son armée pour garder soigneusement toutes les voies d'accès. Tchang Pa 張伯, Yu Kien 俞謙, Wan Tcheng 王鎮, Che Yuen 時源 furent désignés pour commander ces divers détachements, chargés de garder toutes les voies de communication. Au fait, les rebelles revinrent à Lang-chan et s'en emparèrent. Lou Wan se porta sur Kiang-yng avec son armée. Ce fut alors qu'un ouragan survint et détruisit la flotte ennemie. Tous les officiers réunissent leurs efforts pour leur livrer bataille, les rebelles se retranchent sur la montagne, et font pleuvoir une grêle de projectiles sur leurs assaillants. Lieou Hoei 劉暉 et Jen Hi 任羲 combattaient au Nord de la montagne, Ki Yong 邦永 les attaquait au Sud. Finalement les rebelles sont forcés dans leur réduit et précipités en masse du haut du rocher. Lieou Tsi parvint à se sauver, monta sur une barque, mais périt noyé dans les eaux du fleuve. Tsi Yen-ming fut tué par un détachement de soldats. Yang Hou se sauva vers le Sud, mais les impériaux qui le guettaient sur les bords du fleuve l'accablèrent d'un grêle de pierres et il fut noyé dans le Kiang.

"La victoire était donc complète, la rébellion était écrasée et la paix rendue à l'empire. D'aucuns disent que les brigands avaient mis le comble à leurs crimes et que le ciel dans sa colère les avait exterminés. Pour moi, voici ma manière de voir. Le ciel protège le peuple quand les hommes obéissent au ciel. Lou Wan est un homme loyal et brave jusqu'au sacrifice de sa vie, il à su deviner les ruses de ces brigands, en outre la plus étroite union règnait dans le commandement, la bravoure de tous les chefs a mené à bonne fin cette lourde tâche.

"D'après mon jugement, c'est le ciel, mais avec le concours des hommes, qui a opéré cette grand œuvre.*

"Pendant cette campagne on compte douze grandes batailles et plusieurs dizaines de combats de moindre

*Ce passage est une réfutation du mémoire adressé à l'empereur par Tchang King, renvoyant toute la gloire de la victoire à l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer sans mérite aucun pour Lou Wan et ses hommes.

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importance. Plus de 10,500 brigands sont restés sur les champs de bataille, et le nombre des fuyards ou de ceux qui ont fait leur soumission est incalculable.

"A la fin de la campagne, la VIIe année (de Tcheng-té, 1512) Lou Wan rentra à la capitale avec ses troupes, les brigands emmenés comme captifs furent exécutés, il rendit la liberté au gens du peuple qui s'étaient joints à eux. L'empereur récompensa tous les officiers subordonnés de Lou Wan, il ordonna qu'une pagode serait élevée sur la montagne de Lang-chan en l'honneur de l'Esprit du Kiang et de la mer, et qu'une stèle commémorative serait érigée comme un monument éternel de cette victoire.

"L'auteur de cette inscription est le lettré Wang Cheou-ki 王守溪, prénom Ngao 鰲, nom honorifique Ts'i-tche 濟之, natif de Sou-tcheou et compatriote de Lou Wan."

Cette pièce est un réquisitoire habile, frappant d'un coup droit le rival haineux et un éloge plutôt exagéré des mérites de Lou Wan.

Quant à la mort de Lieou Tsi, la question reste douteuse. On trouva flottant sur les eaux du Kiang le cadavre d'un officier, vite on fait venir une femme née Ting 丁, emmenée précédemment comme captive par les rebelles, puis on lui fait dire que ce noyé était bien Lieou Tsi, qu'elle le reconnaissait, Ceci fait, on s'appuya sur son témoignage pour en informer l'empereur et obtenir des récompenses!

Par ailleurs Tchang King avait bien quelque raison de jalouser son rival plus heureux, car il avait certainement contribué au succès de la campagne en refoulant l'ennemi au Nord de la Hoai.*

II Descentes des Japonais à Lang-chan.

1° Le 2me de la 4me lune, en 1554, trois mille Japonais s'emparent de Tong-tcheou, livrent la ville au pillage; toutes les pagodes de Lang-chan et toutes les habitations des environs sont incendiées, plusieurs milliers d'habitants sont massacrés. Le mandarin Yang 楊 de Tong-tcheou est blessé, ainsi que plusieurs officiers militaires accourus de Tai-tcheou 泰州 avec un millier de soldats. Les chemins étaient couverts

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. XX, p. 7.

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de cadavres, partout ce fut la ruine et l'incendie. (C'était la seconde fois que la ville tombait aux mains de ces aventuriers; déjà l'année précédent Koei-tcheou 癸 丑 1553 ils s'en étaient emparés).

Le 24e de la 4me lune, à l'aube, les troupes chinoises assiégent la ville; elles attaquent à la fois trois portes, et malgré une grêle de projectiles ne lâchent pas prise, Tong-tcheou est repris, les Japonais vaincus se retirent en désordre à Lang-chan.

Enfin le 28e du même mois les soldats chinois s'emparent de toutes les issues au Nord de Lang-chan; les Japonais se voyant entourés par des forces supérieures, remontent sur leurs bateaux et rejoignent la flotte, forte de *plusieurs milliers de navires* (sic).

Le 16e de la 8e lune de cette même année 1554, nouvelle invasion japonaise; des compagnies de débarquement, plus nombreuses encore que la fois précédente, incendient tout ce qui se trouve sur leur passage.

2° La 4e lune de l'an 1555 (乙 卯 *i-mao*) cinq cents Japonais partis de Chan-kia-tien 單 家 店 se dirigent vers Lang-chan, pillant et brûlant tout ce qui se rencontre sur leur route. Yng Nai 尹 耐, chef de l'esquadrille chinoise, tombe sous leurs coups, toutes les barques militaires sont saisies. Mais le retour fut moins brillant. Des barques militaires chinoises les attendaient derrière l'îlot de Kiun-chan 軍 山 pour leur couper la retraite, vingt Japonais furent tués et deux faits prisonniers. Cette fois les envahisseurs ne purent pénétrer à l'intérieur du pays; l'année précédente, un édit de Kia-tsing 嘉 靖 avait nommé un général de division pour commander les forces de cette région, et son point d'attache était Lang-chan.*

3° L'année *ping-tcheng* 丙 辰 1556. La défense militaire de cette contrée est organisée plus solidement, des établissements secondaires sont créés à Miao-wan 廟 灣 et ailleurs. Les troupes de terre et les barques militaires forment comme un rempart, dont les deux forteresses Kiu-chan 舲 山 et Lang-chan occupent les extrémités. Tout est

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. XI, p. 21.

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disposé pour qu'en cas d'attaque les divers contingents puissent se porter le jour même sur le point menacé.

Ces précautions n'étaient point inutiles, car les Japonais surveillaient les côtes et n'attendaient qu'une occasion favorable pour opérer une descente.

Pendant l'été de 1556 une bande de quelques centaines de Japonais fondit à l'improviste sur la ville de Yang-tcheou 揚州, y pénétra sans difficulté, et se retira après avoir pris un riche butin.

Cela suppose évidemment qu'ils avaient forcé la passe de Lang-chan, et en effet, les Annales, dans une phrase laconique, relatent qu'ils s'y réunirent en force.*

4° En 1559, le 2e de la 4e lune. Plusieurs centaines de bateaux de guerre japonais abordent à Lang-chan.

Les Annales de Jou-kao disent que les Japonais prirent d'assaut la ville de Tong-tcheou l'année 乙未 *i-wei* (1559). Cf. liv. XI, p. 20.

En 1562 le gouvernement chinois, pour avoir raison de ces continuelles invasions, ajouta 1000 hommes de troupes à la garnison de Lang-chan, et les confia au commandant de la région.

5° En 1614. Ici les Annales essaient de pallier la défaite chinoise en racontant un prétendu prodige opéré par Ta-cheng. Les Japonais, après s'être emparé de Lang-chan, brûlèrent les pagodes et pillèrent la bonzerie. Puis, quelques uns de ces forcenés s'avisent de menacer de leur sabre la statue du bouddha; immédiatement ils sont comme frappés de cécité, tombent à la renverse en vomissant du sang; ils durent demander pardon, pour s'en tirer la vie sauve. †

III. T'chen Tcheng-kong. 1657.

T'chen Tcheng-kong 鄭成功, fils du célèbre corsaire T'chen Tche-long 鄭芝龍 s'empara de l'île de Tsong-ming en 1656 et y établit ses arsenaux. De là il croisait dans tous alentours. En 1657 il força la passe du Kiang, prit Lang-chan, emporta d'assaut la ville de Tong-tcheou, et alla même mettre le siège devant Nan-king.

* *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VIII, p. 4.
† *Annales des cinq Montagnes*, liv. VIII, p. 3.

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Une stèle érigée sur la montagne du Loup rappelle la mémoire des soldats tombés dans les divers combats qui s'y sont livrés, et fait l'éloge des ces victimes du dévouement au service de la patrie. Le text de cette stèle est sans valeur historique ; c'est une élucubration littéraire, au style ampoulé, avec quelques allusions aux faits que nous venons d'exposer. On en trouve le texte au liv. XII, pp. 3-6.

[*La suite dans le numéro prochain.*]

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CHINESE LEGENDS

BY

T. GAUNT, M.A.

THE 'Legends' are not translations of Chinese poetry, but are a version of certain folk-lore stories, in which the main outlines have been adhered to, and some details filled in from what the writer read between the lines. The sources of the stories are indicated below the titles; and some brief notes have been added.

THE ANCIENT BENEATH THE MOON*

[Told the writer by a youth of good family at Ningpo.]

Dark was the forest, save where chequered light
    Bursting through leafy screen on leaf-strewn floor
Amidst the serried columns glinted bright,
    Cast by the splendour of the full moon's store;
    And through it roamed a hunter of the boar,
Alert, and straining powers of eye and ear,
    If now perchance he may regain once more
    The friends with whom he took the bow and spear
When Dian first uprose into the welkin clear.

---

* This story is the origin of the expression 月下老人 'The Old Man under the Moon,' used to designate one who acts as middleman or go-between in arranging marriages.

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Grasping in sinewy hand his trusty bow
A stalwart form he stalked beneath the pines,
And on the track did patiently bestow
His pains, but could not gather any signs
Of his companions; for upon the lines
Of started quarry, when the moon was low,
Headlong they scattered: and he now resigns
All further hopes, and must in sooth forego
Their comradeship this night, but wished it were not so.

He still paced on, and thus emergence made
Unto a level lawn and open space,
Flooded itself with light, though ringed with shade;
And in the centre, touched with Dian's grace,
A solitary boulder had its place;
And on the rock, in mystic garb arrayed,
Sate a lone figure with averted face:
Flowing his beard and hoary was his head,
And on his aged knees an open tome was laid.

The Hunter stole behind him where he sate.
And o'er his shoulder looked upon the page
Which the white moon-beams did irradiate,
Where names of youths and maidens close engage
The scrutiny of that hoar-headed sage,—
The myriad names of those who were to mate
(Drawn on by Destiny, from age to age)
Within five hundred years, or soon or late;
For lo! before him lay the awful Book of Fate.

And then, "Pray, Reverend Senior, tell me now,"
He said, "What means thy business here to-night?"
"My Son, 'tis herein writ whom they and thou
Shalt take to wife, and none with Fate may fight."
"Nay, this is past belief," replied the wight;
For he at this time was revolving how.
He soon might wed. "For me, nor force nor fright"
Quoth he, "shall change my purpose firm, I vow:
I pick and choose my maid: to Fate I do not bow."

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"Nay, hearken then," the aged seer stern spake,
"And 'neath the moon thy fate I will unfold:
Through yonder town tomorrow thou wilt take
Thy way, and in the sunny street behold
A babe encradled not yet six months old,
Whom thou wilt wait to wed, nor yet wilt break
Thy heart: for though, rash youth, thou art so bold,
When Destiny her fixed decrees doth make
Not e'en the boldest rebel can her fiat shake."

Incredulous the youth; yet when the day
The paling starry spheres had put to flight,
To sate his curiosity his way
He townwards took, and there beheld the sight
On which the seer foretold his eyes should light;
And as he passed where in the sun she lay
The babe looked up and smiled; but cold and bright
Glittered the Hunter's eyes, like beast of prey
When baulked of his desire upon his first assay.

A cold rage filled his breast; for who was she
Flung thus across his path by Fate or Chance?
But he by Fate nor Chance would beaten be:
He swiftly passed, and backward cast a glance,
But none save that frail infant's countenance
Appeared, and then th' unerring marksman drew
A deadly bolt—too base for utterance—
And shot at her, and as the arrow flew
He turned and fled, and mocked, "My fate forsooth he knew!"

* * *

At the stern challenge of approaching war
Ever to join their Prince's standard flock
All bold and daring spirits, near or far,
Drawn on like nails by the magnetic rock:
And on the frontier conflict's sudden shock
Drew now from home the man who dared at Fate
And all her predestined decrees to mock;
Thus mortals sometimes are infatuate;
But Destiny recks not: she can afford to wait.

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The deadly peril of th' invading foe
Was met and checked, and yet from year to year
The fortune of the field swayed to and fro,
And neither side could claim a triumph clear:
And in the mêlée, or the test sévere
Of wearing down the foe through long campaigns,
The Hunter proved himself without a peer;
And purged away was all his dross and stains
Of baseness, and alone the metal pure remains.

And in the field of combat not alone
O'er his sole fearless spirit he held sway,
But in this man his comrades all did own
A force of leadership, to point the way
To doughty deeds; and ever day by day
His chiefs, too, on him weightier burdens laid
To share with them, until the whole array
Looked to his baton, and his word obeyed,
And, under him, triumphant bore the conquering blade.

Ere he did see his early home again
Lacked the fourth lustrum little to its close,
And as he comes the loud acclaims of men
And martial blare of trumpets' welcome grows:
And universal praise for him uprose,
Demanding rank and honours high be given,
And that the fairest of the fair be chose
To be his bride, who for long years had striven
To save his native land, and back her foes had driven.

And so they found for him the fairest flower,
And to the happy maiden he was wed;
And filled with love and joy, their bridal bower
His spirit with a great contentment fed,
After the rough campaigning life he led:
And greatly he delighted in her grace,
With satisfaction marked the blushes red
Which 'neath his eye glowed in her lovely face,
Where Beauty held her seat as in a favourite place.

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Yet much he marvelled, for that every morn
He saw her painting in a sable brow
Because the dusky line has fainter worn,
And needs renewal; and she told him how—
To tell its baseness shame will scarce allow—
When she a hapless babe in cradle lay
A wicked archer did her soft skin plow
With cruel arrow point, intent to slay,
But, shooting ill, alone an eyebrow grazed away

And then an arrow keen, Remorse's dart,
Transfixed *his* bosom, and he humbly made
Confession to her of the baser part
Which erst in pride and anger he had played:
And the tried warrior penitently prayed,
To make some expiation of the act,
Daily himself to take the brush and shade
On his dear lady's forehead what it lacked;
And he in love and sorrow made with her this pact.

The great Wheel slowly, surely makes its round,
And fate defied can still afford to wait;
For blinded men defy, and yet are found
Unknowingly to have complied with Fate.
The Warrior and his Lady kept fair state
While Phœbus crossed the arch of many a noon,
And neither of them had least cause to hate
The aged seer who told beneath the moon
The two streams of their lives should mingle late or soon.

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THE SPRING IN THE PEACH GROVE

[There is a legend, appearing in Chinese literature in various forms, that in the time of the Han dynasty—which arose about 200 B.C.—a fisherman in his boat came to a spring situated amidst beautiful peach orchards, and seeing near the spring a hole through which a man could barely pass, he forced himself through into a cave, when he came upon a strange and beautiful new world.]

Unruffled flows the burnished stream
Beneath the sunlit vernal air;
Its bosom bears a rosy gleam
Mirrored from many a blosson fair:
And fresh pink petals scattered wide
Float down the gently-moving tide.

The mountains rise on either hand—
The valley's green-clad battlement—
'Gainst which the clustered peach-blooms stand,—
Rich hues harmoniously blent.
The oriole fluted 'midst the flowers,
Or flashed like gold between the bowers.

Beneath the flower-crowned avenue,
Sculling his boat with down-bent head,
Appears a fisherman in view:—
No heart had he to mark the red
And green of Nature's rich display;
Too full his soul of numb dismay.

For many a weary hour had he
Laboured, and ta'en but little spoil;
Downcast he muses drearily,
Parched and athirst with heat and toil:
His wife and bairns and he once more
Must sup on dreams of coming-store.

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Anon a tinkling smites his ear,
And makes him lift his listless eyes;
And lo! a fountain, welling clear
Where rocks amidst the tree trunks rise.
For there the blossoming lines expand
To form a grove on either hand.

He brings his wherry to the shore
With one sweep of his scull's broad blade,
And from his aftward stance* walks o'er
And steps into the boulders' shade.
Into a rocky basin small
The treasures of the fountain fall.

He bows his head amongst the fern
That almost hides the basin's marge.
And as he drinks his eyes discern
A damp-lipped orifice, not large,
Above the spring's mouth situate,
And seeming inly to dilate.

He crawled within—he scarce knew why,—
No room to spare as he passed through,—
And found a cavern dim and high,
Whereat he knew not what to do;
Then wandered on as in a dream
To where he marked an entering gleam.

Not wide the intervening space,
Yet ere he'd crossed it, strange to say,
Like some dead weight his weariness
Slipped off from him and fell away.
So could he mark, as creature new,
The marvels destined for his view.

* *Aftward stance.* Most Chinese boats are propelled by a scull worked aftward by a man or men standing in the stern.

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Emerging from the further end
Once more he's in the sunlit air;
Again the blossoming groves extend
About a stream in valley fair.
He notes it all with glad surprise;
While joy drives languor from his eyes.

All things with brighter beauty shine
In this blest vale than he'd e'er seen;
Here lovely flowers interwine,
And clustering fruit appears between.
He tastes, and thinks he ne'er did eat
Ought half so luscious, half so sweet.

Seedtime and harvest seemed to blend,
The Seasons all their wealth t' outpour;
Fresh Spring her vivid charms to lend
To mellow Autumn's golden store.
No trace was here of Winter's rage,
Or grinding toil, or drooping age.

But soon he met some denizens
Of these fair climes, who with surprise
Beheld his coarse habiliments,
(Yet welcomed him in friendly wise),
Where all were clad in bright array
Of texture rich, and colours gay.

They led him to their domiciles:
Splendid as palaces they seem:
He heard the songs, he saw the smiles,
Where life flows in a joyous stream.
Nor want, nor devastating strife
Here lift the head to mar true life.

He heard discussed there no such things
As mortal men's minds agitate;
As, whether presidents or kings
Should guide the labouring ship of state.
Untroubled by such vexing themes
Sparkling and free their converse streams.

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Now mingling in the happy throng,
And tasting life's full tide with zest,
Behold the wight whom Want had long
Worn down, and dark Despair opprest;
But from that land of new delight
That haggard pair had ta'en their flight.

But now, mysterious powers combine
To draw the wanderer home again,
And to the toiling world's confine
Escorted him the bright-robed train.
So he went forth that Paradise,
Oft turning back his lingering eyes.

How he came home he never knew:
No impress left it on his mind:
And when, in later days, to renew
Those happy friendships he designed,
He nevermore could strike the trail
That led him to the Happy Vale.

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THE RIVER'S MASTER.

[This Legend is from a collection called *Hsi Hu Chia Hua Ku Chin Ssŭ Chi*, or "Interesting Stories Ancient and Modern of the West Lake," published in six small volumes. They refer of course to the renowned West Lake just outside the city of Hangchow.]

Ho! listen to the thunder
That reverberates afar,
As the River-god rolls on amain
His foamy-crested car.
Before it by the lofty bank
The waters smoothly flow;
But in its wake soon will they break
As 'neath the tempests' blow

His raging steeds sweep nearer now,
And louder grows the roar,
And the dark line flecked with white appears
Stretching from shore to shore:
A full mile wide the swirling tide,
Its crest* two fathoms high:
Pity the bark it falls upon,
Careering madly by!

And now the ponderous monster shakes
The ground on which we stand.
Oh save us! it will reach us,
With upstretched watery hand!
'Tis gone! And what a tumult
And upheaval in its wake,
Where the bank it almost overtopped
E'en yet appears to shake.

---

*Two fathoms high does not by any means represent the full power of this wonderful tidal wave or bore, as it is sometimes as much as twenty feet high. But that is at a place lower down the river, and by the time it reaches the spot nearer the city of Hangchow where this scene is placed, it has lost some of its force.

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Now, Elder Brother,† citywards
As we our steps retrace,
And through the bright autumnal‡ air
Move on at leisured pace,
To a story of the olden time
Direct your listening ear;
We'll thus beguile the triple mile.
Between the gate and here.

If you would fain know of a man
Who, sprung from lowly birth,
Rose up and took his place among
The great ones of the earth,
By mother wit and grit upborne,
Then kept from toppling o'er,
Go ask Prince Chien's Ancestral Hall
Upon the West Lake's shore.

Exposed as hapless babe to die
Through bitter poverty,
But rescued by an ancient dame
And nursed through infancy,
To sturdy youth and stalwart man
As years advanced he grew;
Renowned for strength of purpose he,
As well as strength of thew.

A bold salt smuggler at the first
He won abundant gain:
Then urged by his ambition joined
A militia captain's train:
He helped to put down robber bands,
To posts of trust was named,
From rank to rank clomb higher up,
Till Prince he was proclaimed.

* 'Elder Brother' is in Chinese a polite form of address to a friend.

† The seasons when the bore is at its highest are about the spring and autumnal equinoxes.

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But ere he gained the furthest goal
Where his ambition soared,
When over Hangchow city
He was governor and lord,
One day he to the river went
And stood, as we to-day,
To watch the tide in its full pride
Sweep onward on its way.

That time the city populace
Flourished with much increase;
Too strait had grown the ancient walls
To give them room and ease;
And he had seen his people's lack
(Which on a ruler calls),
And straight decreed to mend the need
By setting up new walls.

So when the Seventh Moon was come,
And the labour of the field
Would soon be lighter as the men
Brought in the season's yield,
Two hundred thousand husbandmen
He levied from the land
To labour with his army
On the work he nobly planned.

And then he traced a circuit vast,
Whereon the ramparts new
Full seven leagues encompassing
Might grandly rise to view:
And when the end of harvest came,
And all was gathered in,
Then the great work which none might shirk
His levies did begin.

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And now the work is almost done,
And fair to the Master's eyes
The battlemented walls and gates
In far-flung circle rise.
Complacently he glances round
As he seeks the river side;
And on this hand the ramparts stand,
On that the waters glide.

And then the roar he heard afar
As we heard it sound to-day,
And the tidal wave came raging
Like a savage beast of prey:
It passed the Chief, and speeding on
Where the Hou Ch'ao Gate juts forth,
With a mighty crash on the wall did dash
And tumbled it to earth.

At that the proud heart of the Chief
Was filled with sudden ire,
And wrathful words broke from his lips,
And from his eyes flashed fire:
"How dare the River Sprite," cried he,
"Against my new-built wall
Hurl his presumptuous billows,
And bring it to a fall?

"The Son* of Heaven by his grace
Hath placed me ruler here,
And men and spirits, great and small.
My wishes should revere.
Else what avails the Dragon Throne
With all its dread array?
Its officers of varied rank,
Of what avail were they?"

*'Son of Heaven' was one title of the Emperor, who sat on the Dragon Throne.

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He spake: and in his angry breast
Was formed the answering plan;
And straight he issued his commands
That archers stout should man
The river bank, ten thousand strong,
And on the coming day
With bow in hand should ready stand
His signal to obey.

So now behold them posted there
Outside the battlements,
And multitudes of citizens
Come forth to watch events:
The Governor with lofty looks
Glanced o'er the martial sheen,
And to the string each man did bring
An arrow true and keen.

Like snow upon the Silver Mount
White-gleaming soon appear
The banners of the crested wave
Charging in full career:
The foaming line, while raucously
The heavens reverberate,
Sweeps onward past the Hundred Steps
And nears the Hou Ch'ao Gate.

The moment's come! The word rings out!
Three cannon belch forth flame!
And at the signal as one man
The myriad men take aim;
A myriad arrows strike the wave
Just where the crest curls white:
And yet again the myriad men
Let loose a second flight.

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As conscious of the Chieftain's will,
And cowed beneath his force,
Th' advancing wave in mid career
Checked its impetuous course;
Paused for a beat, then sullenly
The smitten head recoiled,
Hopeless to reach the wrecked wall's breach,
Ingloriously foiled.

Then, Elder Brother, to the skies
The plaudits of the crowd
Rose like a peal of thunder,
And echoed long and loud,
Acclaiming him of martial art
The crown exemplified,
Who skilled to tame and bring to shame
The raging river's pride.

And after that the waters ne'er
Durst touch the rampart's base:
And the city wall was finished all,
And the gates set up in place.
The praises of the Governor
The people's mouth did fill,
And aye his star of destiny
Rose high and higher still.

When to the zenith it had soared,
And blazed in splendour there,
Then for his princely state Chien thought
To raise a palace fair;
And where the Phœnix Hill stands up
Against the southern sky,
A lofty site upon the height
Captured his roving eye.

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But a hoary ancient deeply versed
In geomancy's art
Forewarned him that the influences
Would play a baleful part:
That on the garish hill exposed
His princely state would wane,
And evanesce in feebleness
In a century or twain.

"But if," quoth he, "your Majesty
Fill up the Western Lake,
And there upon auspicious soil
Your fair domain will make,
A thousand years, I promise you,
Your offspring will endure,
Down the long line with glory shine,
In princely power secure."

To this the Prince with austere eye
And steadfast mien replied,
"What! I despoil the beauty
Of the far-famed West Lake's pride!
If for a hundred years my race
Shall hold the reins of power
Content am I with the honour high,
Nor greedy grasp at more."

So he built his place on the hill
Towards the midday sun:
And in the third year of Ming Tsung *
His sands of life were run:
But ere the glory of his house
Declined and passed away
Fives time from son to son passed on
His princely pomp and sway.

* Ming Tsung was an emperor of the Posterion T'ang Dynasty, who ascended the throne in 926 A.D.

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His officers and people
For the love to him they bore
Founded Prince Chien's Ancestral Hall
Upon the West Lake's shore.
Through times of Tsins,* and Hans, and Chous,
Of Sungs, and Yüans, and Mings,
And till the People's State † o'erpowered
The alien race of Chings,
A thousand years it hath endured
Aye to commemorate
A man's shrewd wit and dauntless grit.—
Enter the city gate!

* The Tsins, Hans, etc., were succeeding dynasties who ruled over the Chinese in whole or in part. The After Tsin Dynasty came into power in 936 A.D., and the Manchu Dynasty, called the Ching Dynasty, came to an end in the Revolution of 1911.

† The People's State is the name given to the Chinese Republic.

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A Winter Landscape II
By Li Shêng, A.D 900-960
[Collection of E. A. Strehlneek].

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STUDIES IN CHINESE PSYCHOLOGY

BY

HERBERT CHATLEY, D.SC. (LOND.)

V. RACIAL ANTIPATHY.

The history of the relations between Europe and China is so frequently punctuated with intense racial antipathy that no study of the Chinese mind can afford to neglect the question of the reaction of the Chinese in the presence of the "outland-man" or "sea-ghost."

A complementary fact also to be taken into account is the marked racial prejudice which exists in the Caucasian, which, in its mildest form, rarely rises above the level of patronage.

These feelings of repulsion may be traced to many roots. Man has three primal instincts, the self-preservative, the reproductive and the gregarious, and his feelings depend on the balance between these, a balance which in civilized man is swayed but not fully controlled by reason. Reason itself is, in its way, merely a mechanism for delaying action so that the instincts may be more permanently satisfied. (Incidentally, it may be remarked that these three instincts may be reduced to the one tendency of life to preserve the type respectively in the individual, the offspring or the species).

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The main cause then of race prejudice (which is, as it were, the negative of gregariousness) lies in the belief in, or perception of, such a degree of dissimilarity joined to competitive ability that it threatens one's own type. The Chinese of the nineteenth century hated the foreigner because:

(1) He was popularly thought to be a non-human being.
(2) His physical appearance and habits clearly indicated a different type.
(3) He possessed certain powers which made it possible that, locally at least, this type could defy Chinese competition.

Chinese history, as it stands, records no case where the Chinese nation has previously come into contact with a culture which could be recognized as comparable with its own. Separated by many miles of mountains and sea from India and the still remoter Mediterranean, Chinese institutions, language and literature developed so far independently that even where foreign elements have come in (as in the case of Greek, Indian and Persian influences) their entry was imperceptible to the nation as a whole. Similarly in the matter of breeding, the strongly "dominant" Mongolian type swamped all foreign blood and by the process of averaging produced a singularly homogeneous people.

Although anthropologists insist that *Homo sapiens* is one species, the word "species" no longer has the sharply defined meaning that Linnaeus gave it and there can be no doubt that the Chinese is effectively a sub-species, although not so much differentiated as to produce hybridity in miscegeneous offspring.

What practical conclusion can we deduce from this? The first conclusion is this, that from the Chinese standpoint, the European is really of a different although closely allied type, the bifurcation of the common ancestral stock being very remote.

The second conclusion is that, the differentiation has not proceeded to such an extent that the distinction is not necessarily permanent. Events seem (it may only be seeming) to have shown that in bodily vigour, initiative and mental plasticity the Caucasian exceeds the Chinese so that there is

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a strong danger that the Chinese may be enslaved and exterminated or at the best absorbed by the Caucasian (or the Japanese, who seems to possess a mentality more allied to that of the European than the Chinese).

Three possible courses are open to the Chinese:

(1) War.

(2) Cross-breeding with a view to acquiring such non-Chinese characteristics as appear desirable.

(3) Partial adoption of non-Chinese culture with a view to developing, by environment, these same characteristics.

The failure of the first method, and the practical difficulties of the second, tend to cause the adoption of the third.

The subconscious mind of the Chinese now in the throes of this tremendous problem, and the bitterness of the anti-foreign feeling which still exists is the instinctive revulsion from a course of change which is alien to all the natural instincts except that of that wider spirit of gregariousness which has its root in a common ancestry dating back perhaps ten thousand years and those arising from such common features of mentality as have happened to develop in the two separate lines.

Much has been made of Confucius' references to "reciprocity," but it should be remembered that this almost certainly referred to reciprocity of family relationship ("To behave to my elder brother as I would wish my younger brother to do to me") rather than to human generally. The Four Books when they refer to non-Chinese tribes, who were being civilized, always suggest that those peoples must be assimilated to the Chinese type. Now that type has been obliged (partially at least) to assimilate itself to another and markedly different one, it would be very strange if hysterical outbreaks of "direct action" such as Boxerism should not have occurred.

The hope also remains that the wide spirit of universal human correlation which has been professed in recent years may find a way to truly harmonise the Chinese sub-species with its rivals without extinction.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

THE Editor offers his hearty thanks to all who have helped to make this *Review* a success.

Some of the difficulties of establishing such a magazine at such a time will be evident to every reader, the price of paper, the delay in mails, etc. There have been other troubles known only to the Editor.

As the result of experience some of the difficulties can be avoided in the new volume. Thus, the work will be done in Shanghai instead of in Hongkong, and there will therefore be more regularity in issue and distribution. Thinner paper will be used, resulting in a thinner volume with the same amount of reading matter. This and other economies make it possible to reduce the subscription rate, and it is expected the circulation will increase in proportion.

All readers must appreciate the excellence of Messrs. Kelly & Walsh's printing of the *Review*, and especial thanks are due to Mr. F. W. Moore, who has had charge of the work in Hongkong at a distance of 800 miles from the Editor.

It is expected that the second volume will be in no essential respect inferior to the first, and it is hoped that subscribers will help to make the *Review* better known and that more contributors will send in useful papers.

* * *

The frontispiece to the next number will be an excellent portrait of Prof. E. H. Parker.

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The Index to Vol. I will be sent out with the next number to all who renew their subscriptions, and will be forwarded to others post-free on application.

* * *

The two portions of "Winter Landscape," for which our readers this month are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Strehlneek, are from part of a large painting in ink on silk. The following brief notice of the artist is from Giles' *Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art* (2nd ed., p. 87).

Li Shêng, of Ch'êng-tu in Ssŭch'uan, began to paint in early youth, following no particular school. He obtained a landscape by Chang Tsao, but after studying it for several days, threw it aside, saying, "This is not perfection." He then started painting the scenery of his native State, "making Nature his master, as former great artists had done; and in a few years he had founded a new and admirable school of landscape." "Connoisseurs who got hold of his works, regarded them as jewels to be kept locked up." He is said by some to have resembled in style Li Ssŭ-hsün of the T'ang dynasty; hence he acquired the sobriquet of "General Li the Younger." Another critic warns us that his pictures have often been wrongly attributed to Wang Wei.

* * *

In the beautiful painting by Ch'iu Ying (facing p. 164 of this volume), there is a band of eight musicians whose instruments present some points of interest, whether they may be supposed to show such as might have been seen in the palace in the sixteenth century, or are a faithful copy, (Ch'iu Ying, we are told, was celebrated as a copyist) of some painting of the T'ang dynasty.

The instruments in the front row, counting from left to right, are: 1. 琴 Ch'in (cf. *Journal*, N. C. B. R. A. S., vol. XXXIX, pp. 106, 149, and plate V), the seven-stringed psaltery; 2. 琵琶 P'i-p'a (*ibid.* pp. 113-116, 149, and plates X, XI), with four strings and sound-holes, which latter are not common in modern examples; 3. a four-stringed instrument like a banjo,

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possibly the Shuang Ch'in (*ibid.* p. 113) or one of the obsolete forms of the p'i-p'a (p. 149); 4. an indistinct instrument, perhaps some form of clapper or castanets. In the back row, counting again from the left, are: 1. 笛 Ti (*ibid.* p. 78; and plate III), the transverse flute, with the dragon head (p. 79); 2. a vertical flute like the modern 簫 Hsiao (*ibid.* p. 64 and plate III), or perhaps a reed instrument like the 管 Kuan (*ibid.* p. 82, and plate IV). The painting is too indistinct to allow of certain indentification. 3. 笙 Shêng (*ibid.* pp. 89-95, 150, plate XII). Notice the old-fashioned mouth-piece like the spout of a tea-pot (pp. 94, 95) and the upright position of the instrument (p. 95). 4. A large harp, represented as about six feet high, with about twenty-four strings. This is of course a foreign instrument, whose presence in the palace would not be very surprising in the sixteenth century, and less so in the eighth.

In *Chinese Music*, 1899, p. 37, the late Mrs. RICHARD reproduced a native engraving of an "Ancient Harp" with twelve strings, made like the old Persian harps (cf. ENGEL, *Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, 1874, fig. 47, "Persian Chang, VIth century," and fig. 49, "Persian Harps. About A. D. 1400"). This was taken, Dr. T. RICHARD says, from 讌士樂書 *Ch'ên Shih Yo Shu*, of the Sung dynasty, c. CXXVIII, fol. 3r°. In the Stein collection in the British Museum is an eighth century painting described as "Scenes from the Buddha legend." One scene shows four girls dreaming, one of whom holds in her left hand a harp with fifteen strings, of which Mr. F. W. GALPIN writes: "The harp is the Persian *chang*, a well-known form in the early centuries of our era." In shape and size it comes between Mrs. RICHARD'S Ancient Harp and that painted by Ch'iu Ying. The latter very closely resembles in structure and size one shown by ENGEL (*op. cit.* p. 59, fig. 50) and described as follows: "An interesting representation of a Turkish woman playing the harp (fig. 50) sketched from life by Melchior Lorich, in the seventeenth century, probably exhibits an old Persian *chang*; for the Turks derived their music principally from Persia. Here we have an introduction into Europe of the Oriental frame without a front pillar."

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These are the only examples of harps in China known to me at present, though others could probably be found in old paintings and books. I know no Chinese name for the harp, though a name no doubt exists in the *Yo Shu* if nowhere else; and the instrument has never become naturalized in China.

C. M.

* * *

Visits to the Wei 魏 dynasty rock carvings outside Honanfu and Tat'ungfu brought out the interesting fact that the northern group is absolutely without inscriptions of any kind. It seem evident that the Weis as they became more acquainted with Chinese civilization on their march southward in the century or so intervening between the two sets of carvings, learned to value Chinese calligraphy as well as to become more "sinified" in respect to the facial types of their images. One must not be misled by the type of the large open Buddhas at Lo Yang, which are T'ang products. The genuine Wei caves at Honan, which are west of the T'ang group (that usually shown in the pictures), differ very little from those in the Yün Kang caves at Tat'ung. In many of the Yün Kang group there were carved stelae in the form of truncated pyramids; I noticed none of these in Honan. The largest Buddha at Yün Kang is in a cave and is entirely covered with gold leaf; the whole conditions at Yün Kang show that the cult is still active there. In Honan all the cave temples are occupied by soldiers and the priests seem to do nothing but sell rubbings of the inscriptions. The Honan group is far more impressive than the Shansi group. The I river at the base and some palaces across it, form a fine setting for the temples, which are cut from bolder cliffs than those in Shansi. The latter are much cluttered by peasants' huts which are built right to the base of the carvings, so that access is difficult.

The station for the Sung tombs is Hei Shih chuang on the Lung-Han railway, between Chengchow and Lo Yang. The tombs have no buildings; there is the usual row of animals and an enormous mound, otherwise nothing.

G. H. Danton.

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NOTES BY PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER.

Giles says the 洹 is a branch of the Wei 漳. K'ang-hi does not say so, and Williams is more accurate than Giles. Playfair has also come to grief over it (Nos. 8014 and 8855), for he gives no 洹 at all in the index, the wrong one for 8855, and a mysterious dash for 8014. The present 大名府 is practically the old 魏州, which, again, is the still older 洹水邑. The 洹 seems to be connected with the 衛 system, which is evidently what Giles means. The bone inscriptions were chiefly unearthed in this region (1898).

* * *

In Mayers' *Chinese Government*, No. 196 (and also in Playfair's reprint) the term 廷尉 has been misprinted 廷則.

* * *

Playfair's 2738 is the new name for Hankow, which is now (1906) an independent city as 夏口廳.

* * *

Playfair's 浙川 (Chê) is a mistake for *Sih*, which river runs not far from the 荊子 pass (so written in the *Peking Gazette*; but Playfair has 霅).

* * *

Pakhoi 合浦 was called 珠官郡 in 228, on account of its pearl fisheries.

* * *

One of the Northern Ts'i Emperors was named 統萬突 because born at T'ung-wan (Tangut). Another was called 禰羅突, so that here is a possibility of unearthing a Tungusic word, *t'uh*, *t'uk*, or *dör*.

* * *

Feuds 報讐 were first prohibited by the Chou dynasty, A.D. 563, under pain of death 犯者以殺人論.

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In A.D. 564 officials were first ordered to carry tablets before them at court 初令百官執笏, (possibly referring to the Tartar dynasty alone).

* * *

The *Peking Gazette* mentions transhipment into 舟秋子小船 or "coracles" at 老口河 on the upper Han River; these are also used on the upper Sung-k'an River in Kwei Chou.

* * *

The Chinese used to call cannon *folangi* after the Franks. So the axes used by the Franks in Roman Gaul used to be called *francisques*. (*Duruy's History*).

* * *

It is usually supposed that tea was first named in the T'ang dynasty. Several centuries earlier, however, the *Tsin Shu* mentions 茶果 in the chapter on 陸納, and there can be no mistake about the meaning, for it says, "He had no entertainment to offer but tea and fruit."

* * *

The first printed histories appeared in the reign 990-994; all previous were in manuscript.

* * *

The word 衙門 seems to occur first in 821: | | 都將 appears then to mean "chief staff officer."

* * *

The modern 着爲令 "Let this be law," appears in 著文於令 "Let this be shewn by a law," Toba dynasty, (A. D. 472), or "Let it be placed on record as a law."

* * *

The "melon-slicing" of the Empire, so much talked of in 1900-3, is an old term dating from 590 and 907 when China broke up into petty states 宇縣瓜分.

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Among the most remarkable specimens of genuine ancient poetry left to us is the Emperor Han Kao-tsu's song, when, after the conquest of China he returned casually to his native village, and had a carouse with the local rustics:

大風起兮
雲飛揚
威加海兮
歸故鄉
安得猛士兮
守四方

The great storm rises,
The great clouds roll,
Night reaching to the ocean
Returns to its rustic home;
Where can I find brave fellows
To guard my Empire?

* * *

The Peking and Nanking colloquial *na*, "how?" appears in the early Sung History as early as 455; *e.g.* 那可往, "How can I possibly go?"

* * *

The expression 分文詳稱 is use by the Governor of Kiang Su in allusion to the formal reports of the Nanking Treasurer.

NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON

MOSTLY ON GILES' DICTIONARY

[The Nos. refer to the *Chinese-English Dictionary* unless the *Biographical Dictionary* is named]

No. 13,343 did not originally mean a concubine; but an escort, captive, or captive minister, etc. 伊 尹, Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 913, was an alien or captive minister | 臣. In the *Tso Chuan* it is mentioned that the Chin State seized 井 佰 (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1059), and made him a slave, | , to 穆 姬. According to tne 戴 氏 鼠 璞, | is a servant (male or female) to either bride or bridegroom.

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Under 2162 | 垒 does not mean "to take every measure," but "to have full compassion on." Under 12,883, 陰盛陽衰 is metaphorically used of a woman who has the "whip hand" of a husband, etc. This term was frequently applied to the Empress-Dowager with reference to her absolute control of the Emperor Kuang Hsü.

* * *

Why under 2219 咬文 | 字 "in the vain effort to produce literary work," and under 12,939 "to talk pedantically"?

* * *

The following are all fancy names for tea after infusion: 紅丁, 綠昌明, 清友, 雲腴. Giles gives only two or three examples under Nos. 7324 and 10,941.

* * *

倒薤懸針 "inverted scallions and suspended needles" (pens) refers to clever penmanship.

* * *

Under No. 7523, first line, 依 should be 倚. 傾軋 means to "keep down," down-trodden, oppressed, etc.

* * *

Under No. 8750 add | 懸 "to be tied to place, a fixture," as an official who gets neither transfer nor promotion.

* * *

Under No. 6434 the last line but one does not mean a "pinch of anything," but is a vessel for measuring medicines, 量藥器也.

* * *

The expression "on the wedding day the boy sits on the left and the girl on the right, their top-knots touching," called *chieh fa* (binding the hair in marriage), is first noticed in the 劉岳書儀.

* * *

"To accompany the clouds to the sun" 依雲就日 is an expression for 'intimate relationship.'

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The following are all fancy names for the peony: 鼠姑, 百兩金, 大地勝, 鹿韭, 富貴花.

* * *

Another term for "fascinating speech" is 口吻生蓮 |.

Another term for an Emperor is 翠華.

"To bite nails and chew iron" 咬釘 | 嚼, is a phrase denoting 'solid facts," inflexibility, etc.

* * *

Ch'ih ch'a 吃茶, to drink tea, is the common colloquial term for *ting ch'in* 親定; so is *hsia ch'a* 下茶,—used of women only. Other terms for *ting ch'in* are 聘鳳, 繫臂; and 倒潑茶 "to spill tea" is the common expression for a broken marriage agreement—used of a woman, especially if the bridgegroom dies before the marriage is consummated. Giles under No. 10,807 天桃, is taken from the *Shih Ching* and is figurative for "marriage"—of a woman (equivalent to 于歸).

* * *

According to the 師古註 the *niu i* 牛衣 Giles No. 5385, originated with 王章, 1st cent. B.C. (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 2135). These ox-clothes were made from "hemp refuse" and called 龍且.

* * *

The metaphorical meaning of 披星帶月, Giles' No. 9034, is "ceaseless labour," "rushed with work," etc., and correlative to 沐雨櫛風, "washed by the rain and combed by the wind." The 呂氏春秋 and 唐書 both explain as follows:—披星帶月謂早夜之奔馳, 沐雨櫛風謂風塵之勞苦. The question is not one of logic, but of good use.

* * *

Another term for great ability, stalwart as a tree, etc., 惜棟隆體 *Cf.* No. 12,250.

* * *

A phrase worth noting is 潤格 "fees for writing," "price list," etc. Also 承乏, "to take over the duties of a high official"—of an arduous post.

* * *

Rain falling during the 5th moon is called 黃梅雨 and 梅雨—plums being in season.

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Giles' No. 10,382 千 | is also the title of a prince and marquis and not necessarily the title of an heir-apparent.

* * *

No. 335 has also the meaning of ruled, swayed, etc., *e.g.* 甘向他國受 | 也; They were willingly governed by other countries.

* * *

No. 3554 鳳生 also refers to "oratorical powers," faculty of speech, etc.

* * *

Giles omits the character 占 with sound and meaning of 塊 *e.g.* 孝子廬苫占之次; the filial son sleeps in a thatched hut with a 'clod' for a pillow—when watching beside a parent's grave.

* * *

No. 2696 also means "to investigate thoroughly."

* * *

Wang Ch'iang 王嬙, Giles *Biog. Dict.* No. 2148 and *Dict.* No. 1285: the definition given requires emendation. Chao Chün's surname was Wang, and Ch'iang refers to her rank, which was the 4th. The ranks of the lady court officials were graded as 妃 rst, 嬪 2nd, 媵 3rd and 嬙 4th rank. Her correct appellation is therefore, "lady Wang of the 4th rank." *Vide* the 隨園隨筆, and 御批歷代通鑑輯覽.

* * *

Giles does not mention the 聽事吏. Their status was similar to 書辨 or clerks. In the reign of 開皇 of the Sui they were called 白直. *Vide* 隋百官志.

* * *

Ch'ung 重 or *ch'ung sang jih* 重喪日, double mourning day, is supposed to be an unlucky day on which no corpse may be coffined, no dead body removed or even touched, for it is believed that if a dead body is removed on such a day, some member of the family is sure to meet with some dire calamity. When a person dies on a *ch'ung sang jih*, the body is simply covered over, no weeping or mourning takes place but the dead person is treated as if asleep. A dog is killed and the blood smeared over the doorway as a charm against any evil influences. The *san sang jih* 三喪日 is similar to the

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above, but is more important, as the whole day is observed with absolute calmness; a cock and a dog are killed, the blood mixed and smeared over the doorways. *Pu chiang* 不將 is a lucky day for burials to take place. *T'ang fu* 堂斧 is a name for a grave, *e.g.* 乃堂斧之劃矣, "to prepare the hatchet-shaped hall,"—a grave. *Pu shih chih ti* 不食之地 uncultivated land—chosen as sites for graves.

* * *

Hun po 魂帛 is a hexagonal-shaped frame covered with silk, cloth, or paper, and carried ahead of the coffin by the chief mourner to guide the spirit on its way to the grave; it is buried alongside the coffin. Giles' No. 489 also means a "last-resting place" 開丨 to dig a grave, and 丨所 refers to the grave. *Fu sha* 黼翣, *fu sha* 黻翣 and *yün* 雲 *sha* are the ornamental figures which were used in ancient times spread over the coffins of officials, commonly called *ya tsŭ p'ai* 亞字牌 because they were 亞 shaped. *Sha t'iao* 煞條 is the "destroying angel" carried in advance of coffins to ward off evil influences. The *ming ch'i* 明器 are the personal effects valued by the deceased during life-time and are placed beside the coffin. The *ch'un t'iao* 春條 or "Spring (green) twigs" are fastened around doors and windows during the *ch'ing ming* festival days. *Chih fan* 紙旛 are the strips of red and white paper stuck on graves during the *ch'ing ming* season.

* * *

Giles No. 6073, last line; "on the point of death" "last moments." Giles "to be very sick." The *chi ch'i* 吉器 are the ordinary dishes in ordinary use as opposed to the *hsiung ch'i* 凶器 used in mourning. The *ch'i hsing pan* 七星板 is a board pierced with seven holes representing stars, and placed inside of coffins. They are not used nowadays. The *shih wang chu* 石望柱 or *hua piao* 華表 pillars at the graves of officials are divided into two classes.

* * *

The *t'ien lu* 天祿 are placed on the left of the grave and the *p'i hsieh* 辟邪 on the right. Giles makes no distinction between them. *Hsiao hsiang* 小祥 is the end of the first year's mourning, and the *ta hsiang* 大祥 the completion (27th

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months') of mourning. Giles No. 9114 | 表 *piao* also means the strips of silk, cloth or paper which are first offered and then burnt at the ancestral sacrifice. *Sŭ ming shên* 司命神 Giles No. 10,250, was originally *not* the "god of the kitchen." During the Han dynasty it was the custom when travelling to carry a casket in which was enclosed a small wooden image which was sacrificed to in Spring and Autumn; it was called *sŭ ming shên*. Ch'u P'ing 屈平, Giles, *Biog. Dict.* No. 530, composed nine ballads divided into 大司命 and 小司命. *Tsao shên* 竈神 or "kitchen god" is first mentioned in the *Chou-li* 周禮, where it is stated that 顓頊氏 2514 B.C., one of the Five Rulers, had a son named 黎 who was worshipped (after death) as *tsao shên*, "kitchen god."— 顓頊氏有子曰黎祀爲竈神.

* * *

就木 and 天昏 are terms for 死亡. Although *tsang* 葬 and *mai* 埋 are interchangeable, yet a distinction should be made between them. A person buried according to the authorized ceremony is *tsang*, otherwise it is called *mai*, 葬不如禮曰埋. Giles' No. 13,401 does not mean "to lay in stores of firewood"; but refers to the fuel used in offering up sacrifices to heaven 積柴燎祭天. The 禬神 are the burnt offerings made to the spirits of empty tombs. Another term for the *ch'ing ming* festival is 小寒食, not to be confused with 寒食, or 冷節.

* * *

Giles No. 4575 負 | has the same meaning as 疾病 "ailments" etc. See under No. 13,381 for this meaning of *hsin* 薪. 無羊之月 is an important historical term corresponding to the months falling under the horary characters 寅, 午 and 戌 tiger, horse and dog. This term appears to have been taken from works on astrology, the moons corresponding to the Signs 寅, 午, 戌 being called *wu yang chih yüeh*. During the Sung dynasty it was the custom to reduce the salary of all officials during the three moons stated above, hence, the saying 無羊 "no sheep" is equivalent to "reduced salary." Giles No. 7457; after the "tinkling sound of bells," *add* " of the emperor's chariot." *Luan chia* 鸞駕 is a complimentary term of address used to women, taken from the *Jui hsi ch'ih* 瑞西池 where it is

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stated that Hsi Wang Mu ascended to paradise riding on a 青鸞. Part of this legend is recorded in the *Ch'eng Yü K'ao*, but is not noticed by Sir J. Stewart Lockhart in his translation, p. 223, No. 1 (Note). Giles gives only the literal translation of the *Shih Ching* sentence 蒹葭蒼蒼, 白露爲霜, under Nos. 1635 and 10,120; the metaphorical meaning of which is "to think affectionately of a person." The *Shih Ching* sentence—Giles No. 4575—| 之燬之 "cut it down and burn it," requires revision. Lockhart gives the correct version. *Ch'eng Yü K'ao*, p. 321. 1.

* * *

Giles, No. 5169; the *Shih Ching* sentence 溯洄從之 should be "I wander *up* and *down* the stream in quest of him." 洄 means *with* the stream 順流而下, and is the antithesis of 溯,—逆流而上.

* * *

Giles under No. 10,134 gives no illustrations of such words as arrive, arrived, passed, changed, start, flit, etc. 稅駕 (*lit.* stationed temporarily) is equivalent to arrive, *e.g.* 風伯雨師一齊稅駕未幾電隨雨下 "no sooner did the god of wind and rain arrive, (descend from heaven) than it began to rain and hail." And, 督署稅駕, "the Governor has changed his residence." A phrase worth nothing is 稅居, to pay taxes, (including rent, water, lights, police, etc.). Another name for the 太常寺 is 典臺禮院. Not mentioned in Mayers' *Chinese Government* or in Giles' *Dictionary*. Under No. 6911, Giles, *add* | 牲. These are the figures (sacred) representing birds and animals with which temple roofs are decorated. Giles No. 1943 | 命 is equivalent to | 授. The sons and grandsons of the above if ennobled receive the patent called | 封 and 誥封.

* * *

No. 2143 is also the 'veil' worn by the bride while being conducted to her future home; and, similarly, the *ming i* 明衣 is the large veil wrapped around the bride's body. Giles does not give the character 笲, sound of 瓶 and rhyme 賡. It is a bamboo tray containing the refreshments brought in by the daughter-in-law to her parents-in-law on the first morning after her arrival at her new home.

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RECENT LITERATURE

The Best Hundred Characters, by HERBERT A. GILES, LL.D. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1919, $1.00.

IT is rather strange and somewhat touching that so great scholar as Professor Giles has been willing to make such a little book as this. It is not intended for those who must learn Chinese; these will start at once on one of the large manuals, and (we hope) duly set to work on "Sound Table" and the radicals. It is confessedly a decoy for that class of persons who have often vaguely thought of "learning a little Chinese," and it will certainly within its limits be as useful as it is ingenious and attractive.

To avoid disappointment, intending purchasers should note that the "Hundred Best Characters" have been selected from the point of view of the spoken language in its most useful form--the Pekingese dialect of mandarin. In no country perhaps is the book language more remote from the spoken than in China; and therefore if written Chinese is required, these are not the "Hundred Best Characters," useful as many of them will be; and the vocabulary is still further afield. The book will not take one far, for example, in deciphering street signs and notices or in scanning the Chinese newspaper.

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On the other hand, if it is the spoken language which is aimed at, is it wise to trouble any beginner with the character at all? The adult mind, it is true, demands a written equivalent for foreign words, but the romanized provides this; and to ask for a second equivalent in a strange and difficult script, which Professor Giles moreover strongly advises the student should learn to write, is widely recognized as a great handicap. In some quarters that we know of this is met by insistence on the study of colloquial with the help of romanized alone for a few months, or by keeping the study of the character wholly or partially distinct from the study of the colloquial, and so forth, and we believe that students of dialects which have no written colloquial learn to speak more quickly than those who attempt to master a vernacular and its characters at the same time. We believe therefore that the greatest possible progress will be made if the characters in the book under review are in the first instance used by the Chinese teacher only.

Of the vocabulary we can but say that it is excellently selected for every-day use. The equivalents have now and than made us rub our eyes and go to Professor Giles' own dictionary. For example, does 禮拜 really mean "pray"? Why should "child" be (小)孩子? Is not 馬號 a livery stable? and why is 洋布 restricted to "grey shirtings"?

We foresee that many foreigners living where Pekingese or something very like it is spoken, will soon be learning these hundred words with or without the character, and following up the valuable suggestions of the notes; as the preface truly says, they will be surprised and gratified at the colloquial results achieved and will have laid a firm foundation on which to build a good knowledge of the language.

More Gems of Chinese Poetry, Translated into English verse by W. J. B. FLETCHER, with comparative passages from English Literature. Commercial Press, Ltd. Shanghai, 1919.

We lately saw a Chinese schoolboy's English essay, in which he said, "When a great singer begins to sing, we

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listen with much anxiety." We confess that this accidentally expresses our own emotions when we hear of more translations of Chinese Poetry.

Mr. Fletcher has published similar works already, and we shall not again discuss his merits as a translator; he has been praised and encouraged—deservedly we think,—and has now issued this new and larger collection.

But we wish to confess our "anxiety" about the future. It was an epoch-making day when Sir John Davis took up the subject of Chinese poetry, wrote about it and gave a few translations. Later came Stent with several volumes. To-day we have Giles, Waley, Budd, Cranmer-Byng, and others all at it. Waley is just issuing a new volume, and we know of two more collections shortly to be printed. The flood gates are opened and the deluge is after us!

Chinese art is now appreciated in the West. Binyon, Fenollosa, Bushell, Petrucci and a few more, who can write on it, have properly presented it to Europe and America, and a hundred writers who have little more than the art jargon have followed in their footsteps and produced many books. But a great picture from any hand—Chinese or Italian—only requires a trained eye and an artistic soul to grasp its beauty; and similarly with music. Poetry, however, is vastly different. Granted the truest poetic gift in a man, he would need ten years of drudgery, before he could get to the heart of Chinese poetry; and probably in this process all poetry within him would be killed. Even Greek and Latin poetry demands of us years of painful study before it reveals its beauty, and a thousand Englishmen can read French fluently for one who gets pleasure from French poems. Grant therefore that Chinese poetry is, like Chinese painting, not inferior to the best in the West, we can hardly expect any one to transfer its beauties into another and utterly different tongue. Any tyro can get his teacher to explain all the characters in a poem and can then make English verses with the same sentiment or thought embodied in them; but in hardly any case has it ever been possible to transfer the beauty of poetry from any one language to another.

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The Hebrew poems have proved a remarkable exception, and to a less extent there has been success in translating the Greek and Latin poets; but only into more or less cognate languages, and as the result of close study and intense familiarity extending over centuries. Chinese poetry will hardly be revealed to the Western world in this generation.

Another question arises, whether it is worth it. Even our own resplendent poetry of an earlier period is largely neglected, and except for antiquarian and scholastic purposes a great proportion of it might be destroyed without being missed. Who reads the whole of Spenser, Wordsworth, Herrick or Pope—or almost any dead author? Now, the mass of Chinese poetry is much greater than the English, not only by reason of the time being longer, but also because poetry has meant something different in China and has largely been an exercise like the former making of Latin verses in England. The true gems are not likely to be more than one or two in a bushel of rubbish. Let these appear in an anthology—which may be in ten volumes if necessary, but let us not have the whole fifty thousand T'ang poems turned into doggerel for us on the mere excuse that they are T'ang.

We say this without in the least criticising Mr. Fletcher's selection or renderings. But the more faithful his translations are the more they prove our contention, we think.

Take any poem at random,—for example:—

"The guests are all gone from that mansion so high,
"Around yon small garden the falling flowers fly,
"Confusedly whirled down the winding road there
"With flashes of light sent athwart the clear air.
"We cannot sweep *them* up, my broken heart-string.
"Yet would I return, though mine eyes are pierced through.
"I lavished the sweets of my heart on the Spring,
"But left me the tears that my raiment bedew",

and we feel there is a little absurdity in annotating such poems by extracts from Shelley, Tom Moore, or Omar Khayyam. Nor have we seen anywhere in the volume a line in English that has thrilled us with the "lyrical cry."

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However, the volume has a certain value for students of the literature, the Chinese text of each poem being given, with some useful notes. To such students we can recommend the book.

The Examination of Mines in China by E. M. Di Villa, Consulting Mining Engineer. Printed by the North China Daily Mail, Tientsin, 1919. 108 pp. with Index.

This valuable handbook appears very opportunely at the present time when, the war being over, all eyes are directed to China, upon whose vast mineral resources the world will look more and more to eke out the shortage existing in other lands. The object of the book is "to assist those interested in mining in China in presenting reports upon mining properties, or to understand the information a report should convey." Engineers and investors alike will find it of service.

After giving general suggestions for the examination of mines and placer mines, the author outlines the procedure necessary to establish a title, with a note on taxation, and advice as to the securing of reputable Chinese legal opinion as to validity: the necessity of obtaining the co-operation of the Chinese is insisted upon. General notes on geology and ores, with occasional reference to those occurring in China, is succeeded by a valuable section bringing together in short compass all the available information about the mineral deposits of the country, and the coal-beds are treated in detail, also the iron deposits, with notes on native methods of working and details of the composition of the ore. Antimony, of which China is the largest producer, is thoroughly dealt with, the occurrence, methods of mining, uses, treatment, formulæ for valuation, etc., being given. Other metals, mica, and oil, are more lightly touched on—mercury might have been allotted more space—but quite sufficient information to follow up is afforded.

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The next section—representative mining costs—is of great value to newcomers desirous to know how to estimate how working may be successfully carried out. The cost of shaft sinking, hoisting and pumping in the interior is given, and also that of gold dredging and of aerial ropeways—the latter a method which is certain to come into favour in the mountainous districts where most of the ores occur.

The final sections, giving weights and measures and conversion factors, add much to the value of this little work, which, as already said, is very timely and of distinct importance to practical men.

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